IROQUOIS INDIANS:

A Documentary History

of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations

and Their League

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INTRODUCTION

This compilation is like none other in the world. It is an archive of documents made by and concerning a people without scribes, documents recorded by other parties and originally filed away obscurely in repositories devoted to other interests. Because the League of the Iroquois and its constituent Six Nations negotiated diplomatically with the agents of empires, provinces, and nation-states, as well as with other Indian nations, Iroquois treaty documents came to rest in The Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and in many state and private collections, in all of which the Iroquois documents were secondary to the thousand and one concerns of Europeans and Euro-Americans. Now these many scattered collections have been culled to create the first authentic archive of an indigenous tribal people.

Strictly speaking, an archive consists of the documents generated by an agency or institution, but we may think in terms of an imaginary Iroquois foreign office whose papers were destroyed in an imaginary fire, being preserved only in the copies made for other parties to negotiations. With that fiction in mind, what we have here is a reconstituted archive. Regardless of problems of definition, it is a body of texts exceedingly important to genuinely reconstituting the history of the United States and its predecessor colonies and native peoples.

The Iroquois League was a great military and political power in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its importance was recognized by contemporary statesmen of competing European empires and colonies, who vied with each other to secure Iroquois friendship and alliance. After 1700, the Iroquois policy of neutrality maintained a balance of power between the empires that lasted until the Seven Years War, and the Iroquois nations were wooed by Britain and the United States during the War of the American Revolution. It is not possible to write a valid political history of eastern North America during the era preceding

the Revolution without carefully considering Iroquois participation in the most important events of the time; and the basis of the Northwest Ordinances of 1784-87 was the treaty made at Fort Stanwix between the United States and the Iroquois in 1784.

Though the Iroquois League fragmented during the American Revolution and its people are now scattered on Canadian and American reservations, and individually as far as Hawaii, their history after the Revolution became inextricably part of the history of the Great Lakes region and of the vast intersocietal trade that moved westward across the continent. Defying dogmas of the vanishing Indian, more Iroquois are now alive than were previously recorded at any one time.

The major problem in studying Iroquois participation in North American history has been the scattered and unreliable condition of the source materials. A large number were virtually inaccessible. Most have never been validated by critical examination for omissions, variance between copies, or other contradiction by other contemporary documents. In national and state archives, Iroquois treaties are submerged in the general material, their arrangement and cataloging ill-suited to the study of indigenous peoples; and indexes are at best inadequate, often erroneous and misleading. There is continuing attrition of source manuscripts, identifiable by later references to documents that no longer can be found.

Now, however, most of the problems of access have been solved by the archive presented herein; and comparison of documents has been facilitated. The documents included were compiled by a project begun in September 1978 at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library. Funded for three years by the Research Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and staffed by a historian and three anthropologists with the assistance of many temporary aides, the project initially aimed at compiling less than 3,000 texts, but even the specialists had badly underestimated Iroquois diplomatic activity and

its involvements. The documents piled up to three times the original estimate, and the project's actual duration extended past its formal closing for three more years. It has been completed nevertheless, largely owing to the dedicated support of the Newberry Library and donation of labor by the staff. Many generous contributions by individuals and institutions are acknowledged below.

Project staff made no effort to collect original source documents. Instead, it copied them by microphotography or xerography and made paper copies of all documents to be filed in an archive at the Newberry. This publication reproduces that archive. It is open to addition as new documents come to light, and students are solicited to send information about such new documents to the Newberry. The archive's calendar is available on a computer printout at the Newberry, and a card index of names and subjects refers to about one-sixth of the documents on file. Access may be had by qualified students. An indexed document is noted as such by a degree sign after the date of the document on the headnote to the document and in the calendar. Regrettably the index could not be completed because of lack of funds, but it is useful in combination with the calendar. Both are printed in the guide that accompanies this film. A reader may wish to scan the calendar for context before concentrating on particular documents. Calendar and index, especially when used together, are finding aids for the location of particular documents and sets of related documents.

ABOUT THE TEXTS

What They Are

The documents presented here include the minutes of treaty conferences, the agreements resulting from formal meetings, and a broad range of background materials useful for interpreting motives, procedures, and effects. The editors' basic standard for selection was relevance to the diplomatic history of Iroquois nations or their league. Other parties involved in the negotiations are also included.

Most of the documents are manuscript or printed texts arranged in chronological order. Often it has been possible to compile copies of the same text from different sources, and sometimes these are variant, sometimes significantly so. All copies are included. Texts in languages other than English are presented but only rarely translated.

Photographs of wampum belts are also included as representing Indian records of negotiations. In almost all instances, it has not been possible to identify a particular belt with a specific written record, and the editors have concluded regretfully that the belts cannot be deciphered by a general code. Nevertheless certain conventional patterns have been observed, so the belts are grouped according to emblematic content, following the last written text at the end of the microfilm publication.

The documents span a period from the earliest surviving sixteenth century texts through the year 1842.

How They Were Copied

The editors depended on many archives and repositories for exact xerographic copies of original documents in their possession. Their valuable cooperation was unstinted, but the variety of their facilities for copying prevented the adoption of a uniform reduction ratio. Therefore, although the final microfilming at Research

Publications was done at a constant reduction ratio, there is no constant relation between the relative size of documents on our film and the actual dimensions of the originals.

The integrity of the documents was the editors' foremost concern. No document has been altered. Very few extractions were made and they are noted in every case. No marks were made by us on copies received except, in some cases, for bold editorial lines with arrows, to denote the beginning and end of a document. Such indications were also used to note overlapping when a large page had to be copied in sections.

The editors aimed at comprehensiveness. This objective required inclusion of some texts so mutilated or faint in the original as to be minimally legible. These are given nevertheless for whatever information can be extracted from them. Some are more legible in the technically enhanced copies than in the originals.

As in all publications, the originals remain the ultimate source to be consulted when issues of textual validity arise. The location of every document is given in a headnote.

How They Are Presented

Each entry consists of a headnote with the document's date, a brief description, and the source, followed by the document itself. In a few cases a translation or annotation will follow the document.

Each headnote description reflects the perspective of the document rather than editorial comment about it. As descriptions were often taken from catalogs or notations of source repositories, spelling of names is not standardized. Editorial remarks, if present, appear in parentheses or annotations.

Bracketed dates have been assigned by the editors. Single documents are given with the date when written regardless of the time referred to in their contents. This has been done because documents are products of the time and circumstances when written, and these may seriously affect interpretation of the contents. To

preserve textual integrity, some texts have been included as found in collections of documents spanning a period of time which is so dated: e.g., 1645-Sept 1654. Multiple copies of the same document, same date, are distinguished as Document I, Document II, etc., and filed in sequence under their common date.

If a document is dated more than one year from the date of the treaty to which it pertains, it is cross-referenced under the treaty date. Because of the prolonged nature of many treaty negotiations, users should scan the compilation's calendar to find appropriate documents within a year of any event of interest. Although cross-references refer to specific documents, distinguished by Roman numerals in cases in which there is more than one document of the same date, references to other documents in editorial remarks within descriptions of a particular document do not make use of Roman numerals to distinguish between documents of the same date. In these cases, all documents of the date cited should be checked for the reference.

The editors have not tried to reconcile or adjust dates in the Old Style Julian calendar used by the English for many years after the French and Dutch had changed over to the New Style Gregorian calendar. Dates are given herein as they appear on the documents. When the English finally changed over, they often gave both new and old dates on the same text; in such instances the editors opted for the New Style annotation.

The project staff has compiled and edited a printed reference manual to assist in interpreting the texts, and we urge that it be kept handy during research. It is The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984). It is a volume for quick and easy reference, self-contained but especially useful in conjunction with this compilation of documents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This archive could not have been compiled without the generous contributions of counsel and materials from many persons and agencies. No one is intentionally left out of the following list. Pardon is asked for any inadvertent omission.

Indian people: Early in the project, Richard Powless and Paul Williams of the Union of Ontario Indians provided a list of treaty documents. Seven persons from the Union of Ontario Indians visited the project from 23rd to 29th June 1979 and offered comments and suggestions. Phil Monture, Land Researcher at Six Nations Reserve shared knowledge of locations of source materials. George Abrams, Director of the Seneca Iroquois National Museum on the Allegany Seneca Reservation, and Ramona Charles, Librarian at the Community House on the Tonawanda Seneca Reservation, provided information about the location of materials. Tribal historians from different political persuasions on fellowship at the Center discussed the project with staff members during their residence: Norbert Hill and Sandra Orie came from the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin, and Douglas George, recommended by the "traditional" Mohawk Nation, came from the St. Regis (Akwesasne) Reservation. Everett White, born and raised at St. Regis (Akwesasne), provided valuable information about documents based on his former experiences as an Indian Health Service employee and his personal interest in the history of his people. Most important information and advice were given on a visit by Cayuga Chief Jacob E. Thomas who represents the Cayuga nation in the Grand Council of the Houdenosaunee and teaches in Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. On 22nd May 1980, Chief Thomas made a joint presentation with Dr. Michael K. Foster, Iroquoian Ethnologist of the Canadian National Museum of Man. At a colloquium at the Newberry, they showed slides and facsimile artifacts and explained symbols in terms of Iroquois custom. Through the following day, Chief Thomas held nonstop conversation with project staff who took extensive notes and taped his analyses of certain wampum belts. He continued

in correspondence afterward. Informal visitors to the project included Charles Patton and Tyler Hemlock, Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) Mohawks; and Alice Armstrong and Helen Laughing, Mohawks employed in the Demographic Office, Mohawk Tribal Offices, St. Regis Reservation.

When Associate Director Mary A. Druke traveled to Indian communities, she was received hospitably everywhere. Indians of Onondaga, including Oren Lyons, Irving Powless, Jr., and Irving Powless, Sr., though unsympathetic to the project, received her graciously and explained their attitudes. Information about documentary material and oral traditions were provided to her by residents of the following Indian communities: Allegany; Cattaraugus; Caughnawaga (Kahnawake), Onondaga, St. Regis (Akwesasne), Six Nations Reserve; Tonawanda; and Tuscarora.

Project Aides:

Consultants. Charles Gehring, of the New York State Library, Manuscripts, provided notes on Dutch manuscripts in the Livingston Family Papers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Paul Stevens, a Fellow at the McNickle Center, compiled and annotated source documents of the era of the American Revolution. Another McNickle Center Fellow, Professor Richard Haan, contributed copies of odd documents he had been collecting for ten years. Mary Ann Mayes searched William N. Fenton's files and compiled a list of cited Iroquois documents. Lieutenant Commander C. McD. Stuart, RN, searched uncalendared treaty texts at the Public Record Office of Great Britain and arranged for transmission of copies. Paul Grey, graduate student at the University of London, acted as liaison between the project staff and the Public Record Office in acquiring documents ordered by the staff. Professional indexer Elin Christianson advised on indexing procedures. Major F.E.G. Bageshawe, of Matlock, England, provided photographs of a wampum belt in private hands.

Office employees at various times included Nancy Kovitz; Peter Radke; Polly Strong, University of Chicago graduate student; Andrew Tobin, Bennington College student; Karli Erica White. Wesley Andrews arranged much of the final organization

of the archive files. The project was also helped by several students enrolled in undergraduate independent study seminars of the Association of the Colleges of the Midwest and the Great Lakes Colleges Association, whose wages were paid by the associations and the Newberry. David L. Ghere accomplished "last minute" tasks.

Volunteers included Claudette Alm; Jeanette Campanella; Lucy Caples; Herbert Furse; Ted Knutson; Nancy Kovitz; Dorothy Markowitz; Virginia Meyers; Noel O'Reilly; Mary Louise Ramsey; Mrs. Gerald Sivage. They sorted and identified the masses of documents arriving in the mails, and put them in order for editors' review.

Newberry Library staff. Special interest was maintained and special help provided by John Aubrey, Michael Kaplan, Steve Mandel, Terry Sullivan, and Michelene Fixico; and much gratitude is owed for the patience of Richard H. Brown.

Advice and information were exchanged with colleagues of the Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History project: Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Adele Hast, and Jacqueline Peterson. The members of the Conference on Iroquois Research and the American Society for Ethnohistory devoted three successive panel sessions to the project at annual meetings.

Institutions:

Special gratitude is owed to the Public Archives of Canada for its gift of copies of treaties and surrenders in its possession. Thanks must also be expressed to the Rochester [N.Y.] Museum and Science Center for its donation of photographs of its large collection of wampum belts. The University of Chicago made copyflo paper copies of microfilm at a minimal cost far below commercial prices. Research Publications sent a photographer without charge to film documents located at the Albany Institute of History and Art and at the New York State Archives in Albany. Work on the project was greatly facilitated by materials collected in research travel previous to the project and incorporated into project files. The American Philosophical Society made such research fellowship grants to Director Jennings

and Associate Director Druke. Through such generous contributions, as well as time and energy given by individuals, the project managed to stay within its budget despite its massive increase in size. When the project could not be finished within its allotted three years, the Newberry Library financed it to completion.

Thanks are due to each repository, publication, or individual source of materials listed below which made available copies of materials in its collections. together they have made this publication possible.

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Copy

Explication des articles que deux 296
Messrs Commissaires du Roy
ont proposés à Longueuil aux Députés
des cinq nations et accordé entre eux à
Albanie le 8 février 1684

Le 1er article dit que les Commissaires proposent des cinq nations
qu'ils iront par devers eux au printemps comme ils ont fait
l'an dernier par le dernier message comme aussi pareillement
que le gouverneur de cette province fait appeller tous les
Sauvages qu'ils trouveront dans le pays et qui ont fait
paix avec les cinq nations une conclusion entre eux

Le 2e article dit que les Anglois et les Français sont obligés
chacun à proposer aux cinq nations qu'ils peuvent venir dans leurs
terres et villages leur donner le chemin pour y aller et venir
en toute seureté

Le 3e article est pour faire savoir que les cinq nations comme
aussi leurs alliés livreront leur haute de guerre depuis
avril prochain qu'ils viendront dans quarante jours
mais à cette condition que durant ce temps les Anglois
et les Français livreront aussi leur haute de guerre

/ Translation
d. Iroquois. /

Mass Archives 30/296.

Explanation of the three belts / wampums / presented by the two Iroquois envoys to the Recollets & Catholic Indians of Canada, according to the agreement between the agents of the Five Nations made at Albany this 8th Feb. 1684.

The 1st belt signifies that the agents of the Five Nations, cannot visit Canada in the Spring, as they announced through their last messengers Dommontagne, sent by Corlaer or the Governor of this Province, has announced all the Iroquois to meet him at Albany in the month of April, the Five Nations wishing to be present at that time.

The 2nd belt intimates that if the Recollets & Frenchmen have proposals to make to the Five Nations they shall have free access to their lands: this belt will open to them a way of ingress and egress.

The 3rd belt implies that the Five Nations and their allies will desist from warfare / lay aside the Hatchet / pending a reply, which they will await forty days in condition that the Recollets and the French shall do the same, desist also from hostilities.

2

Copy

Reponse Donnée aux Colliers a leur
proposition par les cinq nations iroquoises

Premier Collier

Vous avez eu raison frères nous, ce vous aviez consi-
derable des cinq nations iroquoises qui sauroient de
venir ne pas / leur assurance que j'avois vous a donné
de ma part dans entière sureté, pourveu que vous vinsiez
dans la soumission et dans le dispositif que des Enfans
doivent avoir quand ils ont commis des fautes contre
leur pere aussi grandes que celle que vous aviez faites,
Il me plait de voir par que vous m'avez dit que vous
avez [illegible] ces sentimens, ce que vous souhaitez une paix
sincere en marque de la part des cinq nations
iroquoises, et des longs voir alliés, que vous avez abandon-
né les sentimens de vengeance que vous pouviez avoir
pour les pertes de vos parens qui ont été tués
tant par mes sujets que par mes alliés, et de
conserver auf que vous voyez entre
Je vous pardonne de mon coté doublier aussi de votre
ce pour vous mieux faire juger de mes sentimens, je
veux bien suspendre ma hache qui étoit prête pour
a couper, et couvrir les parties qui étoient en
marche, pour aller en guerre contre vous, et en différant
cependant Jamais dessein plus considerable que celui

Celie

Je viens à votre priere

Suite du 2e Cahier

294

[illegible] 197

4e Cahier

[illegible]

5e Cahier

[illegible]

Lettre de Mr Collier

dans le fort Frontenac et aux environs de que vous souhaitez
que j'y replante ce bel arbre a l'ombre duquel vous fumez
quelquefois si paisiblement et que Son Excellence de votre chef
pour vous temoigner combien cela me sera agreable je vous assure par ce
collier que je travaillerai autant de mon esprit au glorieux et doux
employ que vous venez de me confier et je tacherai de m'en acquitter
de sorte que vous ne serez plus capable de les branler

Collier

J'approuve la parole que vous avez donné aux Sauvages de Lac et
de la montagne et je vous y engage vous pouvez
mon esprit et vous en assurant, j'ai aussi entendu que
vous avez fait signifier que vous ne vouliez point changer le
Lac et ses environs les leurs de Lorgueille et d'Onnontio
a la place de monsieur le Marquis leur pere d'avoir la bonté
j'ay quelque chose à vous faire savoir de votre part
l'un des deux derniers puisque vous m'assurez que le reste sera
que vous aurez confirmé en eux et que vous aberont le souhaitez

Collier

Comme vous m'avez donné un collier pour me servir de rempart
oreille et pour me faire ouvrir tout ce que j'ai à vous dire,
Sur le champ je vous donne aussi ce dernier collier pour vous dire
de votre part tout ce que les Anglois et Flamans vous ont
vous instruire pour vous de traverser les bons desseins que les
qu'ils vous ont donné et vous obliger par là à perdre les bonnes
Et cependant donc je vous donne tant de marques
à quelle je vous ay [illegible]

292a

Mass. Archives. 3/292. / Translation. / S. Rigaud. 91

Reply of Onnontio to the Collect presented to him by the Deputies of the Five Nations:-

1st Collect. You are right Legislators, and you, members of the Five Nations who accompany him, in coming to consult with me touching the assurances which Garacki has given you, especially since on my part, I provided you some with subsistence and the repentance due to a father from children committing offences such as yours. I rejoice to see you Iroquois you have manifested these sentiments and earnestly desire peace, declaring to me, in the part of the Iroquois and the Loups their allies, that you have broken all feelings of resentment which you might entertain, considering those of your tribe who have been slain, by my neighbours as well as by my allies, and you desire to prevent the renewal of past woes. On my part I promise to forget the past, and that you may be better assured of my good will, I am ready to abandon all thoughts of war, I lay down the hatchet about to fall, I detaining the parties on the point of marching upon you, and I leaving other more important plans in hand.

2nd Collect.

To arrive at the peace which you propose to desire and which I shall remember upon me as well as upon the Savage tribes of Onondaga, my allies, I desire that Father Millet or some other may visit you to release within 30 days from your departure from Montreal, all the prisoners in your villages whether men, women or children, French as well as Indians, dwelling among us and all the tribes of Onondaga our allies, whose welfare is no less dear to us than our own. These without exception, to return me that you heartily wish that the sun above our heads may dissipate some cloud which obscures this day of peace desired by you. I giving you my word that upon examination of the prisoners, if any wish to return to you I will grant them full liberty to do, promising also to deliver to you all your prisoners opening the door of every cabin in which they are detained that they may return to you.

3d Collat.

I wish further to testify in advance to the sincerity of my present towards You by saying that You should never have regarded Mr. Stuart as a prisoner: he may return as You desire delivering to You also the two prisoners he took as the two women taken during our late raid: but I demand in return that you leave Mr Rocheyes with me, to satisfy the tribes of Mr Stuart that the proposals you have just made to me are sincere, the more easily to decide them from war, wishing them to witness personally the results of the proposal entering upon, which, within the stipulated time, that they may have no occasion to reproach me with having too rashly made the present concessions.

4th Collat.

In reply to what you have said my children, concerning the Shamanks or English I assure You in this collat that the war I am engaging with them has no connection with that I am carrying on against You: these are entirely different matters. If, nevertheless they wish to make proposals to me you may assure them on my part that they will have the same liberty to come and go which I have conceded to You, provided it is within the agreed eighty days and the Envoys sent by them be fully authorized by their Chiefs. But if they desire to entrust You with any commission do not accept it, for I shall turn a deaf ear to all you say in their behalf.

5th Collat.

I am pleased to know by what You have told me that all your tribes and allies are anxious to atone for the blood shed on either side at St Frontenac & Remisky and that You desire to implant it with the Kanhisiohon tree beneath whose shade you formerly smoked the pipe of peace and where you dwelt in tranquillity. To prove how acceptable this is to me I assure You by this collat that on my part I shall I shall labor unceasingly to the end that the work may become firmly established so that nothing shall avail to destroy them.

f

Mass. Archives 30/293 cont.d 9.

6th Collo.

I approve your address to the Indians of Canada and those living among the Iroquois: they will reply when you send to Montreal upon your return from here. I am also much pleased with your announcement that you continue to adopt M.r Le Bart. and his nephew M.r de Longueuille and M.r Demetrigoire in place of M.r Moriau their father. If in the course I shall have anything to communicate to you, I shall gladly entrust it to these latter, they being, as you allege me, persons of entire confidence and acceptable to your tribe.

7th Collo.

Since you have favoured me with a pellet to heal a wound as a cordial relieving me of my ill, I send you this last letter that it may serve you for an antidote to all that the English and Iroquois do to insinuate in order to undermine the good will you evidently bear towards me, and telling me to abandon the feelings of friendship and regard so many proofs of which I have already given.

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

* * * * * * * * * * * *

An amdassador from the Senecas arrived here at the time I received the news of their attack. He manifests every kind disposition at the moment those people destroy us. This obliged me to secure his person and suite without his being aware of it as yet, treating him in other respects very well, in order to try and be able to withdraw, by means of him, the Rev[d] Jesuit Fathers, who are in great peril in the Iroquois Missions. I have had no negotiation with him as yet, so as to gain time to be able to have troops and provisions conveyed to Fort Frontenac for its security above all things.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Were his Majesty to please to write to M. Barillon, that he may obtain an order from the King of England, prohibiting Colonel Dunkuen to assist, with arms and ammunition, the Iroquois who attack us, I believe it would be of very great utility in this war. He has written me a very civil general letter, and I have sent a man expressly to compliment him, him, and to ask of him the same thing which he doubtless would grant me if he had an express order on this subject from the King his Master,

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,

Quebec, the 5th June, 1684. (signed) Le Febur de la Barre.

V

Reverend Father de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

My Lord,

I come at the beginning of the year to renew to you my respects, and to testify to you the joy I feel that your arrival in Canada has averted the scourge of war from the Colony. The three Burgomasters who visited you have acted here agreeably to your intentions. They again held, eight days since, great Councils with the Captains and warriors, at which they have resolved to give you satisfaction on the proposals you made them; they say they must not contravene the orders of their father, who has spoken to them so authoritatively and with so many proofs of benevolence, and who has uttered no menace or angry expression.

The man named Garanontié has spoken by a Wampum belt to the Chief of the warriors, and has turned the musket towards the Chaouennons. Our father Onontio, he said, merits obedience; he desires that his allies should not be hereafter insulted. He told me that if you wished to protect the Oumiamis, they will be enumerated among your allies, and that there is a strong disposition to satisfy you. Presents conjoined with kindness and courtesy are arms which the Iroquois scarcely ever resist; on the other hand, threats or even war would have been equally fatal to the Colony. You know better than I that a few bandits in Italy have disabled troops six times more numerous than theirs, and that the Burgundy dairymen formerly gave considerable trouble to the Prince. Soldiers who would prove good in the centre of a plain would be thrown into disorder in such forests as these here, and besides that, the Iroquois, daring and well armed, and who makes war like a thief, would have inflicted

considerable injury on the French. The prudence of a Chief goes hand in hand with his valor and intrepidity. The country is indebted to your prudence for its preservation; a premature war would have indubitably reduced it to extremities.

Sieur de la grand Guele, who has been entirely won over by your liberality and the kind bearing with which you received him, is become your creature. He appears to be your man of business with Garakontie. He panegyrized you a few days ago when addressing the warriors, and exhorted the one and the other to act in a friendly manner to all your allies whom they will meet in the hunting grounds to which they are about to proceed; to assemble here again in the spring, and to form a numerous war party, the chief of which is called Hannatakta, to whom I gave a present in your name. He it was who last year opposed the Cayugas and Senecas, in order to keep the promise he caused to be made to you that he should not go to war that year against the Illinois and Oumiamis, which he faithfully observed. I say that he will possibly go to Montreal to pay his respects to you, and to observe nigher than here what sort of a man you are *(comme vous avez l'esprit fait)*. (These are his words.)

As Sieur de la grande Gueule says he will go to see you this summer to speak of divers matters in answer to the message you entrusted to him, and particularly about the affair of the armorer, I have not inquired of him, for you, what he desired this year, which is the first of the pension you are so good as to allow him.

The man named Oreouahé, of Cayuga, told me also he intended to visit you at Montreal. It is he who made Father de Carheil[1] to withdraw from Cayuga, and who treacherously brought the six Tionnontatés there. He is exceedingly proud. Sorrennoa and he are the two greatest Chiefs in Cayuga. It is of this Oreouahé that the English of Albany (formerly Orange) made use to prevent Sieur Penn purchasing the land of the Andastogués,[2] who were conquered by the Iroquois and the English of Maryland.

I believe he will be better pleased with you than with the English, after he shall have the honor of an interview with you. I told him that if he should wish to see Father de Carheil again where he was going to, you will send for him to Montreal. He has great influence among the Cayugas; has conceived profound esteem for you as a great Captain, which he also piques himself to be. Your dexterity and experience in winning over all those various characters will attach him to you, as I believe, most intimately, and he will be convinced that

[1] Reverend Etienne de Carheil arrived at Quebec on the 6th of August, 1666; went in 1667 to Onondaga, whence he removed, in November of the following year, to Cayuga; he left that place in 1671 on account of sickness, but on recovering his health returned thither. The obduracy of this tribe rendered his situation here particularly discouraging, and he was obliged to leave altogether, as above related. He was at Detroit in 1687 or 8. In 1690, we find him at Michilimakinac, where he gave information to the authorities of Canada, of some secret negotiations between the Ottawas and Senecas, for which see his letter in Charlevoix' *Histoire Nouvelle France*, I., 568. He it was who converted to Christianity the great Huron Chief Kondiaront, or the *Rat*, who used to say that there were but two men of talent in Canada — Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. He spent sixty years on the mission, and spoke the Huron and Iroquois languages with as much ease as French. Though the Indians looked up to him with great respect, his labors as a missionary were not crowned with all the success he desired. He resided at Quebec in 1721, where he died, in July, 1726.

[2] This tribe, called also Andastés by the French, occupied the Upper part of the Susquehanna river, from seven to ten days' journey from Western New-York. *New-York Documentary History*, I., 393. The precise date of the subjugation of the Susquehannas by the Five Nations is still undetermined. Mr. Gallatin thinks it occurred between 1664 and 1680. In *Deed Book*, VI., 28, in Secretary's office, Albany, is a Commission to Col. Coursey, from the Governor of Maryland, dated 30th April, 1677, in which it is stated that "the said Susquehannos have *lately* desired to come to a Treaty of Peace with his said Lordship [Baltimore], and have (as I am informed) Since ye said Overture submitted themselves to, and putt themselves under the prottection of the Cinnigos [Senecas] or some other natyon of Indyans residing to ye Northward of this Province." It would hence appear that their conquest occurred about 1676. — Ed.

the Onontio of Canada is quite a different thing from the Burgomasters of Orange, whose civilities in his regard are the never-ending subject of his praise.

It is reported that the chiefs of Mohawk having been to visit the Governor of New England, he has exhorted them not to kill nor burn people any more, and to become Christians; and on their asking him to continue the sale of powder to them, that he replied, it should be continued so long as they would not wage war against Christians.

An Iroquois of the village where I reside killed another Englishman at the end of Autumn, towards Virginia. Six or seven houses were pillaged at the same time by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondages and Cayugas. The English of New York, with whom they trade, dare not even censure them for the many insults they repeatedly inflict on their brethren; so much so that the Iroquois are astonished at it. The apprehension of losing the trade, for some years, has condemned them to a cowardly silence.

Next summer the Governor of New York is, as 'tis reported, to come to Mohawk, and to speak there to the Iroquois. We'll see what he'll say. He has sent a ragged ship's flag to the Mohawks, to be hoisted there. These are the armorial bearings of England. That flag is still in the public chest of the Mohawks; I know not when it will see the light.

I pray God, My Lord, long to preserve your person, and to heap his blessings on it. I am always with profound submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

February 10th, 1684. JEAN DE LAMBERVILLE.

The most influential Captains here, who decide affairs of war with the Ancients, had intended to go and pay you their respects, and to agree with you on the boundaries of the territory of your allies; but as you named only two of them to me, and they apprehended that the jealousy of some who might not have been invited would excite murmurs against them, they have postponed until next year the deliberation on this matter. 'Tis certain that the Iroquois are extremely sensitive to any mark of esteem and friendship evinced towards them, and any little underhand present is to them a preservative against all the bad impressions sought to be made on them.

1684.

Canada.

Clergé

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Puisque lesieur de la grande gueule dit
qu'il ira cet esté vous voir pour parler
de diverses affaires, pour répondre aux paroles
qui vont l'auer chargé, et particuliérement
pour l'affaire du Taillandier, je ne luy ais
point demandé de vostre part ce qu'il sou-
haittoit cette année qui est la première de la
pension que vous luy faites la grace de luy
donner.

Le nommé orcoüaké de Goiogoüen
m'a dit aussi qu'il vouloit venir saluer a mont-
real c'est luy qui a fait retirer le Sere de
Carheil, et qui a Lmmené par fourbe les
Tionnontatés a goiogoüen. il est extrême-
ment fier. Sorennóa et luy sont les deux
plus considerables capitaines de goiogoüen.
c'est de cet oréoüaké que les anglois
d'Albanie (autrement orange) se sont seruis
pour empescher Lesieur Lenn d'ache-
ter La terre des andastogués qui ont
esté defaits par les Iroquois, et par les anglois
de merinlande. Je croy qu'il se loüera encor plus
de vous que des anglois apres qu'il aura eu

Des Iroquois d'Onnontagué ce 10 fevrier 1684

Monseigneur

MARINE ET COLONIES
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Je viens au commencement de l'année vous renouveller mes respects, et vous temoigner la joye que j'ai que votre arrivée en Canada ayt detourné le fleau de la guerre de la Colonie. Les trois Bourguemestres qui vous ont esté trouver, ont agi icy conformement a vos intentions. ils ont encor tenu depuis 8 jours de grands conseils avec les Capitaines et les soldats assemblés, ou ils ont conclu a vous satisfaire sur les propositions que vous leur avez faites, disant qu'il ne falloit pas contrevenir aux ordres de leur Pere qui leur a parlé avec tant d'autorité, et de

trations de bienveillance, et qui n'a fait sortir de sa bouche nulle menace, ni parole de colere.

le nommé Garakontié a parlé par vn collier de pourcelaine aux chefs des soldats, et a tourné le fusil du costé des Chaüennons, notre pere Onnontio a til dit merite qu'on lui obeisse il ne veut point qu'on insulte doresnauant ses alliés. il m'a dit que si vous vouliez proteger les onnionis, ils seront au nombre de vos alliés, et qu'on est fort disposé a vous contenter. les presens joints a la douceur et a l'accortise, sont les armes dont le l'Iroquois ne se defend presque point. au lieu que des menaces, ou mesme la guerre auroient egalement esté fatales a la Colonie. vous sçauez mieux que moy que feu de bandis en Italie, ont mis des troupes fix fois plus nombreuses que les leur, et que les beurriers de bourgogne ont bien donné de la peine autrefois a monsieur le Prince. de bons soldats au milieu de la plaine seroient deconcertés dans ces bois et l'Iroquois d'ailleurs hardi et bien armé, et qui fait la guerre en voleur, auroit fait bien des maux aux françois. la prudence d'vn Chef va de pair auec la valeur et son Intrepidité. le païs doit a vostre prudence la conseruation, vne guer-

prématurée L'auroit indubitablement mise
a L'extremité.

Le sieur delagrande Gueule, que votre
Liberalité et le bon air dont vous l'auez reçû,
ont gaigne
est entierement devenu vostre Creature. Il
semble que cesoit vostre homme d'affaire
auec garat entiè. Il fit encor ces Jours —
passés vostre Panegyrique en parlant aux
Soldats, et l'vn et l'autre ont exhorté a faire
des amitiés atous vos alliés qu'ils trouueront
dant les lieux de Chasse ou ils seront répan-
dre, pour se rassembler icy le printemps, et
faire vngrand parti de guerre dont le nommé
hannatakta a qui Jay fait vn present de —
vostre part, est le Chef. c'est celui qui se-
roidit l'an passé contre tous les goiogoiens
et les sonnontoüans pour tenir la parole qu'il
vous auoit fait donner qu'il n'iroit point a la
guerre du Costé des Illinois et des ouniianis —
comme la fait ci deuant
cette année la. Il dit qu'il pourra bien
vous aller saluer a montreal, et voir de plus
prés que d'icy comme vous auez l'esprit fait
(ce sont ses mots).

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Le P. Lamberville
Onnd 4 fev. 1694

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MARINE ET COLONIES
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+

que si il desiroit revoir Le Père de Carheil ou
il allast vous Le redemandera montreal. —
Il a grand credit chez les goiogoüens il a conçû
beaucoup d'estime de vous en qualité de grand Capi-
taine, ce qu'il s'epique aussi d'estre. Vostre —
dexterité, et vostre experience a gaigner tous
ces divers genies, vous l'attachera comme je croy
tout particulierement, et il sera comme une grace
L'annontio de Canada est tout autre chose que
Les bourgueneffres d'orange, dont il necesse point
de Loüer Les honnestetés a son Egard.

On dit que des Considerables d'agnié ayant esté
trouver monsr. Le Gouverneur de la nouvelle Angleterre
il les a exhortés a ne plus tuer ni bruler les hommes
et a se faire Chrestiens, et sur ce qu'ils luy ont parlé
de leur faire continuer La vente de la poudre, il leur a
repondu qu'on la leur continueroit tandis qu'ils ne
feroient pas la guerre a des Chrestiens.

Un Iroquois du bourg ou je suis tua encor un —
anglois vers La virginie sur La fin de l'automne
hiver ou 7 maisons furent esgorgés en mesme temps

par Les agniés, onneiouts, onontaguez
et goiogoüens. Les anglois dela nouuelle-
york chez qui ils vont faire leur traite-
n'osent pas seulement leur reprocher tant d'insul-
tes reiterées qu'ils font a leurs freres, Jusquela-
que les Iroquois s'en etonnent. L'apreheision de
perdre la traite pendant quelques annees les con-
damnés a vn Lache silence.

L'esté prochain M.r Le gouuerneur dela nouuelle
york doit, dit on, venir a agnié et y parler aux
Iroquois. nous verrons ce qu'il dira. Il a-
enuoyé vn mechant pauillon de nauire a agnié
pour y planter, ce sont les armoiries d'angleterre.
ce pauillon est encor dans la cassette d'affaires des
agniés, Je ne sçai pas quand il verra le Jour. —

Je prie Dieu, Monseigneur, qu'il nous-
conserue Longtemps vostre personne et qu'il la
comble de ses benedictions. Je suis toujours —
auec vne profonde soumission

— Monseigneur

— Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant e
serviteur — De lamberville —

Les plus considerables Capitaines d'icy qui sont les maîtres des affaires de la guerre avec les anciens avoient eu la pensée de vous aller saluer, et de faire avec vous sur les Limites du pais de vos alliés ; mais comme vous ne m'en avez fait nommer que deux, et qu'ils ont apprehendé que la jalousie de quelques uns, qui n'auroient pas esté apellés ne fist murmurer contre eux, ils ont remis a l'année prochaine a deliberer sur cette affaire. Il est certain que les Iroquois se gagnent extremement par quelque marque d'estime et d'amitié qu'on leur fait, et quelque petit present donné sert leur est comme une medecine preservative contre tous les mauvais sentimens qu'on leur voudroit inspirer.

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

10 avril 1684

à Sonnontoüan ce 13e Aprisl 1684

C Monseigneur

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MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

(11)

Les Sauvages et sur tous, celuyci, se sont si fort gaigné par les bontés qu'il nous plent luy faire L'été passé qu'il n'obmet rien de cequ'il peut pour porter tous les autres a suivre Les ordres que nous leur auez signifiés. C'est pour ce respect qu'il a fait consentir tout le monde a ne point aller en guerre ny contre les outaoüacs ny vostre mesme contre les miamis. Il en estoit parti 60 contre ces derniers devant qu'il fut de retour, ainsy Il ne les peut pas arreter. Il va maintenant pour nous asseurer delapart de toutte sa nation que comme ils n'ont Jamais eu de guerre auec le françois Ils desirent n'en iamais auoir. et ainsy apres nous auoir oté tout soupçon de la sincerité de Leurs Intentions, ils veulent donner vos un Gouuage qui nous porte la douceur au Coeur, aux yeux et a la parolle. Ils vous veulent en suite

prier de mettre bas Ht pensé Deleur faire jamais la guerre ; pour cet effet ils veulent faire auec nous la mesme convention qui est entre les nations Iroquoises, sçauoir que quelque — accident qui arrive entre les particuliers, les chefs se sont accordés de pacifier le tout a l'amiable ; — En suitte Ils nous veulent prier de les traitter comme ils font les goiogöens et les Onnei oüits qui sont leurs enfants, auxquels ils ne parlent jamais par menaces, ils nous prient aussi de leur signifier nos — volontés promettant d'y obeir, mais sans ajouter de menaces, ils nous veulent arracher la verge, car disent ils s'ils nous frappe. nous ne serons plus — maistre de la Jeunesse. Ils ont fait cet hyuer — vn grand amas de colliers de porcel. qu'ils iront porter par toute. leur cabane pour se tenir — tousjours bien unis ensemble, Ils ont voulu — lancer par nous. on retient toute la Jeunesse — tout cet eté dans les villages pour faire vne — grande armeé l'automne qui ne doit pas aller — du coté de nos allies si le n'etoit qu'eux memes les viuent attaquer et molester beaucoup iey pendant L'eté. ne pouuant dire autrechose — pour le present ie demeure dans tout le — respect possible

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Monseigneur

Vostre tres humble et tres
obeissant seruiteur en J.C.
Julien Garnier de la compie de
Jesus

rant was issued to the constables to carry out the said resolution, the same is kept in force. But whereas we are informed that the farthest house is being removed first and the nearest one on the hill remains standing, which will cause great inconvenience, and whereas we have taken into consideration the humble petition of Robert Sanders and some others that the little house ordered on the hill may be built first and the building of the other be stopped until the arrival of the governor or of Capt. Baxter, we hereby, in the name of his Royal Highness, expressly order that the little Indian house staked out on the hill shall be erected, built and completed first and that the further erection [545] and building of the other house be stopped until the first house is completed. All of which the constables are immediately ordered to put into execution, both as to forbidding the erection of the farthest house and ordering the erection of the nearest house. Those who shall act contrary hereto will have to answer for it at their peril. Albany, May 14, 1684.

Was signed: Marte Gerritse

Extraordinary session held in Albany, May 19, 1684

Present:

M. Gerritse
Cor. van Dyck
J. J. Bleeker
Hend. van Ness

Their honors, having considered the letter of Capt. Baxter, dated April 25, 1684, regarding the Onondaga Indians, to divert them from their journey to Maryland, it is resolved to notify the aforesaid Indians as follows:

The governor general is informed that the Indians of Onondaga intend to make a journey to Maryland. His Excellency, therefore, has written us that we are to assure you on his part that his Excellency will take all possible care to entreat Lord Baltimore to let your affairs and those of the other nations succeed. We therefore advise the said Indians to postpone their

journey to Maryland until they [546] have spoken to the governor here, whom we expect.

N. B. R. Livingston is to deliver a belt of wampum for the Onondagas.

Albany, May 22, 1684, this message was entrusted to a Seneca Indian called Tojenjago and was translated by Robert Sanders at the house of Jan Bleeker, in the presence of Cor. van Dyk, and a belt of wampum of fl.33 in seawan was given him to deliver to the Onondagas, which he agreed to do.

Extraordinary session held in Albany, May 26, 1684

Present:

M. Gerritse
C. van Dyk
J. Provoost
J. Bleker
P. Winne
H. van Ness

The court have thought fit to divide the town of Albany and the colony of Renselaerswyk and other outlying places into six wards, to wit, four wards within the town and two without, and that from each ward a person shall be chosen by the inhabitants residing within the said ward, who are to represent the commonalty and to act for and on behalf of the commonalty.

1 The first ward: From the gate near the court house eastward along the town fence to Sybrant van Schayk's house, and then westward up the Jonker street, on both sides, to the houses of Juffrouw Margriet Schuylers and Teunis vander Poel.

[547] 2 Again from Juff. Margriet Schuylers and Teunis vander Poel, up the hill, past the houses of Hendrik Cuyler and Joh. d'Wandelaer; thence along the hill and down Rom street, on both sides, ending with [the houses of] Luykas, the baker, and Robert Story.

3 From the Parrell Poort (Pearl gate), on both sides of the street, to Teunis van der Poel and Robert Livingston; thence

Compareerde voor ons [illegible] Heer Cornelis van Dyck Jonker vanden Hoeve van Hagerty van Albanien eene Schelvisse Crijchse vuilt genaemt Turnewaik, sich stellende voor alle andere Crijchse vuilde, die ytt Duijtsch te Pretenderen mochte hebben, d'welcke Sijlaede te Transport en overdraegen aen Gysbert uyt den Bogaert, een Schelvisse Parcele Boslants gelegen aen d'noortzijde van Catskil daer het tegenwoordigh op staet, strekkende van Bomtjes hoeck d'Rivier noortwaerts op tot een Killetje genaemt Stuck wolde in d'Rivier uyt Loopt, tegen vaetsel een Plant ouw, strekkende voorts noortwaerts Bovenaert in, tot het eerste Killetje daer in boven dit gepraeticeert, Lopende Langs haerselven tot dat Killetje in Catskill uytwatert, Mede voort Langs d'Catskille tot Bomtjes hoeck, welcke voornoemde Lant sij Cedeerders, alle Rechte Eygenaer daervan is Transporteerders en overdraegende aen Gysbert uyt d'Bogaert, sijne Erven ofte Naercomelingen voor Eijgh, sonder dat sij Cedeerders hier onder eenige Pretenderende sijn, ofte yemant van haere wegen te Pretenderen hebben, als Belovende dese voor vrije Lantsaten te Warrandeeren, ende te Stellen met een Lombert, een Bed, een Koe, een Bos, een Rijn Dorsch, Twee half vette Hoenderen, voor alle Consideratie by gedane Lant, Huijs ende erfenisse, d'welcke sij Cedeerders van gemelde Gysbert uyt d'Bogaert en desselfs Erven voor Eijgh, met dese expresse Conditien, dat sij Cedeerders, Colonie d'Plaets eenige gerechtigheijt, sullen hebben, maer alle Commercie, Negotie, Timmeringe, als Rechten, sullen sijn voor alle Ingesetenen, nemaer dat sij Cedeerders voor de Lants gerechtigheijt, sullen gehouden sijn, Huijs Huijs te Timmeren, ende te Stellen, ende Cedeerders sullen Gysbert uyt d'Bogaert, sijne Erven ofte Naercomelingen, voor alle Lasten, ende Lantsaten, te Warrande

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

July 10th 1684.

Sir,

A general Assembly of all the Iroquois will be held here, at which it is intended to unite against you, and to inform the Senecas that you wish to persuade the four Iroquois Nations not to aid them in case of war. I am surprised that M. le Moyne or some other persons have not told you that all these villages were confederated, and that one could not be attacked without becoming embroiled with the others.

Did affairs permit, I should have much wished to tell you my thoughts on a great many things. My brother will inform you of all when he will have the honor to see you. The Ontagues who have been spoken to, would like much to settle matters; this is the reason my brother goes to you, whilst I still keep them disposed to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid, if possible, an infinitude of evils which will overtake Canada; and as I know not whether you desire war without listening to proposals for peace, I wish to understand whether it is not fitter that I withdraw, if possible, rather than give occasion to the Iroquois to say that I deceived them, by propositions for peace. The Onontagues and other nations say that it grieves them to take up arms against you who are their neighbor, and who form almost one country with them.

They acknowledge that the Senecas are proud and insolent on account of their great number of warriors; but that if you desire to maintain peace by some satisfaction which they will induce the Senecas to make you, it will be very acceptable, so as not to be obliged to come to extremities that will be very disastrous. If war occur, Sir, all those who have houses apart from fortified places must at once abandon their dwellings, for the grain and the houses will be burned, and otherwise many will be brought away prisoners to be cruelly tortured and insulted. I always think that peace ought to be most precious to you, and that all the advantages that can be held out, ought to cause you to shrink from war. A delay in order to arrange every thing more leisurely, and after having received assistance from France, would extricate you from much embarrassment which will follow from all sides. Pardon me if I give free expression to my thoughts; you will not disapprove at least of the zeal with which I am, with much respect and submission,

Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
(Signed) De Lamberville.

FATHER LAMBERVILLE, MISSIONARY AT ONONDAGA, TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[Onondaga,] July 10, 1684.

Sir,—A general Assembly of all the Iroquois will be held here at which it is intended to unite against you, and to inform the Senecas that you wished to persuade the four Iroquois Nations not to aid them in case of war. I am surprised that M. Le Moyne or some other persons have not told you that all the villages were confederated, and that one could not be attacked without becoming embroiled with the others.

Did affairs permit, I should have much wished to tell you my thoughts on many things. My brother will inform you of all when he will have the honor to see you. The On [non] tagués who have been spoken to, would like much to settle matters; this is the reason my brother goes to you, whilst I still keep them disposed to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid if possible an infinitude of evils which will overtake Canada, and as I know not whether you desire war without listening to proposals for peace, I wish to understand whether it is not fitter that I withdraw, if possible, rather than give occasion to the Iroquois to say that I deceived them, by propositions for peace. The Onontagués and other nations say, that it grieves them to take up arms against you who are their neighbour, and who form almost one country with them.

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Your very humble and
Very Obedient Servant
(Signed) DeLamberville.

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2

Coppie des trois Lettres Escrites par le R. P. Lamberville
Laisné des 10, 11, et 18 juillet 1684. Chez leur
Montagne Le . . . . . f 534

. . . . . M.

M. sera tenue vne dieta gnale de tous les Iroquois, ou l'on se doit vnir Contre vous, et vacquiter aux Sonnontouans que vous auez voulu persuader aux 4. Nations Iroquois ou dont les par secourir en cas de guerre. Je m'estonne que Mr. le moyne ou quelque autre gens ne vous ont dit que toutes ces Bourgades estoient Confederées et qu'on ne pouuoit en attaquer vne sans se brouiller auec les autres. Si les affaires l'eussent pû permettre j'aurois bien souhaitté vous dire mes pensées sur le bien des Choses, monstrer vous informera de tout lors qu'il aura l'homme? de vous voir. Les Montagnes, aqui l'on s'est adressé voudroient bien vaccommoder les affaires, et pro cela que mon frere va vers vous, tandis que je tiens encore les Esprits en Etat de vous faire donner satisfaction, pro. Suiter s'il est possible vne Infinité de maux qui vont suruenir au Canada. Et Comme je ne sçay pas si vos. Voulez la guerre sans vouloir Ecouter de proposition de paix, je voudrois sçauoir s'il n'est pas plus a propos que je me retire s'il est possible, plustost que de donner occasion aux Iroquois de dire que je les trompe par des propositions de paix. Les Onontagues, et les autres Nations disent qu'il leur est fascheux de prendre les armes Contre vous qui estes leur voisin, lequel ne fait presque qu'vne terre auec

Ils auoüent que le Sommontouan est fier et Insolent a cauze
son grand Nombre de Soldats, mais que si vous vouliez maintenir
la paix par quelque satisfaction qu'on vous pourroit faire par le
Sommontouans, on en seroit bien aise pour ne pas estre obligé
d'en venir aux Extremitez qui seront bien funeste. S'il
Guerre se fait M.r, Il faut que tous Ceux qui ont des maisons
Separées des Lieux forts, abandonnent au plustost leur demeure
Car l'on brulera les Bleds et les maisons, et l'on Emmenera
autrem.t bien des Captifs qui seront bien tourmentés et
des Honorés. Je Croy toujours que la paix vous doit estre plus
pretieuse, que tous les aduantages qu'on vous aura pû suggerer
vous deuoir venir de la guerre. Vn delay pour mettre ordre
a tout un peu plus a loisir, et apprest auoir veritable secours de
France pour tirer vn grand Embarras d'affaires qui
Survienderont de tous Costez. Pardonnez moy si je
vous dis si librem.t mes pensées, vous n'improuverez pas du moins
Le Zele que j'ay de vous Informer de tout, et de vous marquer
que je suis avec bien du Respect et de la soumission

Vre. Les humbles et tres ob.ts ser.r Sigd de Lamberville.

Ce 6.e Juillet 81

Vne Troupe de Sonontouans qui vont achetter leurs necessitez
des Munitions de poudre, plomb, et armes, sont a deux jours d'icy

Les attend pr. parler d'affaires a fond, et tas cher de maintenir la paix en vre. faisant faire satisfaction. Je croy que si vous en voulez bien venir vn accommodement auquel on taschera de vous contenter, et ou lon prescrivoit les bornes de la guerre et de la traitte vous auriez le loisir de pouvoir avec moins de peines et d'embarras a la seureté du Canada, soit en faisant faire des portz a la Famine et vers Simontouan sous pretexte d'Establir vn taillandier, ou a la Galette Selon que vous Jugerez a propos. Je ne croy pas que vous tiriez cette année aucun advantage de la guerre si vous la faites, d'autre que presque tous les Iroquois iront faire la Guerre avec, vous ne trouverez pas Les Sonontouans dans leurs bourgs, ou ils dis ent qu'ils ne s'enfermeront pas, mais se cacheront dans les herbes, et vre. dresseront par tout des Embuscades. Sur ce que vre. avez declare aux Iroquois que vre. n'en vouliez qu'au Sonontouan, ils ont convoqué vne diéte Generale icy, ou l'on conclüera de se Ligüer contre vous, si vous ne voulez par agréer Les propositions de paix auxquelles L'onontagué veut faire Consentir Le Sonontouan qui a déja mis en seureté les Vieux bleds, et fait vne retraitte dans les bois aux Enfants, aux femmes et aux Vieillards qui vre. sera Incommue; Les soldats doivent courir par tout pr. tuer, sans estre tuez s'ils peuvent. Si l'on coupe leurs bleds d'Inde, ils en

Coutera bien du sang et des hommes, il faudra aussy se resoudre a
perdre a la Recolte des Bleds françois ou les Iroquois mettront le feu
Pour ce qui est des habitations françoises, les Iroquois Supposent qu'
les a toutes abandonnées, et qu'on s'est retiré dans des forts, autre
elles seroient a la proye de l'ennemy.

L'on croit que si vo^s. Commencez la guerre elle sera de longue
durée, a quoy pour nourrir le monde qui est en Canada vous serez venir
les vivres de france. l'Iroquois croit qu'il destruira la Colonie
si l'on fait a la guerre, Car jamais il ne se battra regulierement
contre nous, et ne s'enfermera dans aucun Retranchement pourroit etre
forcé. Ainsy ils Supposent que pour vaincre il faut chercher dans des bo
inconnus les poursuivre, ils ne peuvent estre destruits ny pris, ayan
vn vaste pays de chasse derriere eux du costé de merilan
et de Virginie, que tous les françois ne connoissent nullemen
non plus que les lieux circonvoisins de leurs Bourgs. Si l'hyver
n'estoit pas trop froid en ce pays, le temps de faire la guerre
seroit l'hyver, Car l'on voit partout autour de soy, et les piste
ne se peuvent cacher; mais il faut tout porter, ses vivres,
ses Armes, poudre et plomb. Vo^s. ne croirez pas Monsieu
avec quelle joye les sonnontouans ont appris que vous pourriez
bien vous resoudre a la guerre, Car rapport que les sauvage
leur font des preparatifs qui paroissent a Katarokouy, ils v
Envoiga

Loüeignent queles françois ont bien enuie destre depoüillez, brulez
Et mangez, Et quilz Leurr ont dit leur chair qui est disent ilz salee
a cause del'vsage quilz font du sel Vaut bien celle de leurs
autres Ennemis quilz mangent.

L'Envoyé de m.r le Gouverneur de la Nouuelle yorck qui est icy
promet aux Iroquoix qu'on leur vendra toujours leurs
marchandises a grande Composition, et a 8 tt. Depoüille pour
un Castor, Duplomb tant qu'un homme emporter pourra un
Castor, et un suis du reste.

Tout Considéré, Monsieur, j'espere Contenter
d'une Satisfaction que nous allons tascher de vous faire faire
donner par le Sonontouan, vous prendrez de grands mauvais
qui doüent fondre sur le Canada en Cas de Guerre, vous
en destournerez la famine et bien des miseres, sur tout vous
Espargnerez bien de la Confusion et de grandes douleurs aux
françois qui tomberont entre les mains des Iroquoix
qui comme vous Sçauez Exercent les dernieres Cruautez et
les plus honteuses sur leurs Captifs. Outre qu'il n'y a nul
profit a se battre avec ces sortes de Bandis, que vous n'attraperez
pas assurem.t et qui attraperont bien de vos gens qui en
seront surpris par tout. Le Nommé Hamatakta Et quelques
autres Considerables, m'ont dit qu'ilz auoient jetté de nouueau

MARINE ET COLONIES
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Ce sont leurs mots, qu'ils vous prioient de ne les point obliger
a en venir a la guerre contre vous; & que les Cinq
Bourgades seroient obligées de s'unir contre vous; & que les
Francois et les Iroquois estant aussy proches qu'ils sont
les vns des autres, la guerre vous seroit tres funeste
par ce que disent ils, Notre maniere de Combattre
de fatiguer, de vivre, de surprendre, et de fuir
dans les bois sera la ruyne des françois qui ont coutume
de se battre contre des villes ou lors se defend, ou contre
des armées qui paroissent dans les Champs. S'il y a de
mauvaises affaires il les faut raccommoder. Tous les
Iroquois se persuadent que vous voulez auparavant que
d'en venir a la guerre Eprouver les Voyes de douceur
Dire au Sonnontouan qu'il vous vefasse l'Esprit sur ce qu'il
pillé. Que si vous Commencez vas vouloir faire
La guerre, si que vous ne voulez pas agir en sorte
auec vos Enfants, ils se font deja declarez par
advance, qu'ils se banderont tous Contre vous.

Ce 18e juillet 1684

Enfin la Diéte Convoquée a Onontague s'est tenuë
Le 16, Le 17 juillet vous verrez dans le memoire que
j'enferme dans cette lettre ce que vous auez dit aux

Onontagueh, en Requis vos. vs pondent par trois
Colliers. Puis ce que vous auez dit, ouque je vous
ay fait dire aux Sonontouans assemblez icy en Corps
d'anciens & de Soldats en leur Response, Nous leur auons
parlé par trois Colliers, & ils vous respondent par cy.
Ce sont 12 Colliers que vos Enuoyez vous portent
Je ne sçay si vos. agrées ces petittes peines que
Nous Nous sommes données pour vous faire donner
satisfaction, & vous deliurer, des fatigues, des Embarras
& des suittes d'une Facheuse guerre, & procurer en
mesme temps la Liberté du Commerce, car les
Sonontouans m'ont fait dire de nuit par des Exprés,
qu'ils vous donneroient plus de satisfaction
que vous n'en attendiez; par ce qu'ils ont en vre
Consideration Ne plus faire La Guerre aux Ouniamis
si vous le souhaittiez aussy, & mesme quelqu'autre
Natio; si vous les en prenez. Au reste, on ne fait la
guerre que pour auoir une bonne paix; Il s'trouue
que sans Coups ferir, sans repandre de sang de
L'Iroquois de Sonontouan vous offre plus que vous
n'eussiez Crû. Les Onontagues s'sont picquez
d'honneur en ce rencontre, & ont remüé toute sorte de

Machiner pour faire condescendre les Somontouans a
remettre toutes Leurs affaires entre leurs Mains.
Le 1.er jour du Conc.l tout fut presque desespere
et les plenipotentiaires me vinrent trouver tous
Eschauffés, disant qu'ils ne gagnoient rien Sur les
Somontouaïse, et qu'ils acceptoient trop volontiers
la guerre, Jusques la qu'ils avoient repondu les
presens que vous et eux Leur aviez faits. Ils me
redemanderent (vn depot de Colliers que j'avois pour
Combattre l'opiniastreté du somontouan, Les anciens, et
les soldats ont agi avec beaucoup de Zele, En sorte
qu'ayant gagné a leur party les anciens, et les gorgou
ils ont vaincu aux grosses paroles. Cependant des deputez
pour me fonder Sur l'état des affaires Succedoient les vns
aux autres, et pour Sçavoir le Vray Sujet de la retraite
de Nos Missionnaires. Enfin j'leur dis que le Vray
Sujet Estoit que voyant tt de plaisir que vous aviez
d'estre des-honoré des somontouäns, et qu'ils en
auroient aussi, les avoit fait retirer auprés de vous
en attendant qu'ils vous eussent satisfait. Enfin les
Onontagues L.s ont persuadé de se fier a eux et
de Leur remettre toutes leurs affaires entre leurs mains

que si vous ne voulié[z] pas accepter la Mediation, ils se joindroient alors leurs politique contre vous ainsi tous les autres Iroquois. La grande gueule et son triumvirat ce sont signalés assurément en cette rencontre. Mon frere qui va vous informer de tout vous racontera les choses plus en détaille. Nous attendons cependant vos ordres qu'il vous plaira de nous marquer par M^r. Le Moine que les Montagnes vous prient instamment de leur envoyer a Choüeguën ainsi toute fausseté et sans rien craindre.

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES
MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

July 10th 1684.

Sir,

A general Assembly of all the Iroquois will be held here, at which it is intended to unite against you, and to inform the Senecas that you wish to persuade the four Iroquois Nations not to aid them in case of war. I am surprised that M. le Moyne or some other persons have not told you that all these villages were confederated, and that one could not be attacked without becoming embroiled with the others.

Did affairs permit, I should have much wished to tell you my thoughts on a great many things. My brother will inform you of all when he will have the honor to see you. The Ontagues who have been spoken to, would like much to settle matters; this is the reason my brother goes to you, whilst I still keep them disposed to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid, if possible, an infinitude of evils which will overtake Canada; and as I know not whether you desire war without listening to proposals for peace, I wish to understand whether it is not fitter that I withdraw, if possible, rather than give occasion to the Iroquois to say that I deceived them, by propositions for peace. The Onontagues and other nations say that it grieves them to take up arms against you who are their neighbor, and who form almost one country with them.

They acknowledge that the Senecas are proud and insolent on account of their great number of warriors; but that if you desire to maintain peace by some satisfaction which they will induce the Senecas to make you, it will be very acceptable, so as not to be obliged to come to extremities that will be very disastrous. If war occur, Sir, all those who have houses apart from fortified places must at once abandon their dwellings, for the grain and the houses will be burned, and otherwise many will be brought away prisoners to be cruelly tortured and insulted. I always think that peace ought to be most precious to you, and that all the advantages that can be held out, ought to cause you to shrink from war. A delay in order to arrange every thing more leisurely, and after having received assistance from France, would extricate you from much embarrassment which will follow from all sides. Pardon me if I give free expression to my thoughts; you will not disapprove at least of the zeal with which I am, with much respect and submission,

Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,
(Signed) De Lamberville.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

11th July, 1684.

Sir,

A troop of Senecas, on their way to buy their supplies and munitions of powder, lead and arms, are two days [distance] from here. They are expected in order to talk fully of affairs, and to endeavor to preserve peace by inducing them to give you satisfaction. I believe, if you

are really desirous to come to an arrangement by which an effort will be made to satisfy you, and wherein will be prescribed the boundaries of the war and of trade, you would have leisure to provide with less trouble and embarrassment for the security of Canada, either by erecting Forts at La Famine or towards the Senecas under the pretext of establishing a blacksmith or at La Galette, according as you may think proper.

I do not believe that you will derive any advantage this year from the war, if you wage it; for not only will almost the whole of the Iroquois prosecute it in Canada, but you will not find the Senecas in their villages, in which, they give out, they will not shut themselves up, but conceal themselves in the grass and prepare ambuscades every where for you. On your declaration to the Iroquois that you had no ill-will except against the Senecas, they convoked a general Diet here at which they will conclude on a league against you, if you will not accept the propositions of peace to which the Onontagué wishes to obtain the consent of the Seneca who has already placed in security the old grain, and constructed a retreat in the woods for the children, women and old men, of which you will be ignorant.

The Warriors are to prowl every where, killing without, if possible, being killed. If their Indian corn be cut, it will cost much blood and many men. You must also resolve to lose the harvest of the French grain to which the Iroquois will set fire. As for the French settlements, the Iroquois suppose that they are all abandoned, and that the people have retired within the forts; otherwise they would be a prey to the enemy.

It is the opinion that if you begin the war, it will be of long duration, and that to feed those in Canada you will have to bring provisions from France. The Iroquois believes that he will destroy the Colony in case of war, for he will never fight by rule against us, and will not shut himself up in any fort in which he might be stormed. Thus they are under the impression that, no person daring to come into unknown forests to pursue them, they can neither be destroyed nor captured, having a vast hunting ground in their rear, towards Merilande and Viginia, as well as places adjoining their villages, wholly unknown to the French. If winter were not so cold in this Country, that would be the time to wage war, for one can then see all around, and the trail cannot be concealed, but every thing must be carried—provisions, arms, powder and lead. You cannot believe, Sir, with what joy the Senecas learned that you would, possibly, determine on war; and, on the report the savages bring them of the preparations apparent at Kataroskouy, they say, that the French have a great desire to be stript, roasted and eaten; and that they will see if their flesh, which, according to them is saltish on account of the salt the French make use of, be as good as that of their other enemies whom they devour.

The envoy of the Governor of New-York, who is here, promises the Iroquois goods at a considerable reduction; 7 @ 8 lbs. of powder for a Beaver; as much lead as a man can carry for a Beaver, and so with the rest.

Everything considered, Sir, if you will be content with a satisfaction we shall endeavor to obtain for you from the Senecas, you will prevent great evils which must fall on Canada in case of war; you will divert from it famine and many misfortunes; especially will much confusion and great suffering be spared the French who will fall into the hands of the Iroquois, who, as you are aware, exercise the direst and most brutal cruelties on their captives. There is, besides, no profit in fighting with this sort of banditti, whom you assuredly will not catch, and who will catch many of your people that will be surprised in every quarter.

The man called Hannatakta and some others of influence told me they pitied you. These are their words; they besought you not to force them to wage war against you; that the five

Nations would be obliged to unite against you; that the French and the Iroquois being so near the one to the other, the war would be too disastrous to you, because, say they, our mode of fighting, of harrassing, of living, of surprising and flying to the woods, will be the ruin of the French, who are accustomed to fight against towns capable of defence, or against armies who appear in the plains; if there be misunderstanding it ought to be settled. All the Iroquois are persuaded that before going to war you will try the ways of mildness, and tell the Senecas to appease your anger for what they have plundered; that if you begin by a desire to wage war, and will not act as a father towards your children, they have already declared beforehand that they will all unite against you.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

July 13, 1684.

My Lord,

I have the honor to write to you by Father Millet, who passes here in retiring from among the Iroquois. They cannot be persuaded that you have determined on waging war against them, not having demanded any satisfaction of them for the merchandise of the Frenchmen whom the Senecas plundered. To turn away the scourge of war and the miseries which must follow it, especially among the French, who will find themselves attacked by all the Iroquois, if any hostile act is committed against the Senecas, I have strongly urged the Onnontagues to give you satisfaction according to the Instructions the Christian Iroquois, your deputies here, had. To-morrow a great number of Senecas are expected, with several Cayugas and the Ambassadors from the two Lower nations, to talk about business.

The Senecas, consequent on the declaration you made to them that you would proceed to their country, have concealed their old grain, prepared a distant retreat in the depths of the forest for the security of their old men, their women and children, and conveyed whatever they have of value out of their villages. The Warriors, in great number, have heard this news with much joy; they are determined to fight, not in their forts, for they have none, and will not shut themselves up anywhere, but under cover behind trees and in the grass, where they will try to do you considerable injury, if you want war. The Onnontaguez—men of business—wish to arrange matters, especially having lost none of their men; only some goods. Must the father and children, they ask, cut each others' throats for a few clothes? The children must satisfy the father, to whom they owe honor and respect.

Further: last year I guaranteed by two belts of Wampum—one presented to the Senecas and the other here—that if the Iroquois army should meet the French, who were towards Illinois, and any acts of hostility follow on one side or the other, they should mutually arrange the difficulty without it leading to any consequences; and is what we are endeavoring to persuade the Senecas to do. Father Millet, to whom I communicated all, and who has just passed, will tell you everything, and how apropos it would be that M. Le Moine should come here to fetch those chiefs and warriors under the pass you will give them through him. He can come here in all surety and without any fear, and conduct them to your rendezvous near Seneca or to the Fort, in order to settle matters in a friendly manner.

The Iroquois say, they will not commit any act of hostility against you, unless you commence either by attacking the Senecas or by refusing to accept all satisfaction; for, they remark, it is painful to come to blows with their Father. They all say that their mode of warfare will be disastrous to you, but that the respect they entertain towards you, and which we also insinuate among them, withholds them until they are forced, they add, to wage a sorrowful war, despite themselves, against you. They wish, first of all, they say, to avoid the reproach of not having kept their word which they gave. I told the above to M. le Moine.

My brother[1] expects to leave with your deputies to carry to you the result of the Iroquois Diet, where the Onontagué, who assumes to be a moderator, pretends to force the Senecas to disavow what two of their Captains caused their warriors to do, and to quieten again your mind; that is, they say, by some satisfaction which may afford you an honorable pretext to pay a friendly visit to Kaniatarontagouat[2] and not to appear there as an enemy.

I forgot to inform you, that the Iroquois say they have accepted the satisfaction they received for the death of their captain, Hannhenhax, killed by the Kiskakons, and that it would seem very strange to them that you should refuse the satisfaction they wish to induce the Senecas to give you for the pillaged merchandise which, in their estimation, is next to nothing compared with that important [council] fire in your children's cabin. I pray God that He conduct matters for His glory and the country's good, and that He preserve you as long as is the wish, My Lord, of

Your very humble and most obedient
Servant,
J. De Lamberville.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

July 13. 1684.

My Lord—I have the honor to write to you by Father Millet who passes here in retiring from among the Iroquois who cannot be persuaded that you have determined on waging war against them, not having demanded any satisfaction of them for the merchandize of the Frenchmen whom the Senecas plundered. To turn away the scourge of war and the miseries which must follow it, especially among the French who will find themselves attacked by all the Iroquois if any hostile act is committed against the Senecas, I have strongly urged the Onnontagues to give you satisfaction according to the instructions which the Christian Iroquois, your deputies here, had. To-morrow a great number of Senecas are expected with several Cayugas and the Ambassadors from the two Lower Nations to talk about business.

The Senecas consequent on the declaration you made to them that you would proceed to their country, have concealed their old grain, prepared a distant retreat in the wooden fort for the security of their old men, women and children, and conveyed whatever they have of value out of their villages. The Warriors in great number have heard this news with much joy; they are determined to fight, not in their forts for they have none, and will not shut themselves up any where, but under cover, behind trees, and in the grass where they will try to do you considerable injury, if you want war. The Onnontagues—men of business—wish to arrange matters, especially having lost nothing of theirs, except only some goods. Must the father and children, they ask, cut each others throats for clothes? The children must satisfy the father to whom they owe honor and respect.

Further, I, last year, guarantied by two Wampum belts—one to the Senecas and the other here—that if the Iroquois army met the French who were towards Illinois, and any acts of hostility should follow on one side or the other, they would mutually arrange the difficulty without it leading to any consequences, and this is what we are endeavoring to persuade the Senecas to do. Father Millet, to whom I communicated all, and who has just passed, will tell you every thing and how apropos it would be that M. le Moine should come here to fetch those Chiefs and Warriors who will most willingly meet you under the safe conduct which you will give them through M. le Moine (who can come here in all surety and without any fear) to be conducted to your rendezvous near Seneca or to the Fort, in order to settle matters in a friendly manner.

The Iroquois say they will not commit any act of hostility against you, unless you commence either by attacking the Senecas or by refusing all satisfaction, for they remark, it is painful to come to blows with their Father. They all say that their mode of warfare will be disastrous to you, but that the respect they entertain towards you, and which we insinuate among them, withholds them until they are forced, they add, to wage a sorrowful war, despite themselves, against you. They wish, first of all, they say, to avoid the reproach of not having kept their word which they gave. I told M. le Moine of the above.

My brother expects to leave with your deputies to carry to you the result of the Iroquois Diet, where the Onnontagué who assumes to be a moderator, pretends to force the Senecas to disavow what two of their captains caused their warriors to do, and to quieten again your mind; that is, they say, by some satisfaction which may afford you an honorable pretext to pay a friendly visit to Kaniatarontagouat [now, Irondequot Bay] and not to appear there as an enemy.

I forgot to inform you that the Iroquois say they have accepted the satisfaction they received for the death of their captain, Hannhenhax, killed by the Kiskakous, and that it would seem very strange to them that you should refuse the satisfaction they wish to induce the Senecas to give you for the pillaged merchandize which, in their estimation is next to nothing compared with that im-

portant [council] fire in your children's cabin. I pray God that He conduct matters for His glory and the country's good and that He preserve you long, which is the wish, my Lord, of

Your very humble & very obt Servt,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

18 July, 1684.

Sir—The Council convoked at Onnontagué was, at length, held on the 16th and 17th of July. You will see by the memoir I enclose in this letter what you said to the Onnontagués and what they reply by three Belts. Since you spoke, or I have made you speak to the Senecas assembled here in a body, Chiefs and Warriors, and their answer, we have spoken to them by three Belts and they have answered you by nine.

These are twelve Belts which your ambassadors take to you. I know not if you will accept the trifling pains we have taken to cause satisfaction to be given you, and to extricate you from the fatigues, the embarrassments and consequences of a disastrous war, and procure at the same time freedom of trade; for the Senecas informed me at night, by express, that they would give you more satisfaction than you expected, because they wished through respect for you, not to wage war any more against the Oumiamis, if you so wish it, and even any other nation if you insist on it. In fine, they do not wage war save but to secure a good peace. They return without striking a blow, without shedding blood, etc. The Seneca Iroquois offer you more than you would have believed.

The Onnontagués considered their honour engaged to this meeting, and have put all sorts of machinery in motion to induce the Senecas to condescend to place their affairs in their hands. On the first day of the Council every thing was almost despaired of, and the plenipotentiaries all excited came to see me, saying they gained nothing on the Senecas, and that up to that time they most willingly accepted war; that they rejected the presents which you and they had made them. They sent me back a collection of belts, that the chiefs and warriors acted with great zeal in combating the obstinacy of the Senecas so that having gained the Oneidas and Cayugas over to their side, they came to high words. Deputies, notwithstanding, succeeded one another to sound me on the state of affairs and to learn the true cause of the withdrawal of our Missionaries. Finally I told them that the real cause was, that the displeasure which they perceived you felt, and which they also entertained at being disparaged by the Senecas, had caused them to withdraw to you, until they should have satisfied you. At length the Onnontagués persuaded them to confide in them and to place their affairs in their hands—that if you did not accept their mediation, they should unite according to their policy, with all the other Iroquois against you. La Grande Gueule and his triumvirate have assuredly signalized themselves in this rencounter. My brother, who will inform you of every thing, will relate matters more in detail. We, however, await your orders which you will please convey to us by M. le Moine whom the Onnontagués request you to send instantly to them at Choueguen [Oswego] in all security and without the least fear.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onontagué, this 17th August, 1684.

My Lord—Your people have brought my brother back here with the greatest possible diligence, having been wind bound three days, at one island. In order not to cause you any delay, which could only produce a useless consumption of provisions by your army, they arrived here with Sieur le Duc at midnight and having passed the rest of the night in conferring together, we had the Chiefs and Warriors assembled at day light after having obtained information from *La Grande Gueule* and Garakontie.

We declared our intentions in the presence of several Senecas who departed the same day to return to their country where they will communicate our approach. They carry one of your belts to reassure those who are alarmed by your armament. The Onnontagués have despatched some of theirs to notify the Oneida, the Mohawk and the Cayuga to repair to Ochouegen [Oswego] to salute you and to reply to your proposals. They wish so much to see M. le Moine here whom you promised them would come, that it appears that nothing could be done should he not arrive. Also, as you advised them not to be troubled at the sight of your barks and Gendarmes, they give you notice, likewise, not to be surprised when you will see faces painted red and black at Ochouegen.

I gave a Cayuga letters for you some eight or ten days ago. I do not know if he will have delivered them. I believe that I advised you that Colonel Dongan had the Duke of York's placards of protection (*des sauveguardes*) affixed to the three upper Iroquois villages, and that he styled himself Lord of the Iroquois. A drunken man here tore these proclamations down and nothing remains but the post to which the Duke of York's arms were attached.

I gave La Grande Gueule your belt under hand, and remarked to him the things which you wished him to effect. He calls himself your best friend and you have done well to have attached to you this *hoc*, who has the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois.

The over coats (*capots*) and shirts which you have been so good as to send to be used on occasions are a most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion. An honorable peace will be more advantageous to Canada than a war very uncertain as to its success. I am of opinion, whatever the Messrs the Merchants may say, that you do them a good turn by inducing the Iroquois to give you satisfaction, and that the war would be very prejudicial to them.

I am with all sort of respect and submission, My Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE, Jesuit.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onontagué, this 28th August 1684.

My Lord—M. Le Moine's arrival has much pleased our burgomasters who have exhibited towards him many attentions, and have promised to terminate matters with you in the manner you desire. The Onontagués have called the Deputies of each Nation together, as I have advised you. The Cayugas came here the first, with two young Tionnoutatés to restore them to you. We expect the Senecas, and as we were hoping that the Oneidas would arrive to-day, one Arnaud[1] whom Father Bruyas is well acquainted with, came here on horseback from Mr. Dongan to tell the Iroquois that he did not wish them to talk with you without his permission, being complete

[1] Arnold Cornelisⁿ Viele, a citizen of Albany, who acted as Interpreter between the Whites and Indians, For his service in this capacity he had already obtained from the latter, 26th Septr. 1683, a tract of land called Wachkeerhoha, on the north bank of the Mohawk above Schenectady, the grant of which is in Alb. Deed Book C, 199.—Tr.

master of their land and conduct towards you; that they belonged to the King of England and the Duke of York, and that their Council fires were lighted at Albany and that he absolutely forbad them talking with you.

Two words which we whispered in the ears of your pensioner, La Grande Gueule, caused us to see at once how unreasonable, in his opinion, was so strange a proceeding as that of Mr. Dongan, after having himself exhorted the Iroquois to give us satisfaction in order to avoid a disastrous war which would have very bad [consequences.] When M. le Moine and I shall have the honour to see you, we shall give you the particulars of these things, and how La Grande Guelue came to high words against this Messenger, exhorting all the warriors and chiefs not to listen to the proposals of a man who seemed to be drunk, so opposed to all reason was what he uttered.

We being two or three day's journey from here, the said Messenger produced three Belts of Wampum. The first and second are from the Mohawks and Oneidas, who have promised Mr. Dongan that they should not go to meet us; the third was for the Onnontagués to exhort them to give their wampum belt also, as assurance of the same thing. They answered by La Grande Gueule, that they esteemed themselves too highly honored by your having granted to them the embassy of M. Le Moine and by your having placed the affairs of the peace in their hands, to commit so cowardly an action and so grave a fault as that which he seemed willing they should perpetrate. After many disputes, the Onnontagués councilled among themselves, and concluded to enquire of M. le Moine if he would not wait the permission which Mr. Dongan wished the Iroquois to have from him to talk with you, and if he would not tarry ten days more, and you remain at the Lake, to learn Mr. Dongan's final will. This is a piece of Iroquois cunning not to embroil themselves with Mr. Dongan, and to follow entirely what M. le Moine should say, whom they well knew would not wait so long, matters having advanced to the point at which they are, and knowing, moreover, that delay was directly contrary to your instructions. The Iroquois requested M. le Moine himself to communicate their opinion to the Cavalier, which he certainly did in an excellent manner, and which you will be glad to learn when he will give an account of his negotiation.

He has thought proper to send you one of his canoes at once to inform you hereof, and to assure you that as soon as the Onontaguè deputies shall have arrived here, he will endeavour to despatch them hence at the earliest moment to conduct them to you. If not he will leave with the Senecas who are here. Tegannehout acted his part very well and harangued strongly against Mr. Dongan's messenger and in favor of Onnontio. Good cheer and the way you regaled him was a strengthening medicine which sustained his voice when it might perhaps have failed in another who had not experienced proofs of your friendship such as you did him the honour to give him. He will return with M. le Moine.

The Cavalier says that before returning to his Master, he wishes to speak to the Senecas who are expected here. I caress somewhat Tegannehout in order that he may win those of his Nation over to his opinion and not to suffer them to yield to the solicitations of Sieur Arnaud to whom the Onnontagués have given two wretched belts to say to Mr. Dongan that they could not do other than what he himself had urged them to do; to wit, to settle matters peaceably with you, and to soothe his spirit if he were dissatisfied with them for not going to Albany whence they had returned very recently. A letter is sent you which he has given to M. le Moine.

Whatever Sieur Arnaud may say, we have not neglected to send for the Oneida deputies whom we expect to-morrow. Monsieur le Moine will use the greatest possible diligence to return to you, inasmuch as this delay is not very agreeable to him.

I am always, my Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onontagué, 27 Sept. 1684.

My Lord,—I return here after having been delayed ten days in the Lake by very strong head winds. A day before the Iroquois deputies met here, the Senecas sent Belts to the Iroquois villages to declare to them that should you disembark in their country, they would attack you. Six or seven Mohegans (*Loups*) were preparing to go to the assistance of the Iroquois, as the Outaoutes were aiding the French. The Seneca scouts have been as far as Kaionhouagué, where you had concluded the peace, to be certain of the place at which your army had encamped. The Onnontagués believed for several days that they had killed me. Teganneĥout's arrival in this country will have calmed the minds in communicating your peace to them. No news have as yet been received from the Seneca. Some say they will shortly come hither to confer on important matters. If any one come from the For there I shall inform you of whatever I will have learned.

Sieur Arnaud, Mr. Dongan's deputy, has not re-appeared here since my departure from Onnontaé, though he had assured me that he should return in ten days. 'Tis said that his delay is caused by not having found his master at Orange (Albany), and that he has gone to Manath to inform him of the proceedings of the Onnontagué and of your arrival at Gainhouagué, [Hungry Bay.]

I had the honour of writing to you from the Fort whence I sent you a wampum belt from the Tionnontatés. I gave Sieur Hannataksa the belt of Wampum and the red Calumet in your name, to whom I said that you would be ever obliged to him if he would turn his arms to the left of Fort St. Louis, where the Illinois are mingled with the Oumiamis, so as to give no cause of complaint.

Uncertain as I was regarding matters on the side of the Senecas, and fearful that the Senecas would create confusion on arriving here, I made some presents in your name to some captains who could best curb their insolence, so as to prevent the brewing of the storm.

Your man of business, I mean La Grande Gueule, is not concerned at any thing; he is a venal being whom you do well to keep in pay. I assured him that you would send him the jerkin you promised. The Cayugas who are gone to war to the borders of Merinlande and Virginia have sent home some of their warriors to say that the English had killed three of their men, and that they having taken five Englishmen alive, had cut their throats after subjecting them to some bad treatment, and that they were still in the English country.

After having spoken to you of others, I must acquit myself of a part of my duty, by thanking you very humbly for all the kindnesses you have been pleased to shower on me. I should have wished you, in addition to the good health in which it pleased God to preserve you in the midst of an army weakened by diseases, greater satisfaction for the trouble you have taken for the public good. Individuals assuredly know that if you had not accepted peace, which is very favorable since no one has been killed on either side, the Colony would have been exposed to the mercy of the Iroquois who would pounce, in different directions, on defenceless settlements, the people of which they would carry off in order to pitilessly burn them. I pray God, who knows the sincerity of your intentions, to be your reward and to heap His blessings on you to the extent of the wishes of him who is entirely, my Lord

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

I told Colin that you would remember him and his comrade.

The Tionnontatés have sent to thank the Onnontagués for having, by their obliging disposition, gained you over to treat for peace, and thus preserve the lives of many, and that they were attached to Onnonthio. Sieur la Grande [Gueule] has pronounced your panegyric here, and professes to keep

the promise he made you, to cause the articles of peace to be observed. Some furs are to be collected this fall. He is treating on this subject with Hannagoge and Ganakontié. There is no news yet from the Senecas.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onnontagué, this 9th Octob. 1684.

My Lord,—The message you sent here by three canoemen from Montreal shows you to be in reality a man of your word. Sieur Grande Gueule has been informed by express, who is gone to find him at his fishery eight leagues from here, that you have written. I shall cause him when he returns particularly to recollect his promise to you to have satisfaction given you. I have spoken in his absence both privately and publicly, to influential persons and obtained promises from the chiefs and warriors that they would send two strings of wampum to the Senecas in three days to put them in mind of the word which the leader of those who pillaged the French canoes had himself brought here, from those of his own nation, that they had accepted all you had concluded at La Famine. I told them what you had concluded and had ordered me to acquaint them with. The report about the thousand Illinois is a mere rumor without any foundation, and M. duLut told me at Katarakoui, that he did not believe the truth of this news; besides there cannot be any apprehension that they could have dared to undertake any thing, having met neither Frenchmen nor Outaouas. All that they could make a demontration against have more fuzileers than they.

A party of 40 warriors will leave here in six days to attack the Illinois whom they may find among the Chaouennons. I have presented the Captain a shirt in your name, to exhort the Senecas through whom he will pass, to keep their word with you. He has assured me that he will not lead his troop towards the quarter you forbad him. I notified him as well as the others that you had despatched a canoe to inform the Oumiamies and the Maskenses that you had included them in the peace, and that they could remain secure at the place where they had been before they were at war with the Iroquois. The Senecas shall be equally notified of this in a few days. You may rest assured, my Lord, that I shall spare no pains to have that satisfaction given you which you expect from the Iroquois. The frenchmen who came here told me that whilst you were at La Famine a false alarm reached Montreal that the Iroquois were coming; that there was nothing but horror, flight and weeping at Montreal. What would so many poor people have done in their settlements if merely six hundred Iroquois had made an irruption into the country in the condition in which it is. You form a better opinion than one hundred manufacturers of rhodomontades who were not acquainted with the Iroquois, and who reflect not that the country, such as it is, is not in a condition to defend itself. Had I the honor to converse with you longer than your little leisure allowed me, I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Paniaforontogouat [Irondequoit bay] without having been utterly defeated in the state your army was in—which was rather an hospital than a camp. To attack people within their entrenchments and fight banditti in the bush will require one thousand men more than you have Then you can accomplish nothing without having a number of disciplined savages. I gave you already my thoughts, and believe I told you the truth, and that you deserved the title of "Liberator of the Country" by making peace at a conjuncture when you would have beheld the ruin of the country without preventing it. The Senecas had double pallisades stronger than the pickets of the fort and the first could not have been forced without great loss. Their plan was to keep only 300 men inside, and with 1200 others perpetually harass you. All the

Iroquois were to collect together and fire only at the legs of your people to master them, and burn them at their leisure; and after having cut them off by a hundred ambuscades among the foliage and grass, pursue you in your retreat even to Montreal to spread desolation throughout its vicinity also; and they had prepared for that purpose a quantity of canoes of eighteen men each which they kept concealed. But let us all speak of this war to thank God that He has preserved our Governor in the midst of so much sickness, and that He had compassion on Canada from which He turned away the scourge of war which would have laid it entirely desolate.

The English of Merinlande who had killed three Iroquois, and of whom the English Iroquois had killed five, are about to have difficulties with that belligerent nation which has already killed more than twenty-nine of their men, and has been threatened with war should it continue to insult them. We shall see what the English of that quarter will do.

Garakontie returned to day from Orange, where he told by a belt of Wampum how you had given peace to the public; also how Colonel Dongan had urged the Iroquois to secure it by the satisfaction which he advised them to give you. M. Dongan left Orange when those who brought the Duke of York's Safeguards came to this place; it is supposed that Arnaud's visit here to prevent the Iroquois going to see you and to get them to hold a Council at Orange, was an intrigue of the Orange merchants who feared that their trade would be diminished by a conference held with you with arms in your hands; for M. Dongan had probably departed from Orange when Arnaud left to come here. What the Iroquois know is, after having heard M. Dongan who exhorted them to an arrangement with you, it was in no wise probable that on the eve of a negotiation, he should have forbidden them to visit you without his permission.

A man named La Croix, in Indian Tegaiatannhara, who answered Garakontie on behalf of the Dutch, said that had you not made peace, knowing that the Safeguards of England were on the Iroquois, 800 Englishmen and 1200 Mohegans, (*Loups*) who are between Merinland and New York, entirely distinct from the Cannóngageh-ronnons whom you have with you, were all ready to march at the first word to aid the Iroquois. This man La Croix passes with the Iroquois for a great liar; he, possibly may have advanced this of his own accord, as well as many other things he has stated, which M. Dongan perhaps would not approve, were he acquainted with them.

I thank you most humbly for having furnished an opportunity for the transportation to us of a part of our necessaries. It is a continuance of your kindness towards us and towards me in particular, who am sincerely and with much respect, My Lord,

Your very humble & very obedient Servant,

DE LAMBERVILLE.

I shall give La Grande Gueule your jerkin as soon as he returns here. I had the honor to write to you by Colin ten days since.

Traders with the *Indians*, who have no Care for, or Skill in publick Affairs, and only mind their private Intereſt.

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Of the Tranſactions of the Indians *of the* Five Nations *with the neighbouring* Engliſh *Colonies.*

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THE *Five Nations* being now amply ſupplied by the *Engliſh* with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full Swing to their warlike Genius, and ſoon reſolved to revenge the Affronts they had at any Time received from the *Indian* Nations that lived at a greater Diſtance from them. The neareſt Nations, as they were attack'd, commonly fled to thoſe that were further off, and the *Five Nations* purſued them. This, together with a Deſire they had of conquering, or Ambition of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be ſo far their Maſters, as to be abſolutely directed by them in all Affairs of Peace and War with their Neighbours, made them overrun great Part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, to the Northward of *New-England*, and as far Weſt as the River *Miſſiſſipi*, over a vaſt Country, which extends twelve hundred Miles in Length, from North to South, and about ſix hundred Miles in breadth; where they intirely deſtroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts remaining among the *Engliſh*.

Theſe warlike Expeditions often proved troubleſome to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; for not only the *Indians* that were Friends to thoſe Colonies became Victims to the Fury of the *Five Nations*, but the Chriſtian Inhabitants likewiſe were frequently involved in the ſame Calamity.

The

The *French* having a long Time felt the Inconveniencies and Dangers they were in from this reſtleſs warlike Spirit of the *Five Nations*, made uſe of this Time of Peace to guard againſt it for the future, and were very diligent in purſuing the moſt prudent Meaſures. They ſent ſome of their wiſeſt Prieſts and Jeſuits to reſide among them, and the Governors of *New-York* were ordered, by the *Duke of York*, to give theſe Prieſts all the Incouragement in their Power. The chief View of theſe Prieſts was, to give the *Indians* the higheſt Opinion of the *French Power* and Wiſdom, and to render the *Engliſh* as ſuſpected and as mean as poſſible in their Eyes. They waited likewiſe for every Opportunity to breed a Quarrel between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, and to withdraw the *Five Nations* from fighting with thoſe Nations that traded to *Canada*. For theſe Purpoſes theſe Prieſts were inſtrumental in turning the Reſentment of the *Five Nations* againſt the *Indians*, that were in Friendſhip with *Virginia* and *Maryland*. The Governor of *Maryland*, on the other Hand, to prevent the ill Conſequences, that might happen by Wars between Nations that were in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and lived in their Neighbourhood, ſent *Colonel Courſey*, in the Year 1677, to *Albany*, to increaſe the Friendſhip between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one Part, and the *Five Nations* on the other; and, accordingly, both Sides gave mutual Promiſes at *Albany*: But this good Underſtanding was ſoon ſhaken by ſome Parties of the *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, and *Senekas*, who were out when this Treaty was made, and were ignorant of it. One of them met with the *Suſquehana Indians*, who were in Friendſhip with *Maryland*, and fell upon them; they killed four of the *Suſquehanas*, and took ſix Priſoners. Five of theſe Priſoners fell to the Share of the *Senekas*, who, as ſoon as they arrived in their own Country, ſent them back with Preſents, to ſhew that they kept their Promiſes with

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Maryland; but the *Oneydoes* detained the Priſoner they had.

Another Party, that went againſt the *Canageſſe Indians* (Friends of *Virginia*) were ſurpriſed by a Troop of Horſe, who killed one Man, and took a Woman Priſoner: The *Indians*, in Revenge, killed four of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps, with ſix Chriſtian Priſoners.

The *Mohawks*, all this while, kept ſtrictly to their Words, and ſuffered none of their Men to go towards *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

There is Reaſon to think that the *Dutch*, who lived about *Albany* at that Time, ſpirited up the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*; the national Differences, that were then recent, bred a Rancour in their Spirits. Some *Dutchmen* perſuaded the *Oneydoes*, that the *Engliſh* at *New-York* were reſolved to deſtroy them, and put them into a terrible Diſturbance; for here the *Dutch* and the *French* Prieſts joined in the ſame Meaſures. The Commandant at *Albany* hearing of this, ſent two Interpreters of the *Indian* Language, to perſuade the *Oneydoes* to come to *Albany*, in Order to be aſſured of the *Engliſh* Friendſhip, and to have their Jealouſy removed; which being done, *Sweriſe*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excuſed his Countrymen at *Albany* the fifteenth of *February* $167\frac{8}{9}$, by laying the Blame on the People of *Schenectady*, who had informed not one, but ſeveral of their People, and at ſeveral Times, that the *Engliſh* deſigned to cut them all off; and ſaid, had they not Reaſon to believe the People of *Schenectady*, who are Friends and Neighbours to the *Engliſh*? They brought with them a Chriſtian Woman and her Child, that had been taken Priſoners, and reſtored them, praying the Governor to uſe his Intereſt to have their People reſtored, that had been taken by the People of *Virginia*; but they kept another Chriſtian Woman and her two Children, which they ſaid they did only till ſuch Time

Time as their Priſoners ſhould be reſtored, or ſome *Canaſtoga Indians* given in their Place. CHAP. III.

When the *Five Nations* make Peace with another Nation, that has taken ſome of the *Five Nations* Priſoners, if theſe Priſoners be dead, or cannot be reſtored, they uſually demand ſome *Indians*, in Friendſhip with the *Five Nations*, in their ſtead; who either are adopted in Place of their dead Friends, or reſtored to their own Nation; and ſometimes they deſire ſome of their Enemies to be given to them, and even thoſe frequently are adopted by a Father in Place of a Son, or by a Siſter in Place of a Brother, and, moſt frequently, by a Wife in Place of a Huſband loſt in the Wars; but if they chance not to be agreeable to the Relations, then they are certainly made Sacrifices to their Revenge.

Governor *Andros*, being acquainted by Letter with this laſt Propoſal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Chriſtian Priſoners, and promiſed to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Priſoners ſav'd. Some Preſents being given to the *Oneydoes*, and they promiſed to bring them in a Month's Time.

They, at the ſame Time, informed the Commandant at *Albany*, that eight of their Men were then out againſt the People of *Virginia*; that they knew nothing of what was now promiſed; and therefore, in Caſe they ſhould do any Harm, they deſired that it might not be taken as a Breach of their Promiſes they now made. They promiſed likewiſe to inform the Governor of every Thing theſe Parties ſhou'd happen to do. In the laſt Place they ſaid, we ſhall be very ſorry if any Thing ſhould happen to the Priſoners that we have promiſed to reſtore, leſt it ſhould create ſome Jealouſies of us, we hope that you will conſider that they are mortal. Accordingly, in *May* following, the *Oneydoes* brought the other three Priſoners to *Albany*, and,

CHAP. III. on the Twenty-fourth of that Month, *Sweriſe*, when he delivered them to the Commandant at *Albany*, and the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs, ſaid,

" *Brethren*,

" We are come to this Place with much Trouble, " as we did laſt Winter, and renew the Requeſt " we then made, that ſix *Indians* be delivered to " us in the Room of theſe ſix Chriſtians, in Caſe " our People, who are Priſoners, be dead. " None of us have gone out againſt the Chriſti- " ans ſince we were laſt here; but we told you " then that ſome were then out, who knew nothing " of the Governor's Orders, and we deſired, that " if any Thing happened it might not be taken " ill. Now thirteen of our People, who went out " againſt our *Indian* Enemies, met eighteen Men on " Horſeback, as far from any of the *Engliſh* Plan- " tations as *Cahnuaga* is from *Albany*, they fired " upon our People; our Men, being Soldiers, re- " turned their Fire, and killed two Men and two " Horſes, and brought away their Scalps.

" It would be convenient that the Governor " tell the People of *Virginia*, not to ſend their Men " ſo far from Home; for if they ſhould meet our " Parties in their Way againſt our Enemies, the " *Cahnowas*, whom the *Engliſh* call *Arogiſti*, we can- " not anſwer for the Conſequences.

" We have now obſerved the Governor's Orders, " in bringing the three other Chriſtian Priſoners; " and we truſt the Affair of our Priſoners wholly " to the Governor.

" We have now performed our Promiſes: But " where are our Priſoners; or, if they be dead, " the others in their Room, now when it is ſo late " in the Spring? However, we will ſtill truſt this " to the Governor."

Then delivering the Priſoners one by one, ſaid, " We have, we ſay, now performed our Promiſes,

" and

" and are not aſhamed. We hope *Corlaer*, who CHAP.
" governs the whole Country, will likewiſe do that, III.
" of which he need not be aſhamed.

" *Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from *New-*
" *York* to *Albany*, and from thence to the *Sene-*
" *kas Land*; we, who are his Inferiors, ſhall faith-
" fully keep the Chain: Let him perform his Pro-
" miſe, as we have ours, that the Chain be not
" broken on his Side, who governs the whole Coun-
" try."

Then the Commiſſioners gave them Preſents for their kind Uſage of the Priſoners.

After which *Sweriſe* ſtood up again and ſaid; " Let
" *Corlaer* take Care, that the *Indian* Woman, that
" is wanting, be reſtored, and, for thoſe that are
" killed, others in their Room. If *Corlaer* will not
" give Ear to us in this Affair, we will not hereaf-
" ter give Ear to him in any Thing."

Hearing afterwards, that theſe laſt Words were ill taken, *Sweriſe*, with two more of the chief *Oneydoe Sachems*, excuſed it, ſaying; " What we ſaid, of
" not hearkening any more to *Corlaer*, did not pro-
" ceed from the Heart, but was ſpoken by Way of
" Argument, to make *Corlaer* more careful to re-
" leaſe our People that are Priſoners; and you may
" be convinced it was ſo, when you conſider that it
" was ſaid after your Anſwer, and without laying
" down either Bever, or any Belt or Wampum, as
" we always do, when we make Propoſitions *;
" therefore we deſire, that, if it be noted, it may
" be blotted out, and not made known to *Corlaer*,
" for we hold firmly to our Covenant, as we ſaid in
" our Propoſitions."

* The Word Propoſition has been always uſed by the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany*, to ſignify Propoſals or Articles in the Treaties or Agreements made with the *Indians*.

They,

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They, at the ſame Time, told them, That the *Sinondowans* * came to them with eight Belts, deſiring them no longer to proſecute the War with the *Virginia Indians*, but to go to War againſt the *Dewaganas* †, a Nation lying to the North-weſtward; and that the *Sennekas* did deſire them to ſet theſe Chriſtians at Liberty, and to carry them to *Albany*; all which we promiſed to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing however ſtill to be troubleſome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September* following, ſent Colonel *William Kendall*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to *Albany*, to renew and confirm the Friendſhip between *Virginia* and the *Five Nations*. Colonel *Littleton* died at *Albany*, before the *Indians* arrived; and Colonel *Kendall* ſpoke firſt to the *Oneydoes*, and told them in a ſet Speech, "That "their People had taken away and deſtroyed their "Goods and People, and brought ſome of the Wo- "men and Children of *Virginia* Captives into their "Caſtles, contrary to that Faith and Promiſe, and "in Breach of the Peace made with Colonel *Cour-* "*ſey*, without any the leaſt Provocation, or Injury "done, by the People of *Virginia*. However, "through the great Reſpect *Virginia* has to their "Nations, and by the Perſuaſions of the Governor "of *New-York*, and the Information he has given "the Government of *Virginia*, that they had qui- "etly and peaceably delivered to him the Priſoners "taken from *Virginia*, who were returned ſafely; "and their excuſing the ſame, and Inclination to "live peaceably, without injuring *Virginia* for the "future; the Government of *Virginia* did forgive "all the Damages the *Five Nations* have done to "the People of *Virginia*, though very great; pro- "vided that they, or any living among them, for

* A Caſtle of the *Sennekas*, from whence the *French* call the *Sennekas Tonontouan*.

† Comprehended under the general Name of *Utawawas*.

"the

" the future, do not offend, or moleſt the Peo- CHAP.
" ple of *Virginia*, or *Indians* living among them." III.

He ſpoke to the *Mohawks* and *Sennekas*, ſeparately from the *Oneydoes*, becauſe they had not done any Miſchief, and promiſed them kind and neighbourly Uſage when they came to *Virginia*, and gave them Preſents; they returned the Compliment, with an Aſſurance of their Friendſhip, and condoled Colonel *Littleton*'s Death, after the *Indian* Manner, by a Preſent of a Belt of black Wampum, beſides the Belt given, on renewal of the Friendſhip.

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November*; on the fifth of which Month the *Virginia* Agent ſpoke to them, in the ſame Words he did to the *Oneydoes*. It does not appear, by the Regiſter of *Indian* Affairs, what Anſwer the *Oneydoes* and *Onnondagas* made, but it is certain they did not obſerve Friendſhip with *Virginia*, but moleſted them with reiterated Incurſions of their Parties. It is obſervable, however, that theſe two Nations, and the *Cayugas*, only had *French* Prieſts among them at that Time, and that none of the reſt ever moleſted the *Engliſh*; for which Reaſon, Colonel *Dongan*, notwithſtanding the Orders he had received from his Maſter, and that he himſelf was a Papiſt, complained of the ill Offices theſe Prieſts did to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and forbid the *Five Nations* to entertain any of them; though the *Engliſh* and *French* Crowns, while he was Governor of *New-York*, ſeemed to be more than ever in ſtrict Friendſhip.

The *French* had no Hopes of perſuading the *Five Nations* to break with *New-York* directly, but they were in Hopes, that, by the *Indian* Parties doing frequent Miſchief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to join, in reſenting the Injury, and thereby that Union, between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations*, would be broke, which always obſtructed, and often defeated, the Deſign the *French* had, of ſubjecting all

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North America to the Crown of *France*. For this Reaſon, the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greateſt Caution, avoided a Breach with theſe Nations, on Account of the little Differences they had with the neighbouring Colonies. Theſe new Incurſions of theſe two Nations were ſo troubleſome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Governor, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, thought it neceſſary, for their Security, to undertake a Journey to *New-York*.

I ſhall give a particular Account of this Affair, which was thought of ſuch Conſequence, that a Peer of *England* left his Government, and travelled four-hundred Miles, to treat with the *Five Nations*; and ſhall take this Opportunity of deſcribing ſome Ceremonies they uſe, in making Peace.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being called to *Albany*, eight *Mohawks*, three *Oneydoes*, three *Onnondagas*, and three *Cayuga Sachems*, met his Lordſhip there; and, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1684, he, accompanied by two of the Council of *Virginia*, ſpoke to the *Sachems* as follows, in the Preſence of Colonel *Thomas Dongan*, Governor of *New-York*, and the Magiſtrates of *Albany*. The *Senekas* being far off, were not then arrived.

Propoſals made by the Right Honourable Francis *Lord* Howard of Effingham, *Governor-general of his Majeſty's Dominion of* Virginia.

To

The Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas, *and* Cayugas.

"IT is now about ſeven Years, ſaid he, ſince you (unprovoked) came into *Virginia*, a Country belonging to the great King of *England*, and committed ſeveral Murders and Robberies, carrying away our Chriſtian Women and Children Priſoners into your Caſtles. All which Injuries we

" deſigned

" deſigned to have revenged on you, but at the Desire of Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governor-general of this Country, we deſiſted from deſtroying you, and ſent our Agents, Colonel *William Kendal*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to confirm and make ſure the Peace, that Colonel *Courſey* of *Maryland* included us in, when he firſt treated with you. We find, that as you quickly forgot what you promiſed Colonel *Courſey*, ſo you have wilfully broke the Covenant-chain which you promiſed our Agent, Colonel *Kendal*, ſhould be kept more ſtrong and bright, if we of *Virginia* would bury, in the Pit of Oblivion, the Injury then done us; which, upon Governor *Andros*'s Interceſſion, and your Submiſſion, we were willing to forget: But you not at all minding the Covenant then made, have every Year ſince, come into our Country in a war-like Manner, under Pretence of fighting with our *Indians*, our Friends and Neighbours, which you ought not to have done, our Agent having included them likewiſe in the Peace. You not only deſtroyed, and took ſeveral of them Priſoners, but you have alſo killed and burnt our Chriſtian People, deſtroying Corn and Tobacco, more than you made Uſe of, killed our Horſes, Hogs, and Cattle; not to eat, but to let them lie in the Woods and ſtink: This you did, when you were not denied any Thing you ſaid you wanted. CHAP. III.

" I muſt alſo tell you, that, under the Pretence of Friendſhip, you have come to Houſes at the Heads of our Rivers (when they have been fortified) with a white Sheet on a Pole, and have laid down your Guns before the Fort; upon which, our People taking you for Friends, have admitted your great Men into their Forts, and have given them Meat and Drink, what they deſired. After the great Men had refreſhed themſelves, and deſiring to return, as they were let out

" of

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" of the Fort-gates, the young Men commonly ruſhed " into the Fort, and plundered the Houſes, taking " away, and deſtroying all the Corn, Tobacco, and " Bedding, and what elſe was in the Houſes. When " they went away, they generally alſo took ſeveral " Sheep with them, and killed ſeveral Cows big with " Calf, and left them behind them cut to Pieces, and " ſlung about, as if it were in Defiance of us, and in " Deriſion of our Friendſhip. Theſe, and many " more Injuries that you have done us, have cauſed " me to raiſe Forces, to ſend to the Heads of our " Rivers, to defend our People from theſe Out- " rages, till I came to *New-York*, to Colonel *Thomas* " *Dongan*, your Governor-general, to deſire him, " as we are all one King's Subjects, to aſſiſt me in " warring againſt you, to revenge the Chriſtian " Blood that you have ſhed, and to make you " give full Satisfaction for all the Goods that you " have deſtroyed: But by the Mediation of your " Governor, I am now come to *Albany* to ſpeak " with you, and to know the Reaſon of your break- " ing the Covenant-chain, not only with us and " our neighbour *Indians*, but with *Maryland*, who " are great King *Charles*'s Subjects; for our *Indians* " have given King *Charles* their Land; therefore I, " the Governor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as " your Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and " *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of " Friendſhip is made between us all.

" Now I have let you know, that I am ſenſible " of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the " Deſire of your Governor-general, I am willing " to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Ma-* " *ryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more ſtrong " and laſting, even to the Word's End; ſo that we " may be Brethren, and great King *Charles*'s Chil- " dren.

" I pro-

" I propoſe to you, *firſt*, That you call out of
" our Countries of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, all your
" young Men or Soldiers that are now there.

" *Secondly*, That you do not hinder or moleſt our
" friendly *Indians* from hunting in our Mountains, it
" having been their Country, and none of yours;
" they never go into your Country to diſturb any
" of you.

" *Thirdly*, Though the Damages you have done
" our Country be very great, and would require a
" great deal of Satisfaction, which you are bound
" to give; yet we aſſure you, that only by the
" Perſuaſions of your Governor, who is at a vaſt
" deal of Trouble and Charge for your Welfare,
" which you ever ought to acknowledge, I have
" paſs'd it by and forgiven you; upon this Conditi-
" on, that your People, nor any living among you,
" for the future, ever commit any Incurſions upon
" our Chriſtians or *Indians* living among us, or in
" *Maryland*.

" For the better Confirmation of the ſame, and
" that the Peace now concluded may be laſting, I
" propoſe to have two * Hatchets buried, as a fi-
" nal Determination of all Wars and Jarrings be-
" tween us; one on behalf of us and our *Indians*,
" and the other for all your *Nations* united together,
" that ever did us any Injury, or pretended to war
" againſt our *Indian* Friends, or thoſe of *Mary-
" land*.

" And that nothing may be wanting for Confir-
" mation thereof (if you deſire it) we are willing
" to ſend ſome of our *Indian Sachems*, with an A-
" gent, next Summer, about this Time, that they
" may ratify the Covenant with you here, in this
" prefixed Houſe, where you may ſee and ſpeak
" together as Friends.

* All *Indians* make Uſe of a Hatchet or Axe, as an Emblem to expreſs War.

" That

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" That the Covenant now made between us, in " this prefixed Houſe, in the Preſence of your Go- " vernor, may be firmly kept and performed on " your Parts, as it always has been on ours; and that " you do not break any one Link of the Covenant- " chain for the future, by your People's coming " near our Plantations; when you march to the " Southward, keep to the Feet of the Mountains, " and do not come nigh the Heads of our Rivers, " there being no Bever-hunting there; for we ſhall " not for the future, though you lay down your " Arms as Friends, ever truſt you more, you have " ſo often deceived us."

The next Day the *Mohawks* anſwer'd firſt by their Speaker, ſaying:

" We muſt, in the firſt Place, ſay ſomething to " the other three Nations, by Way of Reproof, for " their not keeping the former Chain, as they " ought; and therefore we deſire you, great *Sa-* " *chem of Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all here " preſent to give Ear, for we will conceal nothing " of the Evil they have done." [Then turning to the other Nations.] " You have heard Yeſterday " all that has been ſaid; as for our Parts, we are " free of the Blame laid on us; we have always " been obedient to *Corlaer*, and have ſteadily kept " our Chain with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Boſton*; " but ye are ſtupid and brutiſh, and have no Un- " derſtanding, we muſt ſtamp Underſtanding into " you. Let the new Chain made Yeſterday be care- " fully preſerved for the future. This we earneſt- " ly recommend to you, for we are ready to cry " for Shame of you; let us be no more aſhamed on " your Account, but be obedient, and take this " Belt, to keep what we ſay in your Memory.

" Hear now, now is the Time to hearken; the " Covenant-chain had very near ſlipt, by your not

" keeping it firmly. Hold it faſt now, when all for- CHAP.
" mer Evils are buried in the Pit. III.

" You *Oneydoes*, I ſpeak to you as Children; be
" no longer childiſh, or void of Underſtanding.

" You *Onondagas*, our Brethren, you are like
" deaf People, that cannot hear, your Senſes are
" covered with Dirt and Filth.

" You *Cayugas*, do not return into your former
" Ways. There are three Things we muſt all ob-
" ſerve.

" *Firſt*, The Covenant with *Corlear*. *Secondly*,
" the Covenant with *Virginia* and *Maryland*.
" *Thirdly*, with *Boſton*. We muſt ſtamp Under-
" ſtanding into you, that you may be obedient;
" and take this Belt for a Remembrancer."

Then *Cadianne*, the ſame *Mohawk* Speaker, turning to my Lord, ſaid:

" We are very thankful to you, great *Sachem* of
" *Virginia*, that you are perſuaded by *Corlear*, our
" Governor, to forgive all former Faults. We are
" very glad to hear you, and ſee your Heart ſoft-
" ened. Take theſe three Bevers as a Token.

" We thank the great *Sachem* of *Virginia* for ſay-
" ing, that the Axe ſhall be thrown into the Pit.
" Take theſe two Bevers, as a Token of our Joy
" and Thankfulneſs.

" We are glad that *Aſſarigoa* * will bury in the
" Pit what is paſt. Let the Earth be trod hard
" over it; or rather, let a ſtrong Stream run under
" the Pit, to waſh the Evil away out of our Sight
" and Remembrance, and that it may never be
" digged up again.

" *Aſſarigoa*, you are a Man of Knowledge and
" Underſtanding, thus to keep the Covenant-chain
" bright as Silver; and now again to renew it, and

* The Name the *Five Nations* always give the Governor of *Virginia*.

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" make it ſtronger. (Then pointing to the three " other Nations, ſaid,) But they are Chain-break- " ers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mo-* " *hawks* have preſerved the Chain intire on our " Parts. Gives two Bevers and a Racoon.

" The Covenant muſt be kept; for the Fire of " Love of *Virginia* and *Maryland* burns in this Place, " as well as ours, and this Houſe of Peace muſt be " kept clean. Gives two Bevers.

" We now plant a Tree *, whoſe Top will reach " the Sun, and its Branches ſpread far abroad, ſo " that it ſhall be ſeen afar off; and we ſhall ſhelter " ourſelves under it, and live in Peace without Mo- " leſtation. Here he gave two Bevers.

" You propoſed Yeſterday, that if we were de- " ſirous to ſee the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you are will- " ing to ſend ſome of their *Sachems* next Summer, " about this Time, to this Place. This Propoſal " pleaſes me very much, the ſooner they come the " better, that we may ſpeak with them in this " Houſe, which is appointed for our ſpeaking with " our Friends; and give two Belts to confirm it.

" You have now heard what Exhortation we have " made to the other three Nations; we have taken " the Hatchet out of their Hands; we now there- " fore pray, that both your Hatchets may likewiſe " be buried in a deep Pit. Giving two Bevers.

" *Aſſarigoa*, ſome of us *Mohawks* are out againſt " our Enemies, that lie afar off, they will do you " no Harm, nor plunder, as the others do. Be " kind to them, if they ſhall happen to come to " any of your Plantations; give them ſome To- " bacco and ſome Victuals; for they will neither " rob nor ſteal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and " *Cayugas* have done.

* The *Five Nations* always expreſs Peace by the Metaphor of a Tree.

" The

" The *Oneydoes* particularly thank you, great *Sa-* CHAP.
" *chem* of *Virginia*, for conſenting to lay down the III.
" Axe. The Hatchet is taken out of all their
" Hands. Gives a Belt.

" We again thank *Aſſarigoa*, that he has made a
" new Chain. Let it be kept bright and clean, and
" held faſt on all Sides; let not any one pull his
" Arm from it. We include all the *four Nations*,
" in giving this Belt.

" We again pray *Aſſarigoa*, to take the *Oneydoes*
" into his Favour, and keep the Chain ſtrong
" with them; for they are our Children. Gives a
" Belt.

" The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as a Satisfac-
" tion for what they promiſed the Lord *Baltimore*,
" and deſire that they may be diſcharged of that
" Debt."

The two Governors told them, that they would uſe their Endeavours with the Lord *Baltimore*, to perſuade him to forgive what remained.

Then the *Indians* deſired that the Hole might be dug, to bury the Axes, *viz.* one in Behalf of *Virginia* and their *Indians*, another in Behalf of *Maryland* and theirs, and three for the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*. The *Mohawks* ſaid, there was no Need of burying any on their Account, for the firſt Chain had never been broke by them.

Then the three Nations ſpoke by an *Onnondaga*, called *Thanohjanihta*, who ſaid:

" We thank the great *Sachem of Virginia*, that he
" has ſo readily forgiven and forgot the Injuries
" that have been done; and we, for our Parts, glad-
" ly catch at, and lay hold of the new Chain.
" Then each of them delivered an Axe to be buri-
" ed, and gave a Belt.

" I ſpeak in the Name of all three Nations, and
" include them in this Chain, which we deſire may
" may be kept clean and bright like Silver. Gives a
" Belt.

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" We desire that the Path may be open for the " *Indians* under *Assarigoa*'s Protection, to come " safely and freely to this Place, in order to confirm " the Peace. Gives six Fathom of Wampum.

Then the Axes were buried in the south-east End of the Court-yard, and the *Indians* threw the Earth upon them; after which the Lord *Howard* told them, since now a firm Peace is concluded, we shall hereafter remain Friends, and *Virginia* and *Maryland* will send once in two or three Years to renew it; and some of our *Sachems* shall come, according to your Desire, to confirm it.

Last of all the *Oneydoes*, the *Onnondagas*, and *Cayugas*, jointly sang the Peace-song, with Demonstrations of much Joy; and thanked the Governor of *New-York* for his effectual Mediation with the Governor of *Virginia* in their Favour.

Colonel *Dungan* had gained the Affections of the *Five Nations*, and they esteemed him much.

They desired the *Duke of York*'s Arms to put upon their *Castles*, which, from the Sequel of their Story, we may suppose they were told would save them from the *French*. Colonel *Dungan* desired them to call Home those of their Nations that had settled in *Canada*.* To which they answered, *Corlear* keeps a Correspondence and Friendship with *Canada*, and therefore he can prevail more than we can.

* The *French Priests* had, from Time to Time, persuaded several of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to settle near *Montreal*; where the *French* are very industrious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewise increased by the Prisoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others that have run from their own Country; because of some Mischief that they had done, or Debts which they owed the Christians. These *Indians* are all profess'd Papists, and for that Reason are commonly called the *praying Indians* by their Countrymen, and they are called *Cahnuagas* by the People of *Albany*, from the Place where they live; the *French* value them on Account of the Intelligence they give in Time of War, and their Knowledge of the Countries.

Let *Corlear* uſe his Endeavours to draw our *Indians* Home to their own Country. CHAP. III.

The Government of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* had appointed Colonel *Stephanus Cortland*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent at this Time, to renew their Friendſhip likewiſe with the *Five Nations*, and to give them ſome ſmall Preſents; which was accordingly done.

The Governor of *New-York*, Colonel *Dungan*, concluded with this Advice to them: Keep a good Underſtanding among yourſelves; if any Difference happen, acquaint me with it, and I will compoſe it. Make no Agreement with the *French*, or any other Nation, without my Knowledge and Approbation. Then he gave the Duke's Arms to be put up at each of their Caſtles, in Hopes it might deter the *French* from attacking them, (as they were threatened from *Canada*) by this ſo manifeſt a Declaration of their being under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, when the two Crowns were in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip; but it is probable the *French* choſe this very Time to attack them, to bring them off from that Confidence they ſeemed to have in the *Engliſh*.

It may be proper, before I proceed, to inſert here alſo a remarkable Speech made by the *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas* to the two Governors, on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, *viz.*

" *Brother* Corlear,

" Your *Sachem* is a great *Sachem*, and we are but " a ſmall People; but when the *Engliſh* came firſt " to *Manhatan*,* to *Aragiſke* † and to *Yakokrana-* " *gary* ‖, they were then but a ſmall People, and we " were great. Then, becauſe we found you a good " People, we treated you kindly, and gave you Land; " we hope therefore, now that you are great, and

* *New-York.* † *Virginia.* ‖ *Maryland.*

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" we ſmall, you will protect us from the *French*. If " you do not, we ſhall loſe all our Hunting and " Bevers: The *French* will get all the Bevers. The " Reaſon they are now angry with us is, becauſe we " carry our Bever to our Brethren.

" We have put our Lands and ourſelves under " the Protection of the great *Duke of York*, the Bro- " ther of your great *Sachem*, who is likewiſe a great " *Sachem*.

" We have annexed the *Suſquehana* River, which " we won with the Sword, to this Government; " and we deſire it may be a Branch of the great " Tree that grows in this Place, the Top of which " reaches the Sun, and its Branches ſhelter us from " the *French*, and all other Nations. Our Fire " burns in your Houſes, and your Fire burns with us; " we deſire it may be ſo always. But we will not " that any of the great *Penn*'s People ſettle upon the " *Suſquehana* River, for we have no other Land to " leave to our Children.

" Our young Men are Soldiers, and when they " are provoked, they are like Wolves in the Woods, " as you, *Sachem* of *Virginia*, very well know.

" We have put ourſelves under the great *Sachem* " *Charles*, that lives on the other Side the great " Lake. We give you theſe two white dreſſed " Deer-ſkins, to ſend to the great *Sachem*, that he " may write on them, and put a great red Seal to " them, to confirm what we now do; and put the " *Suſquehana* River above the Falls, and all the reſt " of our Land under the great *Duke of York*, and " give that Land to none elſe. Our Brethren, his " People, have been like Fathers to our Wives and " Children, and have given us Bread when we were " in Need of it; we will not therefore join our- " ſelves, or our Land, to any other Government " but this. We deſire *Corlear*, our Governor, may " ſend this our Propoſition to the great *Sachem* " *Charles*, who dwells on the other Side the great

" Lake,

" Lake, with this Belt of Wampum, and this other CHAP.
" ſmaller Belt to the *Duke of York* his Brother: And III.
" we give you, *Corlear*, this Bever, that you may
" ſend over this Propoſition.

" You great Man of *Virginia*, we let you know,
" that great *Penn* did ſpeak to us here in *Corlear*'s
" Houſe by his Agents, and deſired to buy the
" *Suſquehana* River of us, but we would not hearken
" to him, for we had faſtened it to this Government.

" We deſire you therefore to bear witneſs of what
" we now do, and that we now confirm what we
" have done before. Let your Friend, that lives
" on the other Side the great Lake, know this,
" that we being a free People, though united to the
" *Engliſh*, may give our Lands, and be joined to
" the *Sachem* we like beſt. We give this Bever to
" remember what we ſay."

The *Senekas* arrived ſoon after, and, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, ſpoke to the Lord *Howard* in the following Manner:

" We have heard and underſtood what Miſchief
" hath been done in *Virginia*; we have it as perfect
" as if it were upon our Fingers Ends. O *Corlear!*
" we thank you for having been our Interceſſor, ſo
" that the Axe has not fallen upon us.

" And you *Aſſarigoa*, great *Sachem of Virginia*,
" we thank you for burying all Evil in the Pit. We
" are informed, that the *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and *Cayugas*, have buried the Axe already; now we that live remoteſt off, are come
" to do the ſame, and to include in this Chain the
" *Cahnawaas*, your Friends. We deſire therefore,
" that an Axe, on our Part, may be buried with one
" of *Aſſarigoa*'s. O *Corlear! Corlear!* we thank you
" for laying hold of one End of the Axe; and we
" thank you, great Governor of *Virginia*, not only
" for throwing aſide the Axe, but more eſpecially
" for your putting all Evil from your Heart. Now

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" we have a new Chain, a ſtrong and a ſtraight " Chain, that cannot be broken. The Tree of " Peace is planted ſo firmly, that it cannot be " moved, let us on both Sides hold the Chain " faſt.

" We underſtand what you ſaid of the great " *Sachem*, that lives on the other Side the great " Water.

" You tell us, that the *Cahnawaas* will come " hither, to ſtrengthen the Chain. Let them not " make any Excuſe, that they are old and feeble, or " that their Feet are ſore. If the old *Sachems* can- " not, let the young Men come. We ſhall not fail " to come hither, tho' we live fartheſt off, and then " the new Chain will be ſtronger and brighter.

" We underſtand, that becauſe of the Miſchief " that has been done to the People and Caſtles of " *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we muſt not come near " the Heads of your Rivers, nor near your Planta- " tions, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains; " for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we " ſhall not be truſted for the future, but looked on " as Robbers. We agree however to this Propoſition, " and ſhall wholly ſtay away from *Virginia*: And " this we do in Gratitude to *Corlear*, who has been " at ſo great Pains to perſuade you, great Governor " of *Virginia*, to forget what is paſt. You are wiſe " in giving Ear to *Corlear*'s good Advice, for we " ſhall now go a Path which was never trod be- " fore.

" We have now done ſpeaking to *Corlear*, and " the Governor of *Virginia*; let the Chain be for " ever kept clean and bright by him, and we ſhall " do the ſame.

" The other Nations from the *Mohawks* Country " to the *Cayugas*, have delivered up the *Suſquehana* " River, and all that Country, to *Corlear*'s Go- " vernment. We confirm what they have done by " giving this Belt. "

Coll.

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and *Edmond Jennings Esq*; *Attorney General* of that Province, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (according to the Lord *Howard*'s Promiſe) to renew and confirm the Peace, and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in *September* 1685.

Coll. *Bird* accuſed them of having again broke their Promiſe, by taking an *Indian* Girl from an *Engliſh* Man's Houſe, and four *Indian* Boys Priſoners.

They excuſed this, by its being done by the Parties that were out when the Peace was concluded, who knew nothing of it; which Accident they had provided againſt in their Articles. They ſaid, the four Boys were given to the Relations of thoſe Men that were loſt; and it would be difficult to obtain their Reſtoration: But they at laſt promiſed to deliver them up.

The *Senakas* and *Mohawks* declared themſelves free of any Blame, and chid the other Nations.

So that we may ſtill obſerve the Influence which the *French* Prieſts had obtained over thoſe other Nations, and to what Chriſtian like Purpoſe they uſed it.

The *Mohawks* Speaker ſaid, "Where ſhall I ſeek "the Chain of Peace? Where ſhall I find it but "upon our * Path? And whither doth our Path "lead us, but into this Houſe? This is a Houſe of "Peace;" after this he ſang all the Links of the Chain over. He afterwards ſang by Way of Admonition to the *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia Indians*.

The *French Prieſts* however ſtill employed their Influence over the *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*; and it was eaſy for them to ſpirit up the *Indians* (natural-

* The *Mohawks* Country is ſituated between the other Nations and *Albany*.

ly

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ly revengeful) againſt their old Enemies. A Party of the *Oneydoes* went out two Years after this againſt the *Wayanoak Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*, and killed ſome of the People of *Virginia*, who aſſiſted thoſe *Indians*. They took ſix Priſoners, but reſtored them at *Albany*, with an Excuſe, that they did not know they were Friends of *Virginia*. But Coll. *Dungan* on this Occaſion told them, That he only had kept all the *Engliſh* in *North-America* from joining together to deſtroy them; that if ever he ſhould hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the Hatchet, and join with the reſt of the *Engliſh* to cut them off Root and Branch; for there were many Complaints made of him to the King by the *Engliſh*, as well as by the Governor of *Canada*, for his favouring of them.

We have now gone through the material Tranſactions which the *Five Nations* had with the *Engliſh*, in which we find the *Engliſh* purſuing nothing but peaceable and Chriſtian-like Meaſures; and the *Five Nations* (tho' Barbarians) living with the People of *New-York*, like good Neighbours and faithful Friends, and generally with all the *Engliſh* alſo, except when they were influenced by the *Jeſuites*; at the ſame Time, one cannot but admire the Zeal, Courage, and Reſolution of theſe Jeſuites, that would adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their Nation; and the better to carry their Purpoſes, to comply with all the Humours and Manners of ſuch a wild People, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhed by Strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, named *Milet*, remained with the *Oneydoes* till after the Year 1694; he was advanced to the Degree of a *Sachem*, and had ſo great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he lived with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turned againſt the Southern *Indians* (Friends of the *Engliſh* ſouthern Colonies) and

and were always wavering in their Reſolutions againſt the *French* at *Canada*.

We ſhall now ſee what Effect the Policy of the *French* had, who purſued very different Meaſures from the *Engliſh*.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. De la Barre's *Expedition, and ſome remarkable Tranſactions in* 1684.

CHAP. IV.

THE *French*, in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Forts at *Taidonderaghi* and *Miſſilimakinak*, and made a Settlement there. They carried on their Commerce among the numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great Lakes, and the Banks of the *Miſſiſſipi*; they not only proſecuted their Trade among theſe Nations, but did all they could to ſecure their Obedience, and to make them abſolutely ſubject to the Crown of *France*, by building Forts at the conſiderable Paſſes, and placing ſmall Garriſons in them. They took in ſhort all the Precautions in their Power, not only to reſtrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewiſe to gain their Affections, by ſending *Miſſionaries* among them. The only Obſtruction they met with was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *Engliſh* of *New-York* into the Lakes to trade with the *Indians* that lived round them. This gave the *French* much Uneaſineſs, becauſe they foreſaw, that the *Engliſh* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which they had in Trade, beyond what it was poſſible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* ſo far to underſel them, that their Trade would ſoon be ruined, and all the Intereſt loſt which they had gained with ſo much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewiſe continued in War

The Iroquois say, they will not commit any act of hostility against you, unless you commence either by attacking the Senecas or by refusing to accept all satisfaction; for, they remark, it is painful to come to blows with their Father. They all say that their mode of warfare will be disastrous to you, but that the respect they entertain towards you, and which we also insinuate among them, withholds them until they are forced, they add, to wage a sorrowful war, despite themselves, against you. They wish, first of all, they say, to avoid the reproach of not having kept their word which they gave. I told the above to M. le Moine.

My brother[1] expects to leave with your deputies to carry to you the result of the Iroquois Diet, where the Onontagué, who assumes to be a moderator, pretends to force the Senecas to disavow what two of their Captains caused their warriors to do, and to quieten again your mind; that is, they say, by some satisfaction which may afford you an honorable pretext to pay a friendly visit to Kaniatarontagouat[2] and not to appear there as an enemy.

I forgot to inform you, that the Iroquois say they have accepted the satisfaction they received for the death of their captain, Hannhenhax, killed by the Kiskakons, and that it would seem very strange to them that you should refuse the satisfaction they wish to induce the Senecas to give you for the pillaged merchandise which, in their estimation, is next to nothing compared with that important [council] fire in your children's cabin. I pray God that He conduct matters for His glory and the country's good, and that He preserve you as long as is the wish, My Lord, of

Your very humble and most obedient
Servant,
J. De Lamberville.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

18th July, 1684.

Sir,

The Council convoked at Onnontagué was, at length, held on the 16th and 17th of July. You will see by the Memoir I inclose in this letter what you said to the Onontagués and what they reply by three Belts. Since you spoke, or I have made you speak, to the Senecas assembled here in a body, Chiefs and Warriors, and their answer, we have spoken to them by three Belts, and they have answered you by nine.

These are twelve Belts which your ambassadors take to you. I know not if you will accept the trifling pains we have taken to cause satisfaction to be given you, and to extricate you from the fatigues, the embarrassments and consequences of a disastrous war, and procure at the same time freedom of trade; for the Senecas informed me at night, by express, that they would give you more satisfaction than you expected, because they wished, through respect for you, not to wage war any more against the Oumiamis, if you so wish it, and even against any other nation if you insist on it. In fine, they do not wage war save to secure a good peace. They return without striking a blow, without shedding blood, etc.

[1] Rev. Jacques de Lamberville. — Ed.

[2] Now Irondequoit Bay, Monroe Co., N. Y.

The Seneca Iroquois offer you more than you would have believed. The Onontagués considered their honor engaged to this meeting, and have put all sorts of machinery in motion to induce the Senecas to condescend to place their affairs in their hands.

On the first day of the Council every thing was almost despaired of, and the plenipotentiaries, all excited, came to see me, saying they gained nothing on the Senecas, and that up to that time they too willingly accepted war; that they rejected the presents which you and they had made them. They sent back to me for more belts, only to combat the obstinacy of the Senecas; the chiefs and warriors acted with great zeal, so that having gained the Oneidas and Cayugas over to their side, they came to high words. Meanwhile, the Deputies succeeded one another to sound me on the state of affairs and to learn the true cause of the withdrawal of our Missionaries. Finally, I told them that the real cause was—that the displeasure they perceived you felt at being disparaged by the Senecas, and in which they also participated, had caused their withdrawal until the Senecas should satisfy you. At length the Onontagués have persuaded these to confide in them and to place their affairs in their hands—that if you did not accept their mediation, they would unite, according to their policy, with all the other Iroquois against you. La Grande Gueule[1] and his truimvirate have assuredly signalized themselves in this rencounter. My brother, who will inform you of every thing, will relate matters more in detail. Meanwhile we await your orders which you will please convey to us by M. le Moine, whom the Onontagues request you to send instantly to them at Choüeguën in all security and without the least fear.

I have great esteem for your person, and considerable desire to preserve the honor of his Brittannick Majesty's good graces as well as those of my Lord the Duke of York, and I even believe that they will greatly appreciate my chastisement of those who insult you and capture you every day as they have done this winter in Merilande. But if I was so unfortunate as that you desired to protect robbers, assassins and traitors, I could not distinguish their protector from themselves. I pray you, then, to attach faith to the credit which I give Sieur de Salvaye to explain everything to you; and, if the Senecas and Cayugas wish your services as their intecessor to take security from them, not in the Indian but in the European fashion, without which and the honor of hearing from you, I shall attack them towards the 20th of the month of August, New Stile.

Sir

Your very humble Servant

LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

[Par. Doc. II.; Lond. Doc. V.]

INSTRUCTIONS

WHICH SIEUR DE LA BARRE KING'S COUNCILLOR IN HIS COUNCILS, GOVERNOR & HIS LIEUTENANTG ENERAL IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF NEW FRANCE AND ACADIA, GIVES TO SIEUR DE SALVAYE HIS AMBASSADOR TO COLONEL DONGAN, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THE UNFAITHFULNESS AND VIOLENCES COMMITTED BY THE SENECAS AND CAYUGAS AGAINST THE FRENCH.

He is, in the first place, to make known to him the quarter where the pillage of the seven canoes was perpetrated, and that it is more than 400 leagues distant from here and an equal distance, at least, Southwest from Albany, in the 39th or 40th degree.

That the place has been occupied over 25 years by the French who there established Catholic Missions of the Jesuit Fathers, and traded there (*on fait la traitte*) since that time, without the English having ever known, or spoken of, that country.

That the question is not about the country of the Iroquois, nor the Eastern shores of Lake Erie.

That the Iroquois having lived, previous to the arrival of M. de la Barre, with little consideration for the French, he was desirous to speak with them, to see if they were friends or foes, and for that purpose they were all assembled at Montreal last August where every thing was arranged on a friendly basis; even the Senecas and Cayugas had demanded the said Sieur de la Barre to withdraw Sieur de la Salle from the government of Fort St. Louis, in Illinois; which he caused to be done and had the said Sieur de la Salle sent to France in the month of last November.

That notwithstanding this, and all the protestations they had made, a band of 200 warriors, Senecas and Cayugas having met in the month of March of this year, seven canoes manned by 14 Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of Merchandize, who were going to trade with the Scious, towards the Southwest, pillaged them and took them prisoners, without any resistance from the said Frenchmen, who considered them as friends, and after having detained them nine days, with thousands of taunts and insults, released them without having given them either arms or canoes for provisions and to cross the rivers. After which the said Iroquois went and attacked Fort St. Louis, where Sieur Chevalier de Blangy was in the place of said Sieur de la Salle who had been withdrawn at their request. Having made three assaults and been vigorously repulsed, they withdrew from before the said Fort the 29th of said month of March.

That Sieur de la Barre having seen these acts of hostility committed in time of established peace and which Teganeout their Ambassador was coming to him to confirm, he might have adopted two courses, one to detain the said ambassador, and the other to wage war against them, not being able to endure a treachery of that description against the Christian name and French Nation.

That, things being in this condition, he could not believe that Colonel Dongan would interfere therein in any way, if it were not to unite with him in destroying these traitors and Infidels.

That the Mohawks and Oneidas, neighbours of Albany, have no part in all this war, and that he has envoys at Onontagué to see if they will take a part.

That his troops being assembled and on the march, he cannot postpone attacking the Senecas unless by losing the campaign.

That in despatches dated the 5th of August last, the King his master was pleased to communicate to him the information which he had received from the King of England, of the appointment of Colonel Dongan as Governor of New York, with express orders to maintain good understanding and correspondence with said Sieur de la Barre, who, on that account, could have no idea that he had any intention to protect a treachery and injustice similar to that committed by villains on Frenchmen.

Done at the Camp of Lachine the 24th July 1684.

Signed, LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

And lower down by M. REGNAUT.

Edward Baron of Dungarvan Govr &c
and Govern^r Gen^ll of Virginia To the Maquas
Oneydes Onnandagoes and Cayouges Sachims in the
Court House of Albany the 30th day of July 1684

It is now seven Years since you (unprovoaked) came into Virginia a Country belonging
to ye great King of England & comitted Severall murthers & Robberys carrying
our Christian Woman & Children Prisoners into y^e: Castles at which Injurys wee
had designed to have revenged upon you; But by the desire of y^e: Govr: Andross
then Govern^r Gen^ll of this Country, wee desisted from destroying you, and sent our
Agents Coll William Kendall & Coll Southey Littleton to confirme & make sure the
Peace y^t Coll Courtney of Maryland included us in, when first wee treated with you,
But wee find, that as you quickly forgott what you promised Coll Courtney soe you
have likewise willfully broake the Covenant Chaine which you promist our Agent
Coll Kendall Should bee both Strong & bright if wee of Virginia would bury in Ever-
Pitt of Oblivion the Injurys you had then done us, we which upon Govern^r
Andross Intercession, & y^e: Submission wee were willing to forgett; But you not
att all minding ye Covenants then made, have ever since, came into our Country
in a warlike manner under pretensions of fighting with our friends & Neighbour
Indians which you ought not to have done, our Agent having included them
in the Peace, But you not only destroyed & took Prison: many of them, but you
have also killed & destroyed & burnt our Christian People destroying of our Corne
& tobacco now then you made vse off, killing of our Horses, Hoggs & Cattle, -
not to Eat, but to Let them Lye in the woods & Stinke this you did when ye you were
not denyed any thing that you said you wanted. (III)

I must also tell you that under pretence of friendship you have come to our houses
all the heads of our Rivers, where they have been forted with a white Flagg upon
a Pole (for a ffort) And have laid downe ye Guns before the fort -
Upon which our People taking you to bee friends have admitted y^e: great -
Men into their ffort, and have given them meat & drink what they desired -
After the great men had refreshed themselves & desireing to returne, as they -
were Let out of the ffort Gates the young Men rushed into the ffort and -
Plundered the Howse, takeing away & destroying all the Corne, tobacco Bedding &

what

What else was in the house, and when they went away they tooke several sheep with them & killed several Cowes bigg with calf, & left them behind them cutt to peices & flung about, as if it were in derysion of ye Peace and dispising of our friendship.

Now and many more Injurys that you have done us has caused me to raise forces to send to the heads of our Rivers to defend our People from yor outrages till I came to New-York to tell Thomas Dongan yor Govern^r Gen^ll: to desire him, that as wee are all one Kings Subjects to assist mee in warring ag^st you to revenge ye Christians blood you have shed, and to make you give full satisfaction for all the goods that you destroyed and taken out of our Country of Virginia; But by ye Mediation of yor Govern^r, I am now come to Albany to speake with you and to know the Reason of yor breaking the Covenant Chaine not only with us & our Neighbour Indians but with Maryland who are great King Charles Subjects, for our Indians have given great Sum Gifts & their Land & pay them tribute, Therefore I the Govern^r of Virginia will protect them as yor Govern^r under the great Duke of York & Albany will henceforth you when the Chaine of Freindship is made between us all.

Now that I have let you understand I am Greeved of all the Injurys you have done us, by ye desire of yor noble Govern^r Gen^ll I am willing to make a new Chaine with you for Virginia, Maryland & our Indians, that may be stronger & more lasting even to the worlds End, soe that wee may bee as Brethren and great King Charles Children. I Propose to You

That you forthwith call out of our Country of Virginia & Maryland all your young men or Souldiers that are now there. 112

That you doe not hinder or molest our freind Indians from Hunting att our Mountaines itt having been there Country & none of yo^rs for they never goe into yor Country to disturbe any of you.

Though the damages you have done in our Country is very great & would require a great deal of satisfaction, which you are bound to give and satisfye, yett wee assure you, that only by the perswation of yor Govern^r who is att a vast deale of trouble & charge for yor welfare which you ever

Ought

Inght to acknowledge, I have past it by & forgiven you vpon this Condition That yor People nor any living amongst you never commett any Incursions on our ffriends or Indians living among vs or in Maryland & for the better confirmation of the same, & that the Peace now concluded may bee lasting; I propose to have two hatchetts to bee buried as a finall determination of all Warr & Jarreing betwixt vs, the one in behalf of vs & our Indians & the other for all yor Nations vnited together that ever did vs any Injury or pretended any Warr ag^t our ffriend Indians or Maryland. And that nothing may bee wanting that might contribute the confirmation hereof, if you desire it wee are willing to send some of our Indian Sachims with an Agent next Summer about this time that they may ratifye this Covenant with you here in the prefixed house where you may see & speak together as ffriends.

That ye Covenant now made betwixt vs in this prefixed house in the presence of yor Govern^r may bee firmely keept & performed on yor Part as it alway hath been on Ours, And that you doe not break any link of ye Covenant Chayne for the future by yor People comeing near our Plantations when you march to the southward that you keep to the foot of ye Mountaine & not come nere the heads of our Rivers there being now Beaver hunting there for we shall not for the future (though you lay downe yor Armes) as ffriends ever trust you more, you having soe often deceived vs.

Was given to Each Nation — 20 ^{yds} Duffells
1 Doz: Stockings
40 Gild^d Wampum
1 ffatt Cup
1 Roll Tobacco
Bread & other Provision

113

The same Proposition was made to the Sennekeys & the like Present as to the other Nations.

The four Nations speak to my Lord Howard by
Iviarne the Maquas Speaker

1 Wee are very thankfull to you great Sachem of Virginia y you are pleased
to bee perwaded by Surlair our Govern. to forgive all former faults, wee
very glad to hear & hear yo heart is softned & doe give 5 Beavers

2 Wee doe thank y great Sachem of Virginia for his great Clemency & y nice mat
laid y axe shall bee throwne in the Pitt of Oblivion for w. wee are very
joyfull & thankfull doe give three Beavers

3 Wee are glad that Assarigoa is soe good not only to carry in the Pitt of
Oblivion, y w. is past & Stamp thereupon, but Lett a Strong Current or Stream run
under the Pitt to carry away all the dirt doe give 2 Beavers

4 My Lord you are a Man of great knowledge & understanding, that can new the
Covenant chayne soe cleare as silver & now againe renew enlarge & make y same
firmer (and y. Speaker doing Message) Coming to y Sweydes, Innondans &
Cayonges said they are Covenant Breakers & this & lay downe as a token that w
Maquase have kept the Covenant intire on our Parts doe give 2 Beavers & Rac

5 The Covenant must bee kept & y fire of Love & friendship of Virginia & Maryla
burn here as well as our fires doore & this Covenant house must bee kept cleane
doe give 2 Beavers

6 Wee plant now a tree as high as y Sun whose branches will spread farr abroad y
it may bee seen afarr off under w. we may shelter our selves & live in peace
without molestacon doe give 2 Beavers.

7 Brother hearken, wee are desirous to see y Indians of Virginia may take me
by y hand & conduct them hither y dispatching of w. is very requisite you propos
to us yesterday y if wee were desirous to see y Indians of Virginia y you was
willing to send some of theire Sachims next Summer about this time wch w. is
very acceptable to us y sooner y better y wee may speak with them in this —
prefixed house where wee are wont to speak with our friends doe give 2 Belts

8 The Maquas said you have now heard what Exortations wee have given
to the three Nations & taken the Hatchett out of theire Hands & now wee pray y
yo Hatchett may likewise bee buried in the Pitt doe give 2 Beavers.

9 Lett y River bee secure & open for wee sometimes make propositions to y Raritan
& Newsinks Indians but especially Lett yo Indians of Virginia come securely hither
y wee may keep a good Correspondence with them

10 My Lord, there are some of our Allaguase out ag^t here Enemyes ayar^r of they are a People-wch they come to ye Plantacons will doe you noe harme nor plunder as the^y others doe, if they should happen to come to any of your Plantacons give them some tobacco & some Victualls they will neither loo^k no shoot as ye Oneydes Onnondages & Sayouges have done

Idaune ye Allaguase Speaker to My Lord

1 Doeth say in behalf of ye Oneydes that they thank his Lordshipp & hee hath giv Car & understanded to lay downe ye Place & includes all the Nations that the Hatchett is taken out of all there hands doe give a belt of Wampum.

2 Doe thank his Lordshipp y^t ye Covenant chaine is renewed adding y^t it must bee kept cleane & bright & if noe Arm must bee pulled out of ye same including all the fou^r nations doe give a belt of Wampum.

3 Lett ye Covenant bee kept strong with ye Oneydes for they are in ye Covenant and therefore my Lord it is our request if you take them into friendship doe give a belt of Wampum.

4 Wee Oneydes doe give twenty Beaver in satisfaction of y^t which was taken to my Lord Baltimore & doe say y^t wee ought to bee discharged

Whereupon my Lord Howard & ye Governo^r told them if they would take car that my Lord Baltimore should forgive them the rest

5 Desires y^t the Hole may bee digged to bury ye Axes, Viz^t two in behalf of Virginia & Maryland with there friendIndians living amongst them & three for the Oneydes, Onnondags, & Sayouges for wee Allaguase have noe hand in the Axe

Now the three Nations speak by another Speaker called Sawgoanakan an Onnondage

1 Wee doe thank the great Jackin of Virginia that hee is soe good as to cause & forgett ye evill y^t is past & wee take & lay hold of ye Covenant & Chain of the three Nations doe deliver an Axe to bee buryed, the Allaguase holding themselves innocent of ye evill done doe give a belt of Wampum.

2 The Onnondages doe desire there axe to bee buried & doe give a belt of Wamp. the Sayouges & Oneydes did the same.

3 Saith hee speaks in name of ye three Nations & includes them in ye Covenant & desires that the Covenant chaine may bee kept cleare & bright like Silver doe give a belt of Wamp.

All the Nations speak to my Lord

And desire that the Path may bee open that the Indians and yo[r] Excellys Protection may come safely & freely hither to confirme y[e] Peace also give for fadome of Wampum

After the two Days were buried Viz[t] one for Virginia & three Indians and one for my Lord Baltimore & his Indians & three for the Sinecas and Onnondages & Cayouges which was done at the South East End of the Fort Yard & when the Indians had put y[e] Earth upon y[e] Grave, My Lord told them since a firme Covenant & Agreement was now made they should remaine friends & they of Virginia & Maryland should send once in two or three Yeares to renew y[e] Covenant & friendship & hee will send according to yo[r] desire for of y[e] Virginia Indian Sachims next Yeare about this time to confirme this Peace

When all was done y[e] Sinecas, Onnondages & Cayouges sung a Song of Peace after their manner with all imaginable Demonstracons of Joy y[t] y[e] Peace was concluded

And in their propositions to the Govern[r] of New York also give him many thanks, for his Mediation & Intercession to y[e] great Sachim of Virginia in their behalf & for bringing of my Lordship hither to conclude this ferme Peace

Present

The Right Hon.ble Francis Lord Bacon
Baron of Effingham, Gouernor &c
of Virginia

The Right hon.ble Thomas Dongan
Gouern.r for of N. York &c

The Magistrates of Albany

Mr Livingston Secret.r for Ind.s affairs

The names of the Indians
Sodiankie
Canaqdordawie
Sachdackgwis
Rode
Kankdro
Twighsi
Askanondo

The Maquase Sachims answer
to the Propositions made by Mr.
Stephanus van Cortlant agent
for the Colonie of Massachu=
=setts in N: England in the
Towne hall of Albanie the 31.st
day of July Ao 1684

I Well thank the Brethren of Boston for your Pro=
=posalls made to us three yeares ago, which wee answred last
yeare, and returned you thanks, and wee thank you for the Present
given us yesterday, doe giue Two Beuers

2 Wee are glad that the Covenant is kept soe fast on both sides,
wee shall never be wanting on our Part, but shall keep
it (time and Occasion Lable) and you must doe the same, doe
giue Two Beuers

3 Wee see you have understanding to keep the Covenant well, by your
Coming here, to Renue the Chaine, that it may be kept Clean
& Left no Breach or Rustick grow therein that the Cove=

= nant may Last for Ever; doe give Two Beav.

4 This is the Covenant house, when any Covenants are Renewed
This is the Prefixed Place, which must be kept clean, and
doe give Two Beav.

5 The Covenant chain must be kept clear and bright, and wee all
Viz. our Governour, the Govern. of Virginia, and y. Massa-
chusetts Collony, and wee Allgate are in one Covenant
doe give 2 Beav.

6 Wee doe Plant here a great Tree of Peace, whose Branches
doe spread abroad as fair as the Massachusetts Colony
Virginia, Mary-land, and all that are in friendship with
us, and doe Live in Peace, unite & Tranquillitie
under the Shade of said Tree, doe give Two Beav.

Brethren of Boston, wee doe again remind you, that when any
Covenant is to be Renewed with us, it is to be done in this
Court house. doe give Two Beavrs.

8. Wee Renew the Covenant again, and doe make the Chain
bright, and clear and keep the Brethren of Boston will
doe the same, and offer no Rust to come upon it, doe give
Two Beavrs.

This is a true Copy
Translated Compared &
Revised by me
R. Livingston Sc.

Travers

The R.t Hon.ble Francis Lord Howard
Baron of Effingham Gov.r Gen.ll of
his Ma.ties Dominions of Virginia

The Truly Hon.ble Coll.o Tho.s Dongan
Gov.r Gen.ll of N. York and Depend.
encies in America

Ralph Wormly Esq.r one of the
Council of Virginia

The Hon.ble Jennings Ad. Gen.ll of
Virginia

Mr. Joseph. V. Cortland one of the
Council of the Province

Mr. John Spragg one of the Counc.rs
& Sec.ry of the Province and the
Magistrates of Albany

Interpreted by Arnout Col. Viele
Interpreter Averred by Rob.t
Livingston

Names of the Sachems of each
of the Maquaes

Tichoheros alias Odianne Speaker
Sondoreye
Sahajaroden
Sagochiaquin
Adoe
Kanhetero
Cayohto
Swegeneendo

The Oneyde Sachims
Scharoderwa
Kayenderiyo
Tekarihogea

The Onondage Sachims
Thanaghtiaghkin
Sigonghtahkendo
Sahaiperonyo

The Cayouge Sachims
Osrochin
Oyerherhawie
Kannaseratie

The Maqaas. Oneydes
Onondages and Cayouges
Answer to the Propositions
Made them Yesterday by the
Rt. Hon.ble Francis Lord
Howard Baron of Effingham
Gov.r Gen.ll of his Majesties
Dominions of Virginia in the
Town House of Albany the
3d. of July 1684

The Maquaes Said Nothing
Their Speaker

We Must Say Something to
the other Three Nations by way
of Reproof for their not keep-
ing the former Covenants as they
Ought and then Proceed to our
Business. And therefore
We desire you great Sachims
Virginia & yor Collaer and all
People here present to hearken
for we will Councill nothing of
the Evil they have done
And Say to the Three Nation
of Oneydes Onondages and
Cayouges

You have heard yesterday
all what was Said to you for our
Parts we are free of the Blame
Layed upon us of the Evil done
in Virginia and Maryland
You are Stupid Brutish and have
no Understanding that have
broke the Coven.t Chain in that
Manner We have alway

&c.

1684

N.Y. 54

F4 2A1 65

Brethren Ogdoni: I do Declare that on the Govr
part and always kept our Covenant with Virginia
Maryland and Boston And therefore we much
Stamp understanding in you, That the Covenant
Made yesterday be well kept for the future
which we do hereby recommend unto you for be-
ing almost for Shame for your disobedience
Pray Let us be no more ashamed on your behalf
but be Obedient Whereupon we do give you as
a Token a Belt of Wampum

2 — Hearnow, Now is the Time to hearken &
Observe, Since the Covenant Chain now so near
Slipping You never kept your Covenant true
Keep it longer, Since all the former Evils is buryed
in the Path of Oblivion And ranged the 3
Nations by name & charged them Strictly
That this [illegible]

War

3 — To the Onondages I speak to you as Children be-
more void of Understanding.

You Onondages our brethren you are
Like Deaf People that cannot hear, it was
if you were out of your Senses or covered with
Dust or filth or a Cloud upon your Under-
standing

You Younger do not go back in this
Covenant There are 3 things viz: we much
Observe
1: The Covenant viz: Order 2. The Covenant with
Them of Virginia and Maryland 3. The Coven:
viz: Then of Boston We do Stamp Understanding
into you and do recommend you heartily to
be Obedient To give a belt of Wampum

This Nation will speak to my Lord Howard by Odianne the Maquaes Speaker

1 We are very Thankfull to you great Sachim of Virginia That you are pleased to be Perswaded by our Governour to Clear to forgive all former faults being we are glad to See and hear That your hearts are Softened and Do give three Beavers

2 We do Thank the great Sachim of Virginia for his great Clemency And that he Sayth That the Ax Shall be Thrown in the Pit of Oblivion for we we are very Joyfull and Thankfull, Do give two Beavers

3: We are glad That Assarigoa is so good not only to bury in the pitt of Oblivion that which is past And Stamp thereupon but Set a Strong Current or Streame run over the Pitt to Carry away with the Evill: Do give Two Beavers

4: My Lord you are a man of great Prowess & Understanding that you keep the Covenant Chain So Clear as Silver And now again receive Inlarge And make the Same firmer And the Speaker Giving a Maquaes Pointing to the Oneydes Onondagoes And Cayouges Sayd they are Covenant breakers And this I Lay down be a Token that we maquaes have kept the Covenant Intire on our parte Do Give Two Beavers and one Raccoon

5: The Covenant must be keeped and the fire of Love and friendship of Virginia & Maryland burne here as well as our fire Doth And this Covenant House must be kept Clean And Do Give Two Beavers

6: We Plant now a Tree as high as the Sun whose branches will Spread far abroad that it may be Seen a far off Under w. we may Shelter our Selves And Live in peace without Molestation do give Two Beavers

You proposed to us yesterday That if we
Were Desirous to See the Indians of Virginia
That you was willing to Send some of Ours
Jackuns next Summer ab.t this time here
w.ch is very Acceptable to us the Sooner the
better That we Speak w.th them in this Brick
House where we are wont to Speak without
Trees &c Do give two Belts

8 The Maquas Do Say you have now heard
what Exhortations we have given to the three
Nations and Taken the Hatchet out of their
Hands and now we Pray that your Hatchet
may Likewise be buryed in the Pitt Do
give two Belts

9 Let the river be Secure & open for we
Sometimes Make Propositions to the
Five Nations Five Northern Indians but
Especially Let your Indians of Virginia
Come Securely hither that we may keep a
good Correspondence w.th them

10 My Lords there are Some of our Maquas
Out ag.t their Enemies a Par of They are a
People when they Come to your Plantations
will Do you no harm nor Murder as the
Others Do, If they Should happen to Come to
any of your Plantations Give them Some
Tobacco and Some Victuells they will
Neither rob nor Steal as the Oneydes
Onondages and Cayouges have Done

Adianna the Maquas Speaker to my Lord

1 Doth Say in behalf of the Onnyders that they Thank his Lordyp that he hath given ear and Condescended to Lay down the Axe & Includes all the Nations that the Hatchet is taken out of all their hands (Do give one Belt of Zewant

2 Do Thank his Lordisp that the Covenant Chain is (Renewed, adding that it must be keeped clean and bright and that no arm must be spilled out of the same Including all the four Nations Gave a belt of Zewant

3 Let the Covenants be keeped Strong w.th the Onnyders for they are in our Covenants And therefore my Lord it is our request that you take them Into friendship Do give a Belt

4 The Onnyders Do give twenty Beavers in Satisfaction of that which was promised to my Lord Baltimore, and do Sigu that they ought to be Discharged — Whereupon my Said Howard and the Governour Told them they would take care that my Lord Baltimore Should forgive them the rest

5 Desires that the hole may be Digged to bury the Axes Viz.t two in behalf of Virginia and Maryland w.th their friend Indians Living amongst them And three for the Onnyders Onondagers & Cayougers for we Maquas have no hand in the Axe

Now the Three Nations do Speak by another Speaker called Thanoghjanishtas an Onondago

1 They do Thank the great Sachim of Virginia that he is so good to forget & forgive the Evils that is passed and we Catch and lay hold of the Covenant and Each of the Three Nations do

Delivers

Deliver an axe to be buryed the Mequawes
Holding them with the Innocents of the Evil
done Give a Belt of Zuwank

2 The Onondagoes do Deliver their axe to be
buryed and do give a belt of Zuwank The
Cayougoes and Oneydes Did the Same

3 Youth That he Speaks in the name of the
Five Nations and Includes them in the
Covenant & Desires that the Covenant Chain
may be keeped clear and bright like Silver
Do give a belt of Wampum

All the four Nations Speak to
My Lord

And Desires that the path may be open that
the Indians under your Lo:ps protection
may come Safely and freely hither to confirm
this Peace Do give 6 fathom of Wampum
after the Two Axes were buryed to wit one for
Virginia and their Indians & one for my
Lord Baltimore and his Indians and
three for the Oneydes Onondagoes and
Cayouges which was done at the South East
End of the Court yard And when the Indians
had put the Earth upon the Axes My Lord
told them since a firm Covent & agreement
was now made they should renew their
And they of Virginia & Maryland should
send once in two or three years to renew
the Covt & friendship And will send accord
to your Desire Some of the Virginia Indian
Kechiny next year ab: this time to confirm
this Peace when all was done the Onondagoes
Oneydes & Cayouges Sung a Song of Peace
After their Manner &: all Imaginable

Demonstration

Demonstration of Joy that the Peace was
Concluded Vpon their Propositions to the Govr
of New York do give hiem many Thanks for his
Mediation and Intercession to the great Sachim
of Virginia on their behalf. And for bringing
by His Lordps.Ither to Conclude this Firm Peace

The Sinnekes Answer to the Propo-
sitions Made to them by the R. Hon.ble
Francis Lord Howard Baron of
Effingham Govr. Gen.l of his Maj.ties
Dominion of Virginia &c. in the
Court House of Albany the 5th. of
August 1684

1 We have Heard & understood that which
hath been Told us concerning the Evil Done in
Virginia and Maryland We have it as perfect
as if it were in our finger Ends O Corlae
We Thank you for Having Seen our Intercession
And that the Axe hath not fallen upon us
And you Great Sachim great Sachim of Virginia
We Thank you that you bury all Evil together
with the Axe in the Pit of Oblivion We are Informed
That the Maquas Cheefs Onondagoes and
Cayouges have buryed the Axe already and
for that Live the Northern nations are come to do
the Same Including in this Covent your friend
Indians called Schnawys that Live among
you And Desire that one Axe on our Parts may
be buryed together with one of my Lords O Corlaes
Corlaes We Thank you for holding one End of
the Axe and Thank you great Govr of Virginia
not only for Throwing aside the Axe but that you
have Put all Evil out of your hearts, Now We
have a new Covenant a Strong & Streight Chain
That Cannot be Lowed And the Tree of Peace is
Now

Now I canted no fault that it Cannot be
Moved. Let us hold fast the Covenant both
Sides —
We have understood that what you Sayed
of the great Sachim that Lives over the
great Waters, as also that you Say of the
Nachnaways or Virginia Indians will come
near to Confirm the Cov.t Let them not
make any Excuse that they are old & feeble
And that their Selves are Sorry the old
Sachims Cann not Come Let the young
Men come We shall not fail to Let here tho
We Live. Then shall our Chain be Stronger & better — We
have understood what has been Said of the
Evil done to the People & Cattle of Virginia
and Maryland and that we should not come
near to the heads of their rivers — near
your Plantations but keep to the foot of
the Mountains We do accept of the
Proposition and for preventing of Mischief
for the Time to come We Shall not come near
your Plantations because you tell us tho
We Lay down our Arms as fast as we yet we
Shall not be Trusted but Looked upon as
Robbers Therefore we will wholely Stay away
from thence. Should we not do this further
having been at so great Pains to perswade
you great Gov.r of Virginia to forgive us
both Passed We Commend Your understanding
That you have been pleased to give Ear to
Counsel & good Advice We Shall for the
future go a Path that never was gone
before We have now done with Speaking
to Counsel and the Gov.r of Virginia
Let the Cov.t Chain for Ever be kept clean

and —

And Lieutt Andrew Shall do the same the
Other Nations from the Maquas Country to the
Cayouges have delivered up the Chuquonaro river
And all their Country to Corlaers Govern.t Also w.ch
We Cannekes do Confirm and Do the like Dos
gwe a Belt of Wampum And Say that Therefore
Beavers at the Onondages Castle w.ch are Coming
here Viz.t 6 Beavers to Curlaers and five for
great Sachim of Virginia

Propositions Made by Mr Stephanus
Van Cortland Authorized by the Govern.t of
the Massachusets Colony in New England
to the Maquase Sachims in the Town Halle of
Albany the 30.th Day of July 1684

1 That the Govern.t of the Massachusetts Colony
have Ever had a Brotherly Correspondence w.th the
Severall Races of the Maquase

2 That because it hath been firmly & Inviolably
kept on their Parts as well as ours the Longer it
Continues of the greater Value we do Account it

3 That we give you our Thanks for your Present
Left for us at Albany w.th Rich.d Pretty 10.th being
great Distance from us it was Sometime before
we had Notice thereof And the Winter Coming
on hath Prevented our Coming until now to ratify
our friendship w.th you

4 That there were Two Prisoners Sent from your
brethren of the Massachusets to have Come up
And Seek you at this time but being a while
Since at York And finding that his Hon.r the Gov.r
was not then ready for his Journey hither And
These Occasions not Allowing Long Stay they w.th
the Gov.r Advice have Ingaged me to make Known
And ratify their former & happy friendship with you &
that behalf Do give you

90: Wampum
30 Ells duffels
12 Shirts
1 doz Stockings
3 Kettle of Rum

9

13

Proposition or Oration of
The Onondages Cayouges Sachims
Made in the Town House of Albany
before the R: Hon: the Lord Effingham
Gov: of Virginia and Coll: Thomas
Dongan Gov: of New York &c: the 2.
of Aug: 1684

Brother Corlaer

Your Sachim is a great Sachim, and we are but a Small People this The English came to the Manhatans that is N: York & Aroquestre w: is now Called Virginia and to Sasquehanagere now called Maryland They were but a Small People and due a great People and finding they were good People, We gave them Land and Treated them Civilly And now Since you are a great People And we but Small you will Protect us from the French w: if you do not we: shall loose all our Hunting & Bevere The french will have all the Bevers and are Angry w: us for bringing any to the Brethren

We have Put all our Land & our Selves under the Protection of the great Duke of York the brother of your great Sachim Who is also a great Sachim, We have given the Susquehanne River w: we Won w: the sword to their Governm: & Desire that it may be a branch of that great Tree that grows here whose Topp reaches to the Sun under whose branches we Shall Shelter our Selfs from the French or any other People and our Fire burns in your Houses and your fires burns w: us And we Desire that it always may be So, And will not that any of great Penns People Shall Settle upon the Susquehanne River for our Young Dogs or Beavers

Soldiers are like Wolves in the Woods as your
Sachim of Virginia knows, We having no other
Land to leave to our Wives and Children —
We have Lett our Selves under the great Sachim
Charles That Lives over the great Lake and we
Do give you two white Dear Skins to be sent
to the great Sachim Charles That he may write upon
Them and put a great red Seal to them — That we
do Lett the River Suchanne River above the ...
Warraghtas or Belly and all the rest of our Land —
under the great Duke of York & no body Else
Our Brethren his People Being as Fathers to our
wives and Children & did give us Ware & when we
were in need of it and we will neither Coyn our
Selves nor our Land to any other God: than to this
And this Proposition We desire that Corlaer the
Gov: may Send over to the great Sachim Charles
That Dwells over the great Lake w.th this Belt
of Wampum Pledge and another Smaller Belt for
the Duke of York his brother & We give a Bever —
to you Corlaer to Send over this Proposition ——

And You great Man of Virginia Meaning
The Lord Effingham Gov.r of Virginia, We Lett you
know that great Penn did Speak to us here in —
Corlaers House by his Agents and Desired to
buy the Suxquehanne River, but we would not
Hearken to him having Fastned us to this —
Governm.t and therefore we desire that you would
bear Witness of what we now Doe and that we
Confirm what we have already done And Lett your
friend the great Sachim that Lives over the great
Lake Know here of that we being a free People
Uniting our Selves to the English it may be in
our Power to give our Land to what Sachim we
Please; & Do give you one Bever Skin —

a Copy hereof —
Sent to the Gov:
Dongan the
3ay of Sep.r 1686.

11

Presents
The R: Honble Francis Ld Howard Baron of Effingham Govr Gen^ll of Virginia The R^t Honble Col^o Thos Dongan Govr Gen^ll of New York & the Magistrates of Albany &c^a

The Iraquais Sachims answer to the Propositions made by Mr Stephanus Curtland Agent for the Colony of Massachusett in New England in the Town Hall of Albany the 31st July 1684.

Interpreter Arnout Cornelis

The Names of ye Sachims Speaker

Odiarte
Canondondawe
Tachajoris
Sachpichguis
Rade
Kanhedro
Sazighto
Suskanunda

1 We Thank the brethren of Boston for ye proposals Made to us three years ago wch we answered about 4 years And returned you thanks And we thank you for the Present you gave us yesterday Do give two Bevers

2 We are glad that the Cov^t is keeped so fast on both Sides We Shall never be Wanting on our Parts but Shall keep it Firm & Inviolable & you must Do the Same Do give two Bevers

3 We See that you have Understanding to keep the Cov^t Chain by your coming here to renew the same, Let the way be keeped clean & let no Brush or Rubbish grow thereon that the Cov^t may last for Ever Do give two Bevers

4 This is the Cov^t house when any Covenants are renewed this is the prescribed place which Must be keeped clean & do give two Bevers

5 The Covent^t must be keeped clear & bright & And we all to with our Govr the Govr of Virginia and the Massachusets Colony and we Iraquas are in one Cov^t Do give two Bevers

6 We Do plant here a great Tree of Peace whose branches do Spread abroad as far as The Massachusets Colony Virginia Maryland and all that are in Friendship wth us

12 + and

And Do Live in Peace Unity & Tranquility
Under the shade of the Tree Do give two Beavers.

7 Brethren of Boston We do again acquaint
you that when any Covent is to be renewed w:ch is
is to be done in this Covenant house do give two
Beavers

8 We Do renew the Cov:t again and do make the Chain
bright & Clear, and hope the Brethren of Boston will
Do the Same and Suffer no Rust to come upon it.
Do give two Beavers

This is a True Copy translated
Compared & Examined Pr me
R: Livingston
C C

Preserts as before

The Maquas Sachims Answers in
behalf of themselves & the other Nat:
to the Propozally made by the Right
Hon: Coll: Thom: Dongan in the Town
House of Albany the 31st. of July 1684.

1 Brother Corlaers We are glad to See you here
Safe arrived not only we but those that their
Heir meaning their women and Include the
other three Nations here present (to wit) the
Onondages Oneydes and Cayouges who also
Congratulate your safe Arrivall. There is one
thing w:ch we much desire (to wit) the Arms of his
Royall Highness the Duke of York to Set upon
our Castles which being given they Catch'd at very
greedily Shewing thereby the great desire they
had to the Duke's Arms Do give two Beavers

2 We have heard and Understood that which
was Said yesterday but we Maquas are not
guilty of the Evil done in Virginia & Maryland
We do Clear our Selves and will neither Conceal
nor

Now Hide it These three Nations that Sit
there and Pointing to the Oneydes Onondagos
and Cayouges Said you are alike Dogs
to Kill and Eat Cattle Horses & Hogs
(Meaning their young Indians that go out
a fighting) Concerning the Deliverance of our
Land and that you are Pleased to Accept of
the Same is most Pleasing & agreeable to
us Do give three Beavers

3 Brother Corlaer (You about the Covenant
you must keep the Cov. and we shall hold it
fast the Chain must alike to Slip yesterday
(Meaning the Propos. made to them by the
Gov. of Virginia) but now it must be kept
fast and firm on all Sides and do recommend
the other three Nations to do their Duty and be
Obed. Do give a Beaver a Otter and a Mater

1 We Spoke now of the Covenant wch we do hold
firm & Strong and this Covent. house we keep
and plant a great high Strong Tree being
the Tree of Peace that cannot be moved nor
Shaken. Do give three Beavers

(5 Now we Speak as Elder brethren to you as
our younger brethren and to the three Nations
as our Brethren and Children We thank you
Corlaer for your Intercession as being a
Mediator between us and the Gov. of Virginia
And we thank you Gov. of Virginia for throw-
ing the Ax in the Pit of oblivion This we
Say that the three Nations may hear what
we Propose (Do give two Beavers

6 We Spoke Just now of the Tree of Peace
and friendship now we Shall live under the
Shadow of that great Tree in Safety & not fear

H

That

That if we Shall Live in Tranquility and
Unity without any disturbance or Molestation
from any body Do give two Beavers
7 We were Last year at New York and did not only
Speak w.th Curlaer but Likewise w.th the Long Island
Indians, We Expect that they will come here w.th
Presents and renew friendship w.th us while we are
Alive Let you not be hindred in their Voyage
hither but the river be open & Clear for us and
Them; Do give two Beavers
8 My Lord Said yesterday that the Indians
Living in Virginia Should come here if we
Desired it to Confirm this Covenant with us
We are glad to hear of the Motions and thank
His Lordsp for this Propoosition, Saying that
the Sooner the come the better that Wee hands
may be Link in the Covenant Chain. Do give two
Beavers
9 We were Schollded yesterday to draw home our
Indians from Canada, and were told the same t.o
Last Harvest, We answer that Curlaer hath
a Correspondence w.th them of Canada and can
Prevail more w.th them then we, Let Curlaer do his
Endeavour w.th them of Canada to draw y.e Indians
home to their own Country Do give one Beaver

The Oneyders Speake to the Gov.r Gen.ll
by Odianne the Maquas Speaker
1 We Desire the Duke's Armes to be put upon our
Castle w.th beeing given and gladly accepts of them
And gave a belt of Zewant
2. We Thanke the Gov.r Gen.ll that he hath Interceded
So well betwixt the Lord Howard Gov.r of Virginia
and us And that the Gov.r hath us so far prepared
That the Axe is layd down Do give a belt of
Zewant

The

The Onondag Doe give a belt of Zewant and Desire that the Covt Chain may be always kept fast and Inviolable

The Maquase Say That there was a promise of Some Beaver to be Paid to my Lord Baltimore for the Mischief done in his Country We Acquaint you that We Maquase have Paid our Share. Gave a belt of Zewant

The Four Nations Do Speak to the Govr We do acquaint you that we have heard and understood all that was Sayed yesterday, and do thank the Govr for his Mediation But Say they have not brought now to give in recompence, but give a belt of Wampum And the next year will come and make him Present

The Governour Speaks to All the four Nations and requires them to Say the Same to y. Sinnekes That there be a good Understanding on your Selves and if there Should be any Difference You are to Acquaint to me and I will Compose it And That you make no Covenants or Agreements w.th the French or any other Nation without my knowledg And Approbation

I do give you Maquas & Oneydes the great Duke of Yorks Arms to Clap upon Each of your Mantles as a Sign that Ye are under the Government Having Serts

nt to the same by Messengers to the other
Three Nations according to their requests

The Sinnekes answer to the
Propositions by the R.t Hon.ble Col.
Dungan Gov.r Gen.ll of all his Royall
Highnes Territories in America
the Town House of Albany the 6.th
of Aug.t 1684

We were sent for and are come and have heard
That what you Proposed to us Viz.t That Corlaer
Hath heard great Complaints of us both from
Virginia and Canada. The Complaints from
Canada are Possibly True That our young
Indians have Taken some of their goods
Jenondeo the Gov.r of Canada in the Cause of it
He doth not only permitt his People the
French to Carry Ammunition and Powder
Lead and Axes to the Indians our Enemies
Called Tuitwitt-roone but he Sends them
Thither And Doeth Likewise great hurt to
our Beyer hunting for whenever we are hunting
for when we are hunting Bevers there we are
Knocked on the head, Thus Thus doth he
Now our Soldiers are Bever hunters being
Unwilling to Indure that any longer did
Plunder them and Took all from them that
they had for we found them on the way near our
Enemies Country & According to our Custom
We fell upon them; But know not if it be
the Practice amongst the Christians
Behold this he doth to wit the Gov.r of Canada
when he Speaks to us ab.t the Covenant he
calleth us Children And Sayth I am your
Father You must keep the Covenant and
will

Will Keep it Likewise Shall
as a father Doth his Child Behold
Protection to Speak Much w.th the Lips
the mean Time to Knock us on the Head w.th
the aa by assisting our Indian Enemys w.th
Aminunition ——

He always Sayth Sam your fathers and
are my Children And now is Anguish me —
Children for Taking of These Goods but O
Great Lord Governour of Virginia We must
Complain to you; Your Lorder are a Lords
that Governs over this Country in this
Sort that our father is Young to fight with
us or is it well Done We were much —
rejoyced that Duval was Sent over the gr.t
Water and when Mons.r Parree was Like
removed who Sold them Aminunition; B.t
we find that it Doth Continue And our —
Indian Enemies are Supplyed Still in this
wells; Yea hath found us oftentimes to —
War ag.st the Uppermost Nation our —
Enemies w.th whom he hath So great a
Trade, that he doth not forbid them But —
assists them w.th all Sorts of Aminunition

We have thus far answered the Compl.t
that Lord Baltimore hath here of us of the Gov.t
of Canada, We have heard Just now what
Lord Baltimore hath Layd that Satisfaction must
be made for the Evil we have done to the
French; He that hath Inspection over —
all our Country and on whom our Eyes
are fixed ... ge you if it must be Payed We
Shall pay it all be it never so much but —
We must have free Lower Rivers ——

Proceedings of a Council held at Albany between Lord Howard of Effingham, Gov. of Virginia, and Thomas Dongan (Gov. of N.Y.) a nd the Sachems of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga nations.(The Senecas are not present at start.) 31 July ± 6 August 1684. [Va. State Library]

Present

The Rt Honble Francis P. Howard,
Baron of Effingham Govr. Genl of
his Maj;ties Dominion of Virginia.

The Truly Hon:ble Coll:o Tho;s Dongan
Gov.r Genl. of N. York and Depen-
dencies in America.----

Ralph Wormly Esq: one of the
Councill of Virginia --

Hn.Edmd. Jennings Att:ny G nl. of
Virginia.

Mr. Steph: V: Cortland one of the
Council of the Province

Mr. John Spragg one of the Counc:ll
& Sec:y of the Province and is the
Magistrate of Albany

Interpreted by Arnout Cov. Viele
[C]rown Interpreter Averred by Robt.
[▯ [ ] Wendell

Names of the Sachems of [each?]
of the Maquase----

Tuhohes alias Odianne Speaker
Canondondawe [p. 12]
Iahajarodes [Tachadoris]
Jagoddiochquis [Jadichquis]

Rode [Rode] [p. 1~~0~~ 2]

Kanhedero [kanhedro]

Sarighto ["]

Tuskeneneundo [Tuskanunda]

[end Mohawks]

The Oneiyde Sachims

Lekardarwaen

Kayoyuwiu [?]

Jehanjosua [?] -isas

The Onondage Sachims

Thanagh iaghka Thanoghjanishta [ms. p.5]

Tieonoghtahkendai

Takaineronys

The Cajouge Sachims

Ossochha

Owerkerhawie

hannanerarie

Page one , column two[

The Maquas, Oneydes, Onondages and Cajouges

Answer to the Propositions made them yesterday [30 July 1684]

by the Rt. Honble Francis Lord Howard Baron of Effingham-

Gov:r Fen:l of his Majesties Dominion of Virginia

in the Town House of Albany the 31st of July 1684--

The Maquase Sayd first by Their Speaker----

We must say something to the other Three Nations by way of Reproof for their not keeping the former Covenant as they [Ought] and then Proceed to our [Instructions?] And therefore We desire you great Sachims of Virginia &

you Corlaer and all People here present to hearken for we will Councill nothing of the Evil they have done.--

And Sayd to the Three Nation[s] of Oneydes, Onondages and Cayouges--

You have heard yesterday All what was Sayd As for our Part we are free of the blam[e] Layed upon us of the Evil do[ne] in Virginia and Maryland. You are Stupid Brutish and h[ave] no Understanding that has [ ] broke the Coven:t Chain in tha[t] Manner We have allway[ ]/[end ms. p. 1] (5) Been [obedient] to Corlaer that is the Gov:r Gen:ll and always kept our Coven:t wth Virginia-- Maryland and Boston And therefore we must Stamp understanding in you; Let the Covenant Made yesterday be well kept for the future which we do thereby recommend unto you for We Cry Almost for Shame for your Disobedience. Pray Let us be no more ashamed on your behalf but be obedient. Whereupon we do give you a a Token Belt of Wampum.---

2-- Hear now, Now is the Time to hearken & observe Since the Covenant Chain now is so near slipping . You never kept your Covenants. Keep it now, Since all the former Evils is buryed in the Path of Oblivion, And named the 3 Nations by names & Charged them Strickl[y] to Keep their [Covenant handed them Belt of Wampum)]----]

3-- To the Oneydes I speak to you as Children be [no] more void of Understanding.--

You Onondages our brethren you are Lke Deaf People that cannot hear, it is as if you were out of your Senses or Covered with Dust or filth or a Cloud upon your understanding.---

You Cayouges do not go back on this business. There
3
are three things w:ch we must observe. --

1st The Covenant with Corlaer.. 2d. The Covenant with Them of Virginia and Maryland. 3d. the Covenant with Them of Boston. We do Stamp Understanding into you and do recommend you heartily to be Obedient. Do give a belt of Wampum---(6) / [ms p. 3]

The 4 Nations Speak to my Lord Howard

by Odianne the Maquase Speaker---

1 We are very Thankfull to you great Sachim of Virginia That you are pleased to be persuaded by our Governour Corlaer to forgive all former faults being we are glad to see and hear That your hearts are Softened and Do give three Bevers----

2 We do Thank the great Sachim of Virginia for his great Clemency and that he sayth That the Ax shall be thrown in the Pit of oblivion for which we are very Joyfull and Thankfull. Do give two Bevers.-----

3:dly We are glad that asarigoa is so good not only to bury in the pitt of oblivion that which is past and Stamp thereupon but let a Strong Current or Stream run under the Pitt to Carry away all the Evill. Do give Two Bevers-----

4thly My Lord you are a man of great knowledge & Understanding that you keep the Covenant Chain so Clear as Silver And now again receive In large and make the same firmer. And And the Speaker being a Maquase Pointing to the Oneydes, Onondagos and Cayouges Sayed they are Covenant breakers. And this I lay down as a Token that we maquase have kept the Covenant Intire on our part.. Do Give Two Bevers and one Raccoon-----

5thly The Covenant must be keeped and the fires of Love and friendship of Virginia & Maryland burns here as well as our fire Doth and this Covenant House must be kept Clean And Do Give Two Bevers.

6:thly We plant now a Tree as high as the Sun whose branches will Spread far abroad that it may be Seen afar off Under which we may Shelter our Selves And Live in peace without Molestation. Do give Two Bevers.---- (7) /[ms. p. 4]

[7] You proposed to us yesterday That if we Were Desirous to see the Indians of Virginia, That you was willing to send some of their Sachims next Summer ab:t this time here. w:ch is very acceptable to us the Sooner the better That we Speak w:th them in this prexed House where we are wont to Speak with our Friends. Do give two Belts----

8 The Maquas Do Say you have now heard what Exhortations we have given to the three Nations and Taken the Hatchet out of their Hands and now we Pray that your Hatchet may Likewise by buryed in the Pitt. Do give two Bevers..---

9 Let the river be Secure & open for we sometimes Make Propositions to the[Raritan] and Navesink Indians but Especially Let your Indians of Virginia Come securely hither that we may keep a good Correspondence wth them---

10 My Lord there are some of our Maquas out ag:t their Enemies a far of They are oe- People when they Come to your Plantations will do you no harm nor Plunder as the others do. If they should happen to come to any of your plantations Give them Some Tobacco and Some Victualls they will Neither rob nor Steal as the Oneydes- Onondages and Cayouges have Done-- (8)

[ms. p. 5]

[ms. p. 5] Adianna the Maquas Speaker to my Lord--

1. Doth say in behalf of the Onneydes that they Thank his Lordship that he hath given ear and condescended to lay down the Ax & Includes all the Nations that the Hatchet is taken out of all their hands. Do give one belt of Zewant.

2 Do thank his Lordship That the Covenant Chain is Renewed, adding that it must be keeped clean and bright and that no arm must be pulled out of the same Including all the four Nations. Gave a belt of Zewant.--

3 Let the Covenant be keeped Strong wth the Oneydes for they are in our Covenant And therefore my Lord it is our request that you take them into friendship Do give a Belt.---

4 The Oneydes Do five twenty Beavers in Satisfaction of that which was promised to my Lord Baltimore. Amd so say that they ought to be Discharged-- Whereupon my Lord Howard and the Governour told them they would take care That my Lord Baltimore should forgive them the rest---

5 Desires that the hole may be Digged to bury the Axes Viz: two in behalf of Virginia and Maryland wth their friend Indians Living am:^{gst} them and three for the Oneydes Onondages & Cayouges for we Maquas have no hand in the Bus.[?]

Now the Three Nations do Speak by
Another Speaker called Thanoghjanishta, an
Onondago----

1 They do thank the great Sachim of Virginia that he is so good to forget and forgive the Evil That is passed and we Catch and Lay hold of the Covenant and Each of the Three Nations do Deliver (9) [ms. p. 6] Deliver an ax to be buryed the Maquase Holding themselves Innocent of the Evil.. done give a Belt of Zewant..

2 The Onondagoes do Deliver their ax to be buryed And do give a belt of Zewant. The Cayouges and Oneides Did the Same.--

3 Sayth That he Speaks in the name of the Three Nations and Includes them in the Covenant & Desires that the Covenant Chain May be keeped clear and bright like Silver. Do give a belt of Wampum.----

All the four Nations Speak to My Lord---

And desire that the path may be open that the Indians under your Lordship's protection May come Safely and freely hither to Confirm this Peace. Do give 6 fathom of Wampum After the Two Axes were buryed to wit one for Virginia and their Indians & one for my Lord Baltimore and his Indians And three for the Oneydes Onondagos and Cayouges which was done at the South East End of the Court 'And when the Indians had put the Earth upon the Axes[,] My Lord Told them Since a firm Coven:^{t} & agreement was now made they should remain friends. And they of Virginia & Maryland should Send once in two or three years to renew the Cov:^{t} & friendship And will send according to your Desire Some of the Virginia Indian Sachims next year ab:^{t} this time to Confirm This Peace when all was done the Onondagos Oneydes & Cayouges Sung a Song of Peace After their Manner w:th all Imaginable Demonstration. (10) [End ms. p. 6]

[ms. p. 7] [Colden (1727) 1866: 66 dates the / [8]

Demonstration of Joy that the Peace was
Concluded and in their Propositions to the Gov:[r]
of New York do give many Thanks for his
Mediation and Intercession to the great Sachim
of Virginia on their behalf, and for bringing
of his Lordsp. hither to Conclude this firm Peace.

The Sinnekes Answer to the Propo-
sitions Made to them by the Rt. Hon:[ble]
Francis Lord Howard Baron of
Effingham Gov:[r] Gen:[l] of his Maj:[ties]
Dominion of Virginia &c.:[a] in the
Court House of Albany the 5th of
August 1684----

1 We have Heard & understood that which hath been
Told us concerning the Evil done in Virginia and Maryland.
We have it as perfect as if it were on our finger Ends
O Corlae[r] We thank you for having been our Intercessor
And that the ax hath not fallen upon us. And you
Asarygoa great Sachim of Virginia, We thank you that you
bury all Evil together w:[th] the Ax in the Pit of Oblivion.
We are Informed that the Maquas Oneydes Onondagos and
Cayouges have buryed the Ax already and We that Live the
furthermost off are come to do the Same Including in
this Coven:[t] your friend[ly] Indians called Cachnawys that
Live amongs[t] you and Desire that one ax on our part may
be buryed together w:[th] one of my Lords O Corlaer [:]
Corlaer We thank you for holding one End of the ax

And thank you great Gov:^{r} of Virginia not only for Throwing aside the ax but that you have Put all Evil out of your heart. Now we have a new Covenant a Strong & Streight Cha[ain] That Cannot be bowed and the Tree of Peace (11) [ms. p. 8] (Now) planted so fast that it cannot be Moved. Let us hold fast to the Covenant both Sides.----

We have understood that what you sayed of the great Sachim that Lives over the great Water, as also that you say of the Kachnaways or Virginia Indians will come hear to confirm the Coven:^{t}. Let them not make any Excuse that they are old & feeble and that their feet are sore. If the old Sachims cannot come let the young Men come. We shall not fail to be here thô We live the furthest off. And then the renewed Covenant will be Stronger & better. We have understood what has been sayd of the Evil done to the People & Cattle of Virginia and Maryland and that we should not come near to the heads of the rivers [nor near] your Plantations but keep to the foot of The Mountains. We Do accept of the Proposition and for preventing of Mischief for the Time to come We shall not come near your Plantations because you Tell us thô We Lay down our arms as friends yet we Shall not be Trusted but Looked upon as Robbers. Therefore we will wholely Staw away from thence. Should we not do this Corlaer having been at so great pain to persuade you great Gov:^{r} of Virginia to forgive w:^{t} hath passed We Commend y:^{r} understanding That you have been pleased to give Ear to Corlaers good advice. We shall for the future go a Path that never was gone before. We have now done with Speaking to Corlaer and the Gov:^{r} of Virginia.

Let the Cov:t Chain for Ever be peeped clean and/(12)[ms. p. 9] And bright and we shall do the Same the other Nations from the Maquas Country to the Cayouges have delivered up the Susquehana river and all their Country to Corlaer's Government All w:ch We Senekes do Confirm and Do the Like. Doe give a Belt of Zewant and say that there is ten Bevers at the Onondages Castle w:ch are Coming here Viz:t 5 Beavers to Corlaer and five for the great Sachim of Virginia.---

Propositions made by M:r Stephanus Van Cortland authorized by the Governm:t of the Massachusetts Colony in New England to the Maquase Sachims in the Town Hall of Albany the 30th day of July 1684---

1 That the Governm:t of Massachusetts Colony have Ever had a brotherly Correspondence w:th the Severall Races of the Maquase.

2 That because it hath been firmly & Inviolably kept on their Part as well as ours the Longer it Continues of the greater Value we do account it.

3 That we give you our Thanks for your Present Left for us at Albany w:th Rich:d Pretty w:ch being great Distance from us it was Sometime before we had advise thereof and the Winter Comeing on hath Prevented our Coming until now to ratify our friendship w:th you.----

4 That there were two Prisoners sent from your brethren of the Massachusets to have come up and seen you at this time but being a while since at York and finding that his Non:r y: e Gov:r was not

£90: Wampum
30 Ell duffels
12 Shirts
1 doz. Stockings
3 fatts of Rum

was not then ready for his Journey hither and These Occasions not allowing Long Stay they w:th the Gov:s Advice have Impowered me to make y:e presen[t] and ratify their former and happy friendship w:th you [in] that behalf Do give you Viz:t [as listed in margin] 13 [ms. p. 10]

[p. 10] Proposition or Oration of the Onondages & Cayuges Sachims Made in the Town Hall of Albany before the R:t Hon:ble the Lord Effingham Gov:r of Virginia and Coll:o Thomas Dongan Gov:r of New York &c:a the 2d. of Aug:st 1684----

[NYCD 3: 417-18]

Brother Corlaer.

Your Sachim is a great Sachim, and we are but a Small People, when the English came to the Manhatans that is N: York Aragiske, w:ch is now called Virginia, and to Jaquokranagere now called Maryland, They were but a Small People and we a great People and finding they were good People, We gave them Land and Treated them Civilly and now Since you are a great people and we but Small you will Protect us from the French w:ch if you do not we shall loose all our Hunting & Bevers. The French will have all the Bevers and are Angry with us for bringing any to the Brethren----

We have Put all our Land & our Selves under the the Protection of the great Duke of York , the brother of your great Sachim who is also a great Sachim. We have given the Susquehanne River w:ch we Won w:th the Sword to this Government & desire that it may be a branch of that Great Tree that grows here, whose Top reaches to the Sun

under whose branches we shall shelter our selves from the French or any other People and our Fire burns in your Houses and your fire burns w:th us and we Desire that it always May be so, and will not that any of great Penn People shall settle upon the Sisquehanna River for our young Folks or Soldiers/ 14 [ms. p. 11] Soldiers are Like Wolves in the Woods as your Sachim of Virginia knows; We having no other Land to Leave to our Wives and Children.

We have put our selves under the great Sachim Charles That lives over the great Lake, and we do give you two white Dresst Deer Skins to be sent to the great Sachim Charles That he may write upon them and put a great red Seal to them. That we do put the Susquehanne River above the Wasughta or falls [cf Tawasentha] and all the rest of our Land under the great Duke of York & to no body Else, Our Brethren his people being as fathers to our wives and Children & did give us bread when we were in need of it and we will neither joyn our Selves nor our Land to any other Gov:t than to this And this Proposition we desire that Corlaer the Gov:r may send over to the great Sashim Charles, that Dwells over the great Lake w.th this Belt of Wampum Pledge and another Smaller Belt for the Duke of York his brother & We give a Bever to you Corlaer to send over this Proposition.---

And you great Man of Virginia, meaning Lord Effingham Gov:r of Virginia, We let you know that Great Penn did speak to us here in Corlaer's house by his Agents and desired [to] buy the Susquehanne River , but we would not Hearken to him having fastened us to this Governm:t, and therefore we desire that you would bear Witness of whats we now doe, and that

we confirm what we have already done, And let your friend the great Saxhim that lives over the great Lake know here of that we being a free People uniting ourselves to the English it may be in our Power to give our Land to what Sachim we Please; & Do give you one Bever Skin.---

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A copy here of
sent to the Gov:r
Dongan, the
day of Sep:r 1686.

[Livingston endorsed copy NYCD 3: 418 "N York 2 August 1684 Indian Proposals to Coll. Dongan Read 18 May. 87"]

[ms. p. 12]
Present
The R:t Honble L. Howard
Baron of Effingham
Gov:r Gen:l of Virginia
The Rt. Hon:ble Coll.o
Tho: Dongan Gov:r Gen:l
of New York & the Magistrates
of Albany &c:a

The Maquase Sachims Answer
to the Ppropositions made by M:r
Stephanus van Cortland, Agent for
the Colony of Massachusetts
in New England in the Town
Hall of Albany the 31st July 1684

1

We thank the Brethren of
of Boston for y:r proposals made to
us three years ago w:ch we answered
last year and returned you thanks.
And we thank you for the Present
given us yesterday. Do give two Bevers---

Interpreter Arnut Cornel
-is
The Names of y:e Sachims-
Speaker Odiane
Canondondawe
Tachajoris
Jachdichguis
Rode
Kanhedro
Sarighto
Tuskanunda

2 We are glad that the Cov:t keeped so fast on both sides. We shall never be Wanting on our Part, but shall keep it firm & Inviolable & you must do the same. do give two Bevers--

3 We see that you have Understanding to keep the Cov:t well by your coming here to renew the same. Let the way be keeped clean & Let no Brush grow thereon that the Cov:t may last for Ever-- Do give two Bevers--

4 This is the Cov:t house when any Covenants are renewed this is the prefixed place which must be keeped clean & do give two Bevers.---

5 The Cov:t must be keeped clear & bright- And we all to wit our Gov:r the Gov:r of Virginia and the Massachusets Collony and we Maquas are in one Cov:t. Do gove two Bevers.--

6 We do plant here a great Tree of Peace whose branches do spread abroad as far as the Massachusets Colony, Virginia, Maryland and all that are in Friendship w:th us.- and/

[ms. p. 13]

And Do live in Peace Unity & Tranquility under the shade of the s. Tree. Do give two Bevers.--

7 Brethren of Boston. We do again acquaint you that when any Coven:t is to be renewed w:th us it is to be done in this Covenant house. do give two Bevers--

8 We do renew the Cov:t again and do make the Chain bright & clear,and trust the brethren of Boston w. Do the Same and Suffer no Rust to come upon it.- Do give two Beavers.--

This is a True Copy translated
Compared & revised pr me

R:t Livingston---

Present as before

The Maquas Sachims answer in behalf of themselves & the other Nat: to the Proposalls made by the Truly Hon:ble Coll:o Thom: Dongan in the Town House of Albany the 31st of July 1684 .

1 Brother Corlaer. We are glad to see you here safe arrived, not only we, but those that part their hair, meaning their women, and include the other three Nations here present (to wit) The Onondages , Oneydes, and Cayouges who also Congratulate your safe arrivall. There is one thing w:ch we much desire (to wit) the Arms of his Royall Highness the Duke of York to put upon our Castles, which being given they catched at very greedily, shewing thereby the great desire they had to the Duke's arms. Do give two Bevers.--

2 We have heard and understood that which was sayd yesterday but we Maquas are not guilty of the Evil done in Virginia & Maryland. We do clear our Selves and will neither Conceal nor/

[ms. p. 14]

Nor hide it These three Nations that sit there, and Pointing to the Oneydes, Onondagos, and Cayouges, said you are like Doggs- to Kill and Eat Cattle Horses & Hoggs.-- (Meaning their young Indians that go out a fighting) Concerning the Deliverance of our Land and that you are pleased to accept of the same is most pleasing & agreeable to us. Do give three Beavers.---

3 Brother Corlaer. Now about the Covenant. You must keep the Cov:t and we shall hold it fast the Chain was like to slip ye other day (Meaning the proposals made to them by the Gov:r of Virginia) but now it must be keeped fast and firm

on all Sides and do recommend the other three Nations to do their duty and be Obed:^{t} . Do give a Bever, a Otter, and a Mater[Martin?].

4 We spoke now of the Covenant w:^{ch} we do hold firm & strong and this Coven:^{t} house we keep [clean] and plant a great high & strong Tree, being the Tree of Peace that cannot be moved nor shaken. Do give three Bevers.--

5 Now we speak as Elder brethren/to you as our younger brothers and to the Three Nations as our brethren and Children. We thank you Corlaer for your Intercession as being as Mediator between us and the Gov:^{r} of Virginia; and we thank you Gov:^{r} of Virginia for throwing the ax in the pit of oblivion. This we say that the three Nations may hear what we Propose.

Do give Two Bevers.---

6 We spoke just now of the Tree of Peace and friendship Now we shall live under the shadow of the great Tree in Safety & not fea[r] That/ 18 [ms. p. 15]

That is we shall live in Tranquility and Unity without any disturbance or Molestation from any body. Do give two beavers.--

7 We were last year at New York and did not only speak w:th Corlaer but likewise with the Long Island Indians. We expect that they will come here w:th Presents and renew friendship w:th us while we are Alive. Let you not be hindered in their Voyage hither, but the river be open & clear for [ ] Them; do give two Bevers.---

8 My Lord sayd yesterday that the Indians Living in Virginia should come here if we Desired it to Confirm this Covenant with us. We are also glad to hear of the

Nations [?] and thank His Lordsp for this Proposition , saying that the sooner/the come the better, that their hands may be Put in the Covenant Chain. Do give two Bevers.

9 We were Exhorted yesterday to draw home our Indians from Canada, and were told the Same [at] Last Harvest. We answer that Curlaer hath a Correspondence w:th them of Canada and can prevail more w:th them then we. Let Curlaer do his Endeavour w:th them of Canada to draw ye Indians home to their own Country. Do give one Bever.

The Oneydes Speak to the Gov:r Gen:ll

by Odianne the Maquas Speaker.---

1 We Desire the Dukes Arms to Put upon our Castle w:ch being given and gladly accept of them. And gave a Belt of Zewant.--

2:dly. We thank the Gov:r Gen:ll that he hath Interceded so well betwixt the Lord Howard Gov:r of Virginia and us And that the Gov:r hath so far prevailed. That the Ax is Layd down. Do give a belt of Zewant.--

19 The / [ms. p. 16]

The Oneydes Do give a belt of Zewant and Desire that the Cov:t Chain may be always kept fast and Inviolable.--

The Maquase say That there was a promise of Some Bever to be Paid to my Lord Baltimore for the Mischief done in his Country. We Acquaint you that We Maquase Have Paid our Share. Gave a belt of Zewant.--

The Four Nations do Speak to the Gov:r We do acquaint you that we have heard and understand all that was sayed yesterday, and do thank the Gov:r for his Mediation. But say they have not brought now to give in recompence, but give a belt of Wampum, and the next year will come and make him Presents.---

The Governour Speaks to all the four Nations and requires them to say the Same to ye Sinnekes.

That there be a good Understanding am[ong] your Selves and if there should be any Difference, You are to Acquaint me and I will Compose it. And that you make no Covenant or agreement w:th the french or any other Nation without my knowledge and Approbation.----

I do give you Maquas & Oneydes the great Duke of York's Arms to Put upon Each of your Castles as a Sign that Ye are under this Government Having sent/ 20 [Ms. p.17] sent the same by Messengers to the other Three Nations according to their requests.---

The Sinnekes answer t o the Propositions by the R;t Honble Coll:o Dungan Gov:r Gen:ll of all his Royall Highness Territories in America in the Town House of Albany the 5th of Aug:t 1684 [See Colden 1727: 66-8]

We were sent for and are come and have heard That what you Proposed to us Viz:t That Corlaer hath heard great Complaints of us both from Virginia and Canada. The Complaints from Canada are Possibly True, That our young Indians have Taken Some of their goods.--Jenondeo, the Gov:r of Canada is the cause of it. He doth not only permit his People, the French to Carry Ammunition, guns, Powder, Lead and axes to the Indians our Enemies, Call Twitwithroone, but he sends them Thither And Doeth Likewise great hurt to our Bever hunting for when we are hunting, for when we are hunting bevers there wer are Knocked on the head, thus thus doth he. Now our Soldiers and bever hunting being Unwilling to Indure that any Longer, did Plunder them and took all from them that they had for we found them on the way near our Enemies Country & According to our Custom, We fell upon them; But know not if it be the Practice amongst the Christians-- Behold this he Doth to wit the Gov:r of Canada when he Speaks to us ab:t the Covenant he Calleth us Children and sayth I am your Father. You must keep the Coven:t and I will/ 21 [ms. p. 18] Will keep it Likewise I shall [ ] as a father Doth his Child Behold[ ] Protection to Speak thus w:th the Lips a[ ] the mean Time to Knock us on the head w:th the ax by assisting our Indian Enemys w:th Ammunition.----

He always Sayth I am your father and [you] are my Children And now is angry [with ~~his~~] Children for Taking of these Goods, but O Corlaer, O Governour of Virginia , We must

Complain to you; Your Corlaer are a Lord That Governs over this Country, is this Just That our father is Young to fight with us, or is it well Done[?] We were much rejoyced That Lasal was sent over the gre[at] Water. And when Mons:r Parree was Like removed who sold them ammunition; Br. we find that it Doth Continue and our Indian Enemies are Supplyed Still is this well; Yea hath found us oftentimes to War ag:t the Uppermost Nation our Enemies w:th whom he hath so great a Trade, That he doth not forbid them but assists them w:th all Sorts of ammunition.

We have thus far answered the Compl:t That Corlaer hath heard of us of the Gov:r of Canada. We have heard Just now what Curlaer hath sayd, That Satisfaction mus[t] be made for the Evil we have done to the French; He that hath Inspection over all our Country on whom our Eyes are fixed..[dge] you if it must be Payed We Shall pay it all be it never so much but we must have free bever hunting.--

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[End of ms.]

TRANSCRIPTION BY WILLIAM N. FENTON

31 July -6 August 1684

Proceedings of Council at Albany between Effingham (Howard) of Virginia, Thomas Dongan of New York and the sachems of the several Five Nations

Results: Renewal of Covenant Chain with New York, Virginia, and Massachusetts.

Features: 2 dressed deer skins were presented by FN to be sent to King Charles II with instructions that the record of the placement of Susquehanna lands should be written thereon and a seal attached.

NB. This is an important document because non of the printed versions is as full. Cadwallader Colden had access to the original, which Wraxall abstracts, in part, for his History of the Five Nations and his version helps in filling gaps, and it also reveals how he wrote. He made his own version.

Observations: The League of the Iroquois was not functioning as a unit. The innocent Mohawks assume the role of critics, and then as apologists, and the voice of the others. The Senecas come in belatedly. The strife for unity among the members of the League is obvious.

The Mohawks, in lecturing the other three tribes, before the arrival of the Senecas, invoke the father-son relationship to their children, the Oneidas, while they hold the Onondagas as siblings. Later (Ms., p.14, #5) the Mohawk speaker says they are "elder brothers" to the colonials, to the Oneidas, and Brothers (siblings) to the Onondagas and Cayugas. Later, the Senecas object to the French Governor calling them "children"

and implying a European supremacy of a father over his offspring. (Ms. p. 17, bottom).

The Covenant Chain (Ms. p. 9) to the Iroquois is both a linkage of arms, and as agreement between two parties, who "hold fast on both sides" (Ms. p. 12). Specifically, it is the Chain in the first instance, and "covenant" in the more general sense (Druke).

Keeping the fire and the House of the Covenant clean are metaphors of continuity.

Tree of Peace motif: "to plant the Tree (of Peace) (to reach) as high as the Sun, an its branches spread afar, so as to shelter "us" (and other nations) in peace. A second model of continuity.

The Song of Peace.

If indeed they actually buried "the axes in the southeast corner of the court" (Ms. p. 6), burying the hatchet is more than a metaphor.

Mohawk division into three clans is suggested by "the several Races of the Maquase" (Ms. p. 9, l. 13), 10).

1684 Albany

Note the literary contrast of "small and great people", the the reversal of statuses (Ms. p. 10). And the allusion to women as "those who part their hair", which suggests the two braids of younger Iroquois women before marriage and a single braid afterward (Ms. p. 13 (17)).

It is clearly evident that as late as 1684 the Iroquois were short of wampum, which they had been receiving in the trade through the Albany Dutch for fifty years. The two colonial governors consistently document their wards with belts and strings, but the Iroquois give Beavers.

Governor Dongan's attempt to draw the Mohawks and other Iroquois home from Canada was bound to fail (Ms. 15 (19)). Shortly they would be put out of the Confederacy.

They "on whom our eyes are fixed" in confidence is a metaphor later applied to the chiefs.

NB. Throughout (see Ms. p. 15 (19) bottom), the innocent Mohawk are free to speak for the other confederates guilty of the incursions in Virginia. This saves the embarrassment of apology. Moreover, the old men refer to their warriors as "wolves" in the woods, implying that they cannot control them. This figure is both an excuse and a problem in Iroquois polity.

Dongan set out to strenghthen the League and get around the want of control between generations by proposing an executive committee of two sachems and two warriors from each nation to meet with him. These would form a manageable council to handle emergencies.

WNF

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Proposition or Oration

of the Onnondage and Cayouges Sachims
made in the Town Hall of albany before
ye Right hon^ble Edwd Hyde Lord Cornbury
of Virginia, and Col. Thomas Dongan
Governour of N. York upon
Day of August 1st Dom. 1684.

Another Oration

Our Sachim is a great Sachim, and wee are but a small People, when
ye English came to Manhatans that is N. York, Aragukie which is now
called Virginia & to Sagnodanx[illegible] now called Maryland, they were
but a Small People, and wee a great People, and fyndeing they were a
People wee gave them Land, and treated them Civilly, and now since y^ou are
a great People, and wee but a Small, You will Pistol us from the Stone
&c. if you doe not, wee Shall Loose all our Hunting ye Beavers. Tho

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=

the north Rob[t]. Sanders; which he, the grantor, does by virtue of the conveyance to him given by Gerrit Lansing, of date the 12 July 1668,[1] to which reference is herein made, and that free and unincumbered, without any charges thereon, or issuing out of the same (saving the lord's right), without the grantor's having any further claim in the least thereon, acknowledging that he is paid and satisfied therefor, the first penny with the last, therefore giving *plenam actionem cessam* and full power to the aforenamed Jacob Abrahamse Cuyper to do with and dispose of the same as he could do with his own patrimonial estate and effects, promising to warrant and defend the same against all persons from all trouble, claims and incumbrances according to law and further nevermore to do nor cause anything to be done contrary hereto in any manner, binding himself thereto as by law provided.

Done in Albany, the first day of August 1684.

Sealed and signed in y[e] presence of

Dirck Wesselsz

his
BARENT X ALBERTSE BRATT
mark

(L. S.)

Deed from Mohawk sachems to Governor Thomas Dongan for land on both sides of the Mohawk river west of the bounds of Schenectady[2]

[235] Know all men by these Presents, that we underwritten Maquase Sachims Indian owners, for and [in] Consideracon of these following goods, in hand Paid to witt 6 faddon Duffels 3 gunns 3 kittles & three bags Powder sixty gild wampum four and twenty barrs of Lead six shirts y[e] Receit whereof wee doe oune and acknowledge, & off y[e] Payment, doe fully Dis[c]harge, have bargained Sold aliened & Transported, & by these Presents doe Bargain Sell Alien, & Transport all our Right Title & Interest unto y[e] Right hon[ble]. Col. Tho: Dongan Lieft and gov. gen[l]. under his Roy: Highnesse James Duke of York: y[e]. off N: York & its Dependencies, & to his heires & assigns for Ever, in a Certain Tract or Parcell of Land scituate lying & being upon y[e] Maquase River, within y[e] County of Albany, beginning, where y[e] Bounds & limitts off Shinnechtady End & Terminate, att a Certain Place called by y[e] natives Caggawawoone & so Running up both sides of y[e] River to a Creek or kill Cald & known by

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[1] See *Early Records of Albany*, 1:439–40.
[2] This document is written in English.

ye name off Ottnewadesat; together with all our Right, title & Interest in all ye wood Lands Pastures Meadows, Marches creeks Rivers Rivelets Creeks Kills, trees timber, w^t^. all ye Commodities, Emuloments, & Conveniencies thereunto Appertaining & belonging, to have & to hold ye s^d^. Tract & Parcell of Land & Premises to him his heires & assigns for Ever, & in ye quiet full & Peaceable Possession of ye s^d^. [236] Tract & Parcell of Land & Premises him ye s^d^. Tho: Dongan his heires & assignes to keep & mentain, we binde ourselfs our heires & assignes for Ever firmly by these Presents in witnesse whereof we have hereunto Putt our marks & seals in, Albany ye 1st. day of August 1684.

This is Read and Interpreted to them by us
Arnoudt Corn. Viele
Robbert Sandersz
Johannes Wendel
Sign^d^. seal^d^. and Deliver^d^. in ye Presence of
Ger. Baxter
J. Spragge
Robt. Livingston

The mark X of RHODE (L. S.)
The mark off TAHIS KANOENDE (L. S.)
The mark of X SARIGHTO (L. S.)

Compareerde voor ons ordinaris Commissarissen van de
Heeren Colony Rensselaerswijck de Heer Baront Albertus
Bradt de welke Declareerde, in waeren Rechten Regt Eyg.
Domte Sekere Transportbrief, ende volmachtbrieven aen hem
Behoorende van Jacob abrahamsz Cuyper, gedere Eff
waerop een yeder huijs heeft gestaen de gemelde
Jacob abrahamsz Timmerhoff gelegen alhier
in Albany Breet vijff en Twintigh voeten Langh
tot aen 't Eff van Robt Sanders, Blent aen d'een
zijde de Casa Standt Broer, aen de Suydt
zijde 't Beer Straete aen d'west zijde 't Eff dat
Jacob abrahamsz van gen Stichtshout gelegen heeft, en te noodt
Robt Sanders Salve hy Edelaer dese uyt Cracht van
transport hem aengedaen van gerurt Lansing in
dato den 2/12 Julij 1661, waerbij in dese gemelte
voordt Edelaer vijff en Vijfthoeck sonder eenige Zaeth
daerop staende Cosse uytgaende Schoudiens dese stadt
Eyn Recht sonder dat hy Edelaer in t minste daerop
eenige Recht te Pretenderen als Bekennende ten genoege
voldaen en betaelt te weesen den eersten Penning mett
Dese Lantz gedane derhalve Clenam actionem
Volkome macht aen d'Heere Jacob
Cetham abrahamsz Cuyper, om daermede te doen Disponeren
gelijck als hij met hyne Eygen Patrimoniale goederen
doen Cost mach, Blanck t Blijven:
gedaen in Albany den 16 Julij 1664

(this Item first in English, also in this book

know all men by these Presents, that wee underwritten
Mohawk Sachems, Doe in name & behalfe of
our Nation & Confederacy for & in consideration
of these following goods, in hand paid & truely & fully
to us, 3. guns. 3 Duffels three kegs Powder, sixty
gilder wampum, four & twenty barrs of Lead, six shirts
& Blankets, whereof wee doe acknowledge & ackt
the Payment, & fully discharge, have bargained, Re
alienated & Transported, & by these Presents, doe Bar
gain, sell, alien, & Transport all our Rights, Title &
Interest unto the Right hon.ble Coll. Thomas Dongan
Capt. Gen.ll & Gov.r Gen.ll under his Royall Highness James
Duke of York & Albany &c. of New York & Lands Depending
to his heires & assigns for ever, in a certain Tract
or Parcell of Land, Situate lying & being upon
the Mohawk River within the County of Albany, begin
ning, where the Bounds & Limits of Schinechtady
End & Terminate, att a certain Place called by
the Natives Caghnawaroone & by Christians the
Fishers Creek, on the North side of the River, to a Creek or Kill called &
by the name of Ottnewadenda, together with all
our Right, title & Interest in all the Woods,
Pasture, meadows, marshes, creeks, Rivers, Ponds,
Creeks, Kills, Easements, & Commodities
Emoluments, & Hereditaments whatsoever
Pertaining & Belonging, to the said Tract
Tract & Parcell of Land & Premises above
his heires & assigns for Ever, to their
full & peaceable Possession of the

Compertende voor mij ondergeschr. Commissaris van
Albanij Jacob Jansz van Hoesy d'welcke
in weten Rocke myn Eygender stedes transporteert
voor de gheteeckende aen 't Blockhuys van Fort Orange
leeker huys ende Erve staende ende gelegen alhier in Albanij
daer d'selve Fiet in woont, met alle d'gerechtigheyt die
in sijn huysinge Erve, met all datter aen ende laegh
vast aen is; (Exempt d'in heer Eyn Rocke) tijnds
den transportant aengetoonen van d'gewelmachtig
den van Jammert van Eck Rijsinde ende haer
quitantie gepasseert den 20 July 1646 ende
voor abrak staett ende handschedinge; ende hy sodanen
selaet hiermede int mindste daerop met te protesteren
gehouden d'erste Penning mit den laste ende
gevonde derhalve Claesen ofte in Cessen ende Volle-
me macht aen Fiet Jansen sijn Erve ende nade-
medinge ofte die naermaels sijn Recht exacte
mogte Eerijgs en daermede doen ende laeten
gelijck all met sijn Eygen Patrimoniale goederen
ende Effecten doende ende nogh Plaetse ende Stede
gelijcken als Ygelijcken ende sijns selves
Comparant naermaelijs ofte Absenten als Recht
ende Costen hier toe dese niemandes Schade
doch behalven Laste geschiedt in geenige manieren
Actum Fort Orange als voren den 16 Augusti 1646

Ten behoeve van dese
Jan Hendr. Bellecal

Jacob Jansz

Propositions or Propon of the Sinnondoage
Cayouges Indians made in the Town
Hall of Albany Before the right honble
the Lord Effingham Governour of
Virginia and Coll. Thomas Dongan
Governor of Newyork Ons the 24th of
1684

Brethren & Friends

Your Fathers is a great Sachem and
we are but a small people, when the Englishmen
& the Marchans first came to Yorke Province which
is now called Virginia and to Aquanahanaque now
called Maryland, they were but a Small people,
and we a great people, and yndeny they were a
Poor people we gave them Land, and treated them
Equally and now since you are a great people, and
we but Small you have Potect us from the french,
which if you do not we must leave all our Hunting
and Beavers the french will have all the Beavers
and are angry with us for Serveing any to the
Sachems

Now have you all our Land and our Lodges under
the protection of the great Duke of York the Brother
of your great Sachem, who is also a great Sachem

We have given the Virginians Power to treat
them with the Sword w[hi]ch Government and Power that
it may be a Remembrance of that great Love that we
have for Brother to the Sun, under whose Shandes
we shall shelter our Selves from the Storms or any
Other People, and our Fore Fathers in your Houses
and your Fore Fathers Bones and we desire to
always may be so, and will not that any of
Great Sun's people Spill the your Sanguez
running Ever for our young Men or Soldiers are
like Walls in the Woods if you Children of Virginia
Know, we have no other Land to leave to our
Wives and Children

We have put our Selves under the great
Sachem Charles that Lives over the great Lake
and we do give you two white Dressed Deerskins —
to present to the great Sachem Charles, that he
may rest upon them and put a great Red Coat
upon them, that we do put the Sun Shine never
above the Mountains or Falls and all the rest
of ours and under the great Duke of York. & to
no Ends Else, our Brethren his people Being as-
Fathers to our Wives & Children and do give us
Bread when we are in need of it and we will
neither Give our Lives nor our Land to any other
government than to his And his Protection we

Desire that order the governour may send over to
the great Sachem Pakes that dwells over the great
Lake with this Belt of Wampum Peag and another
smaller belt for the Duke of York his brother &
we give a never to you order to send over this
proposition

And you great man of Virginea meaning the
Lord Effingham Governour of Virginea, We let you
know that great Sachem did speak to us here in
Albanie by his agents and desired to keep the
Antyenanne Fyer but we would not hearke to him
having passed it to the Governour, and therfore
desire that you would desist of what we have
and that we confirme what we have already &
and Let your friend the great queen that lives in
the great Lake know hereof, that we being a free
people medling our selves to the English, it may
in our power to give our Land to what Sachem
we please, and give you the Fyer skin.

A true copy taken out of the minutes
Examined & compared by Rt Livingston
Secry for the Indian affairs.

2. Aug. 1684.

Examination of the Assembly &c. before the Governours of Virginia & New York

At a Council held att Matapany Sewall[1] the twelfth day of May 1684, the aforegoing deposition then taken before us

HENRY DARNALL.
Wm DIGGES.
NICHOLAS SEWALL.
JOHN DARNALL.

Abstract of Proposals submitted by two Iroquois Nations.

[New-York Papers, I. 347.]

Abstract of the Proposalls of the Onoundages and Cayouges Sachims at New Yorke 2. August 1684.

That the English will protect them from the French otherwise they shall loose all the Beavor and hunting.

That they have put themselves and their lands under the Protection of the King, and have given Susquehanah River to the Government of New York of which they desire it may be a Branch, and under which they will shelter themselves from the French.

That Penn's people may not settle under the Susquehanah River.

They have putt them selves under the King and give two Deer Skinns for the King to write upon them, and put a great read Seale to them, that they put all their lands under His Maty and under no other Government then New Yorke.

They desire these proposalls may be sent to the King with a Belt of Wampum peeg and another small Belt for the Duke of York. And they give Col. Dungan a Beaver to send over this Proposall.

And my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice that Penn's agents would haue bought the Susquehanah River of them, but they would not, but fastned it to the Government of New York.

That being a free people uniting them selues to the English, it may be in their power to give their land to what Sachim they please.

[1] Mattapany Sewalls is situate on the south side of Patuxent river, about two miles above its mouth. It is famous in the annals of Maryland for the surrender of its garrison in 1689, to the Protestant Associators, who, on the receipt of the news of the revolution in England, overthrew the Proprietary government and seized the Province. *McMahon's History of Maryland*, I. 237. — ED.

. Abstract of Indian Proposalls.

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Abstract of the Proposalls of the
Onoundayges and Cayouges Sachims
at New Yorke 2. August 1681.

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

16

PUBLIC RECORDS COLONIAL OFFICE

That the English will protect them from the
French otherwise they shall loose all the Beaver
and hunting

That they have put themselves and their Lands under
the Protection of the King, and have given
Susquehanah River to the Government of New
York of which they desire it may be a Branch and
under which they will Shelter themselves from the
French.

That Penn's People may not Settle under the
Susquehanah River

They have put themselves under the King and
give two Deer Skinns for the King to write upon
them and put a great red Seale to them that they
put all their Land under his Ma[ty] and under no
other Government then New Yorke.

They desire these Proposalls may be sent to the
King with a Belt of Wampumpeeg, and another
small Belt to the Duke of York.

And they gave Col Dungan a Beaver to send
over this Proposall

And my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice
that Penns agents would have Bought the Susquehanah
River of them, but they would not, but Referred it
to the Government of New York

40 That

Edw Cranfield

D. That being a free People uniting themselves to the English, it may be in their Power to give their Land to what Sachem they please.

69 VII

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE COLONIAL

Proposition or Ora
of the Onnondages and Cay
Sachims made in the Town-H
Albany before the Right Hon:
Lord Howard of Effingham Gover
Virginia & Coll: Thomas Dungan G
New-York upon the 2: day of
1684

Brother Corlaer.

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

Your Sachim is a great Sachim and
but a small people, when the English came to Manhatans, th
N-York, Aragiske, which is now called Virginia, and to
Sasquesahanagare now called Maryland, they were but a Sma
people, and We a great people, and finding they were good peo
We gave them Land and treated them Civilly, and now finding
you are a great people and We but a small, You will
protect us from the French, which if you Do not, We
shall loose all our Hunting and Beavers, the French will
have all the Beavers and are angry with us for bringing
you to you.

Brethren.

We have putt all Our Land and Our selfs under
the Protection of the Great Duke of York, the Brother of
your great Sachim; We have given the Susquehanna River
which We won with the Sword to this Government

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE COLONIAL OFFICE

and Desire that it may be a Branch of that great
Tree that grows here, whose Topp reaches to the Sun
under whose Branches We shall shelter Our selves from
the French or any other People, and Our fire burn
in your Houses and your fire burns with us, and
We Desire that it always may be so, and will not
that any of your Sons people shall settle upon the
Susquehanne River; for Our young folks or Soldiers
are like Wolfs in the Woods, as you Sachem of Virginia
know, We having no other Land to leave to Our Wives
and Children.

We have putt Our selves under the great Sachim-
Charles that lives over the great Lake, and We Do give you two
White Dressd Bear Skins to be sent to the Great Sachim Charles
that he may write upon them, and putts a great Red Seale
to them, that We Do putt the Susquehanne River above-
the Washinta or falls and all the rest of Our Land
under the great Duke of York, and to no Body-
else, Our Brethren his Servants were as Fathers
to Our Wives and Children, and did give us Bread-
when We were in need of it, and We will neither
then to this, and this Proposition We Desire that Corlaer
the Govern.r may send over to your Great Sachim-

267 Charles

Charles that Dwells over the great Lake, with this Belt of Wampum Peeg, and another Smaller Belt for the Duke of York his Brother, and We give a Beaver to the Carier to Send over this proposition.

And you great man of Virginia, meaning the Lord Effingham Govern.r of Virginia, We lett you know that great Penn did Speak to Us here in Corlaers house by his Agents, and Desired to Buy the Susquehanne River but We would not hearken to him nor come under his Government, and therefore desire you to be Witness of what We now Do and that We have already done and lett your Friend that lives over the Great Lake know that We are a free people uniting our Selves to what Sachem We please, and Do give you One Beaver Skin.

This is a true Copy Translated Compared & Attested p.r me.

Rob.t Livingston.

Evangelist by us in Councill to him administered, deposeth and saith that what is herein before conteined and declared to be of his owne knowledge is the truth of his knowledge and well knowne to him to be in manner as is sett downe; and what else herein before conteined and declared to be the report or rumor of those times was indeed received by him as such, from good credible and sufficient p'sons, to be the dealeings and transactions of those times in manner and forme as is herein before sett downe; to the truth whereof he said Garratt Van Sweeringen hath hereunto sett his hand the day and yeare abovesaid.

(Signed) G. v. SWERINGEN.

At a Council held att Matapany Sewall[1] the twelfth day of May 1684, the aforegoing deposition then taken before us

HENRY DARNALL.
Wm DIGGES.
NICHOLAS SEWALL.
JOHN DARNALL.

ABSTRACT OF PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY TWO IROQUOIS NATIONS.

Abstract of the Proposalls of the Onoundages and Cayouges Sachims at New Yorke 2. August 1684.

That the English will protect them from the French otherwise they shall loose all the Beavor and hunting.

That they have put themselves and their lands under the Protection of the King, and have given Susquehanah River to the Government of New York of which they desire it may be a Branch, and under which they will shelter themselves from the French.

That Pen's people may not settle under the Susquehanah River.

They have putt them selves under the King and give two Deer Skinns for the King to write upon them, and put a great read Seale to them, that they put all their lands under His Ma^ty and no other Government then New Yorke.

They desire these proposalls may be sent to the King with a Belt of Wampum peeg and another small Belt for the Duke of York. And they give Col. Dungan a Beaver to send over this Proposall.

[1] Mattapany Sewalls is situate on the south side of Patuxent river, about two miles above its mouth. It is famous in the annals of Maryland for the surrender of its garrison in 1689, to the Protestant Associators, who on the receipt of the news of the revolution in England, overthrew the Proprietary government and seized the Province. *McMahon's History of Maryland, I. 237.*

And my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice that Penn's agents would haue bought the Susquehanah River of them, but they would not, but fastned it to the Government of New York.

That being a free people uniting them selues to the English, it may be in their power to give their land to what Sachim they please.

The Governr desired them to make up the differences amongst themselves about Susquehanna River in a civil and peaceable way, that being don to send word to the Governor, and that then he will give them fuller orders about it.

At a Council held Aprill 29th, 1684.

P'sent

The Governor
Mr Lucas Santen
Coll Lewis Morris.
J. Spragg.

Mr. Willm Welch said Governr Penn had a desire to treat wth the Indians of Susquehannah River by the consent of the Governor of New-York.

Mr. Lloyd said that Governr Penn complained of ye unkind usages and sinister dealings of the people of Albany who caused him to be put to a vast expence in bringing down the Indians and the desire of Governr Penn was that hath already bin expended may be valued and som consideration had to the loss of time and monies.

Governor Dongan replyed that as for the charges Mr Penn had bin at he had nothing to say to it, that they of Albany have suspition it is only to get away their trade and that Mr. Penn hath land allready more than he can people these many years that the Indians have long since given over their land to this Governmt and advised them to write over to the Duke about it.

Mr Lloy & Mr. Welch desired a letter from the Governor to the Indians wch was not granted.

FATHER LAMBERVILLE TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[Paris Doc. II.]

February 10, 1684.

The man named Oreouaké of Cayuga told me also that he would go to Montreal to see you. 'Tis he who caused Father de Carheil to withdraw, and who treacherously brought the six Tionnontates to Cayuga. He is extremely proud. Sorennoé and he are the two most considerable Captains of Cayuga. It was of this Oreouaké that the English of Albany (formerly Orange) made use to prevent Sieur Penn purchasing the Country of the Andastognés who have been conquered by the Iroquois and the English of Marilande.

ABSTRACT OF THE PROPOSALLS OF THE ONOUNDAGES AND CAYOUGES SACHEMS AT NEW YORK, 2. August 1684.

[Lond. Doc. IV.]

That the English will protect them from the French otherwise they shall loose all the Beaver and hunting.

That they have put themselves and their lands under the Protection of the King and have given Susquehannah River to the Government of New York of which they desire it may be a Branch, and under which they will shelter themselves from the French.

That Penn's people may not settle under the Susquehannah River.

They have putt themselves under the King and give two Deer Skins for the King to write upon them, and put a great read Seale to them, that they put all their lands under His Maty and under no other Government then New Yorke.

They desire these proposalls may be sent to the King with a Belt of Wampum peeg and another small Belt for the Duke of York.

And they give Col. Dungan a Beaver to send over this Proposall.

And my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice that Penn's agents would have bought the Susquehanna River of them, but they would not, but fastened it to the government of New York.

That being a free people uniting themselves to the English, it may be in their power to give their land to what Sachim they please.

PROPOSITION OR ORATION

OF THE ONONDAGOES AND CAYOUGES SACHIMS MADE IN THE TOWN HALL ALBANY BEFORE THE RIGHT HONble THE LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA AND COL. THOMAS DUNGAN GOVr OF NEW YORK UPON THE 2d DAY OF AUGUST 1684.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

Brother Corlaer

Your Sachim is a great Sachim and we are but a small people, When the English came to Manhattans that is N. York, Aragiske which is now called Virginia, and to Jaquokranogare now called Maryland, they were but a small people and we a great people, and finding they were good people we gave them land and treated them civilly, and now since you are a great people and we but a small, you will protect us from the French, which if you do not, we shall loose all our hunting and Bevers, The French will have all the Bevers, and are angry with us for bringing any to you.

Brethren. Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the Protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachim; We have given the Susquehanne River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, Whose topp reaches to the Sunn, under whose branches we shall shelter our selves from the French or any other people, and our fire burn in your houses and your fire burns with us, and we desire that it always may be so, and will not that any of your Penns people shall settle upon the Susquehanne River; for all our folks or soldiers are like Wolfs in the Woods, as you Sachim of Virginia know, We having no other land to leave to our wives & Children.

Wee have put ourselves under the Great Sachim Charles that lives over the Great Lake, and we do give you Two White Drest Deer Skins to be sent to the Great Sachim Charles That he may write upon them, and putt a great Redd Seale to them, Thatt we do putt the Susquehanne River above the Washinta or falls and all the rest of our land under the Great Duke of York and to nobody else, Our brethren his Servants were as fathers to our Wives and Children, and did give us Bread when we were in need of it, and we will neither joyn our selves nor our Land to any other Governmt then to this, and this Proposition we desire that Corlaer the Govrnr may send over to your Great Sachim Charles that dwells over the Great Lake with this Belt of Wampum Peeg, and another Smaller Belt for the Duke of York his brother, and we give a Bever to the Corlaer to send over this Proposition.

And you great Man of Virginia, meaning the Lord Effingham Governr of Virginia, we let you

know that Great Penn did speak to us here in Corlaer's house by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanne River, but we would not hearken to him nor come under His Government, and therefore desire you to be witness of what we now do and that we have already done and lett your friend that lives over the Great lake know that we are a ffree people uniting our selves to what Sachem we please, and do give you one beavor skinn.

This is a true Copy Translated, compared and
Revised *P* me

Rob[t] Livingston.

That Penn's people may not settle under the Susquehannah River.

They have putt themselves under the King and give two Deer Skins for the King to write upon them, and put a great read Seale to them, that they put all their lands under His Maty and under no other Government then New Yorke.

They desire these proposalls may be sent to the King with a Belt of Wampum peeg and another small Belt for the Duke of York.

And they give Col. Dungan a Beaver to send over this Proposall.

And my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice that Penn's agents would have bought the Susquehanna River of them, but they would not, but fastened it to the government of New York.

That being a free people uniting themselves to the English, it may be in their power to give their land to what Sachim they please.

PROPOSITION OR ORATION

OF THE ONONDAGOES AND CAYOUGES SACHIMS MADE IN THE TOWN HALL ALBANY BEFORE THE RIGHT HONble THE LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA AND COL. THOMAS DUNGAN GOVr OF NEW YORK UPON THE 2d DAY OF AUGUST 1684.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

Brother Corlaer

Your Sachim is a great Sachim and we are but a small people, When the English came to Manhattans that is N. York, Aragiske which is now called Virginia, and to Jaquokranogare now called Maryland, they were but a small people and we a great people, and finding they were good people we gave them land and treated them civilly, and now since you are a great people and we but a small, you will protect us from the French, which if you do not, we shall loose all our hunting and Bevers, The French will have all the Bevers, and are angry with us for bringing any to you.

Brethren. Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the Protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachim; We have given the Susquehanne River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, Whose topp reaches to the Sunn, under whose branches we shall shelter our selves from the French or any other people, and our fire burn in your houses and your fire burns with us, and we desire that it always may be so, and will not that any of your Penns people shall settle upon the Susquehanne River; for all our folks or soldiers are like Wolfs in the Woods, as you Sachim of Virginia know, We having no other land to leave to our wives & Children.

Wee have put ourselves under the Great Sachim Charles that lives over the Great Lake, and we do give you Two White Drest Deer Skins to be sent to the Great Sachim Charles That he may write upon them, and putt a great Redd Seale to them, Thatt we do putt the Susquehanne River above the Washinta or falls and all the rest of our land under the Great Duke of York and to nobody else, Our brethren his Servants were as fathers to our Wives and Children, and did give us Bread when we were in need of it, and we will neither joyn our selves nor our Land to any other Governmt then to this, and this Proposition we desire that Corlaer the Govrnr may send over to your Great Sachim Charles that dwells over the Great Lake with this Belt of Wampum Peeg, and another Smaller Belt for the Duke of York his brother, and we give a Bever to the Corlaer to send over this Proposition.

And you great Man of Virginia, meaning the Lord Effingham Governr of Virginia, we let you

know that Great Penn did speak to us here in Corlaer's house by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanne River, but we would not hearken to him nor come under His Government, and therefore desire you to be witness of what we now do and that we have already done and lett your friend that lives over the Great lake know that we are a ffree people uniting our selves to what Sachem we please, and do give you one beavor skinn.

This is a true Copy Translated, compared and
Revised *P* me

Rob[t] Livingston.

There being a clause in my Instructions wherein I am limited not to act without five, therefore Mr John Spragg and Major Jervis Baxter going for England, and there not being a sufficient number to make a quorum, I have, by Vertue of a clause in my letters Patents impowring mee, in case of absence out of the Governm[e]nt, death or suspension to add of the principal Freeholders) given the oath to Judge Palmer and Nicholas Bayard the present Mayor to serve in the Council untill his Matys pleasure bee known.

And whereas there is a clause, in my Instructions to send over the names of six persons more fitt to supply the Vacancy of the Council six of the fittest I find in this Government are as followeth

Mathias Nichols Judge	William Smith	Frances Rumbouls
James Graham	Gabriel Minvielle	Major Nicolas Demyre

Proposition of the Onondaga and Cayuga Indians.

[New-York Papers, I. 338.]

Proposition or Oration of the Onnondages and Cayouges Sachims made in the Town Hall Albany before the Right Honble the Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia & Col. Thomas Dungan Govr of New York upon the 2d day of August 1684.

Brother Corlaer.

Your Sachim is a great Sachim and we are but a small people, when the English came to Manhatans that is N. York, Aragiske, which is now called Virginia, and to Jaquokranægare now called Maryland, they were but a small people and we a great people, and finding they were good people we gave them land and treated them civilly, and now since you are a great people and we but a small, you will protect us from the French, which if you do not, we shall lose all our hunting and Bevers, The French will have all the Bevers, and are angry with us for bringing any to you.

Brethren.

Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the Protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachim; we have given the Susquehanne River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, whose topp reaches to the sunn, under whose branches we shall shelter our selves from the French or any other people, and our fire burn in your houses and your fire burns with us, and we desire that it always may be so, and will not that any of your Penns people shall settle upon the Susquehanne River; for our young folks or soldiers are like wolfs in the woods, as you Sachim of Virginia know, we having no other land to leave to our wives and children.

Wee have putt our selves under the great Sachim Charles that lives over the great lake, and we do give you Two White Drest Dear Skins to be sent to the great Sachim Charles That he

may write upon them, and putt a great Redd Seale to them, That we do putt the Susquehanne River above the Washinta[t] or falls and all the rest of our land under the great Duke of York and to no bodyelse, our brethren his servants were as fathers to our wives and children, and did give us Bread when we were in need of it, and we will neither joyn Our selves nor our Land to any other Governm[t] then this, and this Proposition we desire that Corlaer the Govern[r] may send over to your great Sachim Charles that Dwells over the great Lake with this belt of Wampum Peeg, and another smaller Belt for the Duke of York his brother, and we give a Bever to the Corlaer to send over this proposition.

And you great man of Virginia, meaning the Lord Effingham Govern[r] of Virginia, We let you know that Great Penn did speak to us here in Corlaer's house by his Agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanne River, but we would not hearken to him nor come under His Government, and therefore desire you to be witness of what we now do and that we have already done and lett your freind that lives over the great lake know that we are a ffree people uniting our selves to what sachem we please, and do give you one beavor skinn

This is a true Copy Translated, Compared & Revised p[r] me

Rob[t] Livingston.

Endorsed

N. York 2 August 1684
Indian Proposalls to
Coll. Dongan. Read 18 May. 87.

The Sennekes answere to ye Propositions made to them by the Right Hon:ble Francis Lord Howard Baron of Effingham Govern: Gen:ll of his Ma:ties Dominion of Virginia In the fourt Reun: of Albanye ye 5th day of Aug 1664

Wee have heard & understood ye which hath ben told us concerning ye Peace a in Virginia & Maryland wee have it as perfect as yf it were vpon our sings. Ends, & further wee thank you for having ben our Intercessors & yt the Axe hath not fallen vpon us & you Assariggoa great Sachim of Virginia wee thank you & you Surry all will togither with ye Axe in the Pitt of Obliv. Wee are informed yt ye Chaquate Oneyder Onnondages & Sinecaes have ben the Axe already & now wee vnderstand ye further mat. are come to Axe ye I including in this Covenant yo Friend Indians called Sachnawais yt live amongst and desire yt one Axe on our part may be buried together with ones of ye Lords & Sirs, Sirs wee thank you for holding one End of ye Axe & tha you great Govern of Virginia not only for throwing aside the Axe but tho you have putt all Evill out of yo Heart, Now wee have a new Covenant a str a straight Chain yt can be broked & ye Tree of Peace is now planted soe fast it cannot be moved let us hold fast ye Covenant on both sides wee take notice yt which you said of ye great Sachim yt liveth over the great water, as also yt y Say ye Sachnawais or Virginia Indians will come here to confirme this Covenant Sett them not make any excuse yf they are old & feeble & yt there feet are sore yf ye old Sachims can't come Sett the young men come wee shall not faile to be here through wee live furthest off & then the renewed Covenant will be better & fi Wee have vnderstood what hath been said of ye evil done to ye People & Sale of Virginia & Maryland & yt wee should not come neare to the heads of ye Rivers nor near yo Plantacons but keep to the foot of ye Mountaines, wee take acco of ye Propositions for preventing of mischife for yt time to come, wee shall come near yo Plantacons because you tell us though wee lay downe our ar as friends, yett wee shall not be trusted but looked vpon as Rebells, therefore w will wholy stay away from thence, & should wee not doe this, Sirs having been at soe great paines to perswade you great Govern of Virginia to forgi what hath passed, wee commend ye Vnderstanding yt you have been pleased to gi Ear to Sirs good advice wee shall for ye future goe a Path yt never was gone before wee have now done with speaking to Sir & ye Govern of Virginia.

Agreement between the
Indians of Virginia and
the Indians of New
York:. 1st & Aug. 1684

Rec.d at the Counsell
the 3.d Nov. 1684
Read 9.th & 16.th Dec. 84
From the Earle of Sunderland

Number of Men, and a Quantity of Provisions, at *Cadarackui* Fort.

The *French* having got nothing but dry Blows by this Expedition, sent thirteen of the *Indians*, that they surprised at *Cadarackui*, to *France*, as Trophies of their Victory, where they were put into the Galleys, as Rebels to their King.

CHAP. VI.

Colonel Dongan's *Advice to the* Indians. Adario's *Enterprize, and* Montreal *sacked by the* Five Nations.

CHAP. VI.

COlonel *Dongan*, who had the *Indian* Affairs very much at Heart, met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* as soon as possible after the *French* Expedition, and spoke to them on the fifth of *August*, in the following Words, *viz.*

" *Brethren*,

" I am very glad to see you here in this House, " and am heartily glad that you have sustained no " greater Loss by the *French*, though I believe it " was their Intention to destroy you all, if they " could have surprised you in your Castles.

" As soon as I heard their Design to war with " you, I gave you Notice, and came up hither my- " self, that I might be ready to give all the Assist- " ance and Advice that so short a Time would al- " low me.

" I am now about sending a Gentleman to *Eng-* " *land*, to the King, my Master, to let him know, " that the *French* have invaded his Territories on " this Side of the great Lake, and warred upon the " Brethren his Subjects. I therefore would wil- " lingly know, whether the Brethren have given

" the

" the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation or not; CHAP.
" and if they have, how, and in what Manner; VI.
" becauſe I am obliged to give a true Account of
" this Matter. This Buſineſs may cauſe a War be-
" tween the King of *England* and the *French* King,
" both in *Europe* and here, and therefore I muſt
" know the Truth.

" I know the Governor of *Canada* dare not enter
" into the King of *England*'s Territories, in a hoſtile
" Manner, without Provocation, if he thought the
" Brethren were the King of *England*'s Subjects;
" but you have, two or three Years ago, made a
" Covenant-chain with the *French*, contrary to my
" Command, (which I knew could not hold long)
" being void of itſelf among the Chriſtians; for as
" much as Subjects (as you are) ought not to treat
" with any foreign Nation, it not lying in your
" Power, you have brought this Trouble on your
" ſelves, and, as I believe, this is the only Reaſon
" of their falling on you at this Time.

" Brethren, I took it very ill, that after you had
" put yourſelves into the Number of the great King
" of *England*'s Subjects, you ſhould ever offer
" to make Peace or War without my Conſent. You
" know that we can live without you, but you cannot
" live without us. You never found that I told you
" a Lye, and I offered you the Aſſiſtance you wanted,
" provided that you would be adviſed by me; for I
" know the *French* better than any of you do.

" Now ſince there is a War begun upon you by
" the Governor of *Canada*, I hope without any
" Provocation by you given, I deſire and command
" you, that you hearken to no Treaty but by my
" Advice; which if you follow, you ſhall have the
" Benefit of the great Chain of Friendſhip between
" the great King of *England* and the King of *France*,
" which came out of *England* the other Day, and
" which I have ſent to *Canada* by *Anthony le Junard*.
" In the mean Time, I will give you ſuch Advice

CHAP. VI. " as will be for your good; and will ſupply you " with ſuch Neceſſaries, as you will have Need " of.

" *Firſt*, My Advice is, as to what Priſoners of " the *French* you ſhall take, that you draw not " their Blood, but bring them Home, and keep " them to exchange for your People, which they " have Priſoners already, or may take hereafter.

" 2*dly*, That if it be poſſible, that you can order " it ſo, I would have you take one or two of your " wiſeſt *Sachems*, and one or two of your *chief Cap-* " *tains*, of each Nation, to be a Council to manage " all Affairs of the War. They to give Orders to " the reſt of the Officers what they are to do, that " your Deſigns may be kept private; for after it " comes among ſo many People, it is blazed abroad, " and your Deſigns are often fruſtrated; and thoſe " chief Men ſhould keep a Correſpondence with me " by a truſty Meſſenger.

" 3*dly*, The great Matter under Conſidera- " tion with the Brethren is, how to ſtrengthen " themſelves, and weaken their Enemy. My Opi- " nion is, that the Brethren ſhould ſend Meſſengers " to the *Utawawas*, *Twihtwies*, and the *farther In-* " *dians*, and to ſend back likewiſe ſome of the Pri- " ſoners of theſe Nations, if you have any left, to " bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant-chain, " that they may put away all the *French* that are " among them, and that you will open a Path for " them this Way, they being the King of *England*'s " Subjects likewiſe, tho' the *French* have been ad- " mitted to trade with them; for all that the *French* " have in *Canada*, they had it of the great King of " *England*; that by that Means they may come " hither freely, where they may have every Thing " cheaper than among the *French*: That you and " they may join together againſt the *French*, and " make ſo firm a League, that whoever is an Ene- " my to one, muſt be to both.

2 4*thly*, Ano-

CHAP. VI.

" *4thly*, Another Thing of Concern is, that you " ought to do what you can to open a Path for all " the *North Indians* and *Mahikanders*, that are a- " mong the *Utawawas* and further Nations: I will " endeavour to do the ſame to bring them Home; " for, they not daring to return Home your Way, " the *French* keep them there on purpoſe to join " with the other Nations againſt you, for your De- " ſtruction; for you know, that one of them is " worſe than ſix of the others; therefore all Means " muſt be uſed to bring them Home, and uſe them " kindly as they paſs through your Country.

" *5thly*, My Advice further is, that Meſſengers " go, in behalf of all the *Five Nations*, to the *Chriſ-* " *tian Indians* at *Canada*, to perſuade them to come " Home to their native Country. This will be an- " other great Means to weaken your Enemy; but " if they will not be adviſed, you know what to do " with them.

" *6thly*, I think it very neceſſary, for the Brethren's " Security and Aſſiſtance, and to the endamaging the " *French*, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where I " may keep Stores and Proviſions, in Caſe of Ne- " ceſſity; and therefore I would have the Brethren " let me know what Place will be moſt convenient " for it.

" *7thly*, I would not have the Brethren keep " their Corn in their Caſtles, as I hear the *Onon-* " *dagas* do, but bury it a great Way in the " Woods, where few People may know where it " is, for fear of ſuch an Accident as has happened to " the *Senekas*.

" *8thly*, I have given my Advice in your General " Aſſembly by Mr. *Dirk Weſſels*, and *Akus* the In- " terpreter, how you are to manage your Parties, " and how neceſſary it is to get Priſoners, to ex- " change for your own Men that are Priſoners with " the *French*; and I am glad to hear that the Bre- " thren are ſo united, as Mr. *Dirk Weſſels* tells me

CHAP. VI.

" you are, and that there are no rotten Members " nor *French* Spies among you.

" 9*thly*, The Brethren may remember my Ad- " vice, which I ſent you this Spring, not to go to " *Cadarackui*; if you had, they would have ſerved " you as they did your People that came from hunt- " ing thither; for I told you then, that I knew the " *French* better than you did.

" 10*thly*, There was no Advice or Propoſition " that I made to the Brethren, all the Time that the " Prieſt lived at *Onondaga*, but what he wrote to " to *Canada*, as I found by one of his Letters, which " he gave to an *Indian* to carry to *Canada*, but which " was brought hither; therefore I deſire the Brethren " not to receive him or any *French Prieſt* any more, " having ſent for *Engliſh Prieſts*, with whom you " may be ſupplied to your Content.

" 11*thly*, I would have the Brethren look out " ſharp, for Fear of being ſurprized. I believe all " the Strength of the *French* will be at their Fron- " tier Places, *viz.* at *Cadarackui* and *Oniagara*, " where they have built a Fort now, and at *Troies Ri-* " *vieres*, *Montreal*, and *Chambly*.

" 12*thly*, Let me put you in Mind again, not to " make any Treaties without my Means, which will " be more advantageous for you, than your doing " it by yourſelves, for then you will be looked upon " as the King of *England*'s Subjects, and let me know, " from Time to Time, every Thing that is done.

" Thus far I have ſpoken to you relating to the " War.

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was informed, that laſt Spring they had killed a fine Gentleman, with ſome others; and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the Head of *Tames River*, with Intention to deſtroy all the *Indians* thereabout. They had taken ſix Priſoners, whom he ordered them to bring to him, to be reſtored; and that for the fu-

ture

ture they ſhould deſiſt from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia*, or their *Indians*, otherwiſe all the *Engliſh* would unite to deſtroy them. But at the ſame time he freed the *Senekas* from any Blame, and commended them as a brave and honeſt People, who never had done any Thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the *French*, three Years ago. CHAP. VI.

Laſtly, He recommended to them, not to ſuffer their People to be drunk during the War: A Soldier thereby (he ſaid) loſes his Reputation, becauſe of the Advantages it will give the Enemy over him.

This honeſt Gentleman earneſtly purſued the Intereſt of his Country; but it ſeems his Meaſures were not agreeable to thoſe his Maſter had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French* on their own Terms, and was ſoon after this removed from his Government. Indeed ſuch an active, as well as prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the univerſal Monarchy in View, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.

The great Diſpute between Coll. *Dungan* and the *French* was in this, that Coll. *Dungan* would force the *French* to apply to him, in all Affairs relating to the *Five Nations*, and the *French* would treat with them independently of the *Engliſh*. For this Reaſon Coll. *Dungan* refuſed any Aſſiſtance to the *French*, till they, by ſuch Application, ſhould acknowledge the Dependance of the *Five Nations* on the Crown of *England*. But King *James* ordered him to give up this Point; and that he ſhould perſuade the *Five Nations* to ſend to *Canada*, to receive Propoſals from the *French Governor*; and for this Purpoſe, forced them to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, till their Deputies ſhould go and return from *Canada*; and that they ſhould, in the mean Time, deliver up all the Priſoners they had taken from the *French*; and that

CHAP. VI. no Accident might prevent this, and blaſt ſo favourable an Opportunity of making Peace to the beſt Advantage, Monſr. *De Nonville* ſent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countries, to obſerve a Ceſſation of Arms, till the Ambaſſador of the *Five Nations* ſhould meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him Reaſon to expect they would in a little Time, to conclude the Peace in the uſual Form.

In the mean Time, *Adario*, the Chief of the *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become ſuſpected by the *French*, ſince the Time they had ſhewn ſo much Inclination to the *Engliſh*, when they attempted to trade at *Miſſilimakinak*, reſolved, by ſome notable Action againſt the *Five Nations*, to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpoſe, he marched from *Miſſilimakinak*, at the Head of a Hundred Men; and that he might act with the more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his Way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that Monſr. *De Nonville* was in Hopes of concluding a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and expected their Ambaſſadors in eight or ten Days at *Montreal* for that Purpoſe, and therefore deſired him to return to *Miſſilimakinak*, without attempting any Thing that might obſtruct ſo good a Deſign.

The *Indian* being ſurpriſed with this News, was under great Concern for his Nation, which he was afraid would be ſacrificed to the *French* Intereſt, but diſſembled his Concern before the *French* Officer. He went from *Cadarackui*, not to return home as the Commandant thought, but to wait for the Ambaſſadors of the *Five Nations*, near one of the Falls of *Cadarackui* River, by which he knew they muſt paſs. He did not lurk there above four or five Days, before the Deputies came guarded by forty young Soldiers, who were all ſurpriſed, and killed or taken Priſoners. As ſoon as the Priſoners were all ſecured, the cunning *Deonondadi* told them, "That he "having been informed, by the Governor of *Canada*, "that

" that fifty Warriors of their Nation were to paſs CHAP.
" this Way about this Time, he had ſecured this VI.
" Paſs, not doubting of intercepting them.

The Ambaſſadors being much ſurpriſed at the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Deſign of their Journey, who, the better to play his Part, ſeemed to grow mad and furious, declaring againſt Monſr. *De Nonville*, and ſaid he would, ſome time or other, be revenged of him, for making a Tool of him, to commit ſuch horrid Treachery. Then looking ſtedfaſtly on the Priſoners (among whom *Dekanefora* was the principal Ambaſſador) *Adario* ſaid to them, Go, my Brethren, I unty your Bonds, and ſend you home again, tho' our Nations be at War: The *French* Governor has made me commit ſo black an Action, that I ſhall never be eaſy after it, till the *Five Nations* ſhall have taken full Revenge.

This was ſufficient to perſuade the Ambaſſadors of the Truth of what he ſaid, who aſſured him, that he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleaſed. *Adario* loſt only one Man on this Occaſion, and would keep a *Satana* Priſoner (adopted into the *Five Nations*) to fill up his Place. Then he gave Arms, Powder and Ball to the reſt of the Priſoners, to enable them to return.

The Ambaſſadors were chiefly, if not all, *Onondagas*, and *Oneydoes*, who had been long under the Influence of the *French* Prieſts, and ſtill retained an Affection to them; but this Adventure thoroughly changed their Thoughts, and irritated them ſo heartily againſt the *French*, that all the *Five Nations* proſecuted the War unanimouſly.

Adario delivered the Slave (his Priſoner) to the *French* at *Miſſilimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, ordered him to be ſhot to Death. *Adario* called one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Priſoner, to be an Eye Witneſs of his Countryman's Death, then bid him make his Eſcape to his own Country,

CHAP. VI. to give an Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which it was not in his Power to ſave a Priſoner, he himſelf had taken.

This heightned the Rage of the *Five Nations* ſo, that Monſr. *De Nonville*'s ſending to diſown *Adario* in this Action, had no Effect upon them; their Breaſts admitted of no Thoughts but that of Revenge. It was not long before the *French* felt the bloody Effects of this cruel Paſſion, for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the Iſland of *Montreal*, when the *French* had no Suſpicion of any ſuch Attempt, while Monſr. *De Nonville* and his Lady were in that Town. They landed on the South Side of the Iſland, at *La Chine*, on the 26th of *July* 1688, where they burnt and ſacked all the Plantations, and made a terrible Maſſacre of Men, Women, and Children. The *French* were under Apprehenſion of the Town's being attack'd, for which Reaſon, they durſt not ſend out any conſiderable Party to the Relief of the Country, only once, when the *Indians* had blocked up two Forts, Monſr. *De Nonville* ſent out a hundred Soldiers, and fifty *Indians*, to try to bring off the Men in thoſe Forts. The *French* of this Party were all either taken or cut to Pieces, except one Soldier, and the commanding Officer, who, after he had his Thighs broke, was carried off by twelve *Indians* that made their Eſcape. There were above a Thouſand of the *French* killed at this Time, and twenty-ſix were carried away Priſoners, the greateſt Part of which were burnt alive. The *Five Nations* only loſt three Men on this Expedition, that got drunk and were left behind. This, however, did not ſatiate their Thirſt after Blood, for, in *October* following, they deſtroyed likewiſe all the lower Part of the Iſland, and carried away many Priſoners.

The Conſequence of theſe Expeditions were very diſmal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks, which they had on *Cadarackui* Lake, and to abandon their Fort there; they deſigned to

have blown up their Works, when they left that Place; and for that End left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in ſuch a Fright, that they durſt not ſtay to ſee what Effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui* River in ſeven Birch Canoes; and for greater Security, travelled in the Night. One of the Canoes, with all the Men in it, were loſt, by their Precipitation, as they paſſed one of the Falls in that River. The *Five Nations* hearing the *French* had deſerted *Cadarackui* Fort, fifty *Indians* went and took Poſſeſſion of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and twenty eight Barrels of Powder in the ſame Place, together with ſeveral other Stores. CHAP. VI.

The News of the Succeſs the *Five Nations* had over the *French* ſoon ſpread itſelf among all the *Indians*, and put the *French* Affairs every where into the greateſt Diſorder.

The *Utawawas* had always ſhewn an Inclination to the *Engliſh*, and they therefore immediately ſent openly four *Sachems*, with three Priſoners of the *Senekas*, which they had, to aſſure them, that they would for ever renounce all Friendſhip with the *French*, and promiſed to reſtore the reſt of the Priſoners. They alſo included ſeven Nations, that lived near *Miſſilimakinak*, in this Peace.

This put the *French* Commandant there under the greateſt Difficulty to maintain his Poſt; but there was no Choice, he muſt ſtand his Ground, for the *Five Nations* had cut off all Hopes of retiring.

The *Nepairinians* and *Kikabous*, of all their numerous Allies, only remained firm to the *French*; every one of the others endeavoured to gain the Friendſhip of the *Five Nations*; and would certainly have done it, by murdering all the *French* among them, had not the Sieur *Perot*, with wonderful Sagacity and eminent Hazard to his own Perſon, diverted them.

Canada

CHAP. VI.

Canada was now in a moſt miſerable Condition, for while the greateſt Number of their Men had been employed in the Expedition againſt the *Five Nations*, and in trading among the far Nations, and making new Diſcoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Huſbandry had been neglected; and they loſt ſeveral Thouſands of their Inhabitants, by the continual Incurſions of ſmall Parties, ſo that none durſt hazard themſelves out of fortified Places; indeed, it is hard to conceive what Diſtreſs the *French* were then under, for tho' they were every where almoſt ſtarving, they could not plant nor ſow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the ſculking *Indians*; at laſt the whole Country being laid waſte, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a miſerable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had underſtood the Method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preſerved the *French* from an entire Deſtruction at this Time; for whoever conſiders the State of the *Indian* Affairs during this Period, how the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Meaſures; that the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jeſuites, were diverted from proſecuting the War againſt *Canada*, by the Jeſuites cunningly ſpiriting up thoſe three Nations againſt the *Virginia Indians*, and perſuading them to ſend out their Parties that Way: That the *Senekas* had a War at the ſame Time upon their Hands with three numerous *Indian* Nations, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktaghicks*, and *Twihtwies*; and that the Meaſures the *Engliſh* obſerved all King *James*'s Reign, gave the *Indians* rather Grounds of Jealouſy than Aſſiſtance: I ſay, whoever conſiders all theſe Things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform, under all theſe Diſadvantages againſt the *French*, will hardly doubt, that the *Five Nations* by themſelves were at that Time an Overmatch for the *French* of *Canada*.

THE

Also de Outste Van de Maquaase Van Tyd tot
Tyd Pretensie Hebben Gemaakt, Op de Verkoghte Lande
=ryen Boven Schoneetady, Ten Weeder Seyde Van de Revier
Tot Quecquarnone Toe, Soo Verklaaren Sy ondert:
voor Deughdelyck Een Schenckagie, Ende Vereeringe Van den
D. Recht. Achtb. Heer Gouw. Generael Thomas Don=
gan, Ontfangen te Hebben. Beloven de mits
Desen Van nu Affe Inder Ewigheyt Daar aan Te
Sullen Desisteren Ende Egeene Pretensie Int Toekomende
Meer te Sullen Maaken op de Voorschreve Landeryen
So Vangoas, Bos, Alt, Klippen, Ackum in den Dorpe
Schoneetady Den 6 Augusti 1684 Ende met
Haare Gemeenelycke merken onderteckent

Tomerck Van Tiskanoende

Tmerck Van Soderasso

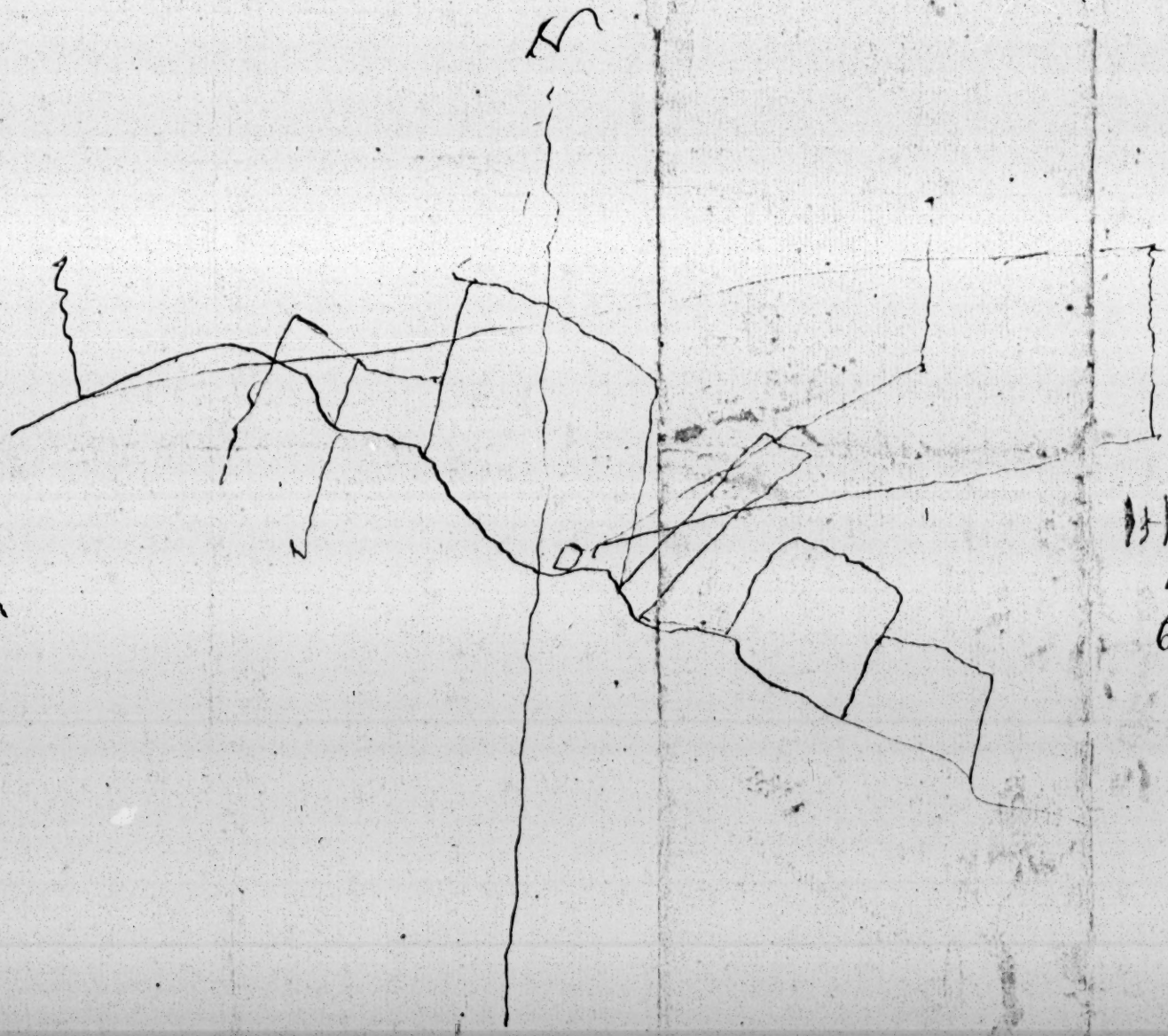
Tmerck Van Sagoddiochqua

Sax

Teken uyt de Naeme Ende Van
Wegen de Drie Maquaase Gelaghte
Beetaande in de Schellepot

Beer En Wolf

Geexcepteert de Mack Van Jaques



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The Seneca Iroquois offer you more than you would have believed. The Onontagués considered their honor engaged to this meeting, and have put all sorts of machinery in motion to induce the Senecas to condescend to place their affairs in their hands.

On the first day of the Council every thing was almost despaired of, and the plenipotentiaries, all excited, came to see me, saying they gained nothing on the Senecas, and that up to that time they too willingly accepted war; that they rejected the presents which you and they had made them. They sent back to me for more belts, only to combat the obstinacy of the Senecas; the chiefs and warriors acted with great zeal, so that having gained the Oneidas and Cayugas over to their side, they came to high words. Meanwhile, the Deputies succeeded one another to sound me on the state of affairs and to learn the true cause of the withdrawal of our Missionaries. Finally, I told them that the real cause was—that the displeasure they perceived you felt at being disparaged by the Senecas, and in which they also participated, had caused their withdrawal until the Senecas should satisfy you. At length the Onontagués have persuaded these to confide in them and to place their affairs in their hands—that if you did not accept their mediation, they would unite, according to their policy, with all the other Iroquois against you. La Grande Gueule[1] and his truimvirate have assuredly signalized themselves in this rencounter. My brother, who will inform you of every thing, will relate matters more in detail. Meanwhile we await your orders which you will please convey to us by M. le Moine, whom the Onontagues request you to send instantly to them at Choüeguën in all security and without the least fear.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontague this 17th August, 1684.

My Lord,

Your people have brought my brother back here with the greatest possible diligence, having been wind bound three days at one island. In order not to cause you any delay, which could only produce a useless consumption of provisions by your army, they arrived here with Sieur le Duc at midnight, and having passed the rest of the night in conferring together, we had the Chiefs and Warriors assembled at daylight, after having obtained information from La Grand Gueule and Garakontie.

We declared our intentions in the presence of several Senecas who departed the same day to return to their country, where they will communicate your approach. They carry one of your belts to reassure those who are alarmed by your armament.

The Onnontaguez have dispatched some of theirs to notify the Oneida, the Mohawk and the Cayuga to repair to Ochouegen[2] to salute you and to reply to your proposals. They wish so much to see M. Le Moine here, whom you promised them would come, that it appears that nothing could be done had he not arrived. Also, as you advised them not to be troubled at the sight of your barks and Gendarmes, they likewise give you notice, not to be surprised when you will see faces painted red and black at Ochouegen.

[1] See note supra, p. 248.

[2] Oswego. — Ed.

I gave a Cayuga some letters for you 8 or 10 days ago. I do not know if he will have delivered them. I believe I advised you that Colonel Dongan had the Duke of York's placards of protection *(des sauvegardes)* affixed to the three Upper Iroquois villages, and that he styled himself Lord of the Iroquois. Here, a drunken man tore these proclamations down and nothing remains but the post to which the Duke of York's escutcheon was attached.

I gave La Grande Gueule your belt underhand, and have remarked to him the things you wish him to effect. He calls himself your best friend, and you have done well to have attached to you this *hoc*, who has the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois.

The overcoats (*capots)* and shirts which you have been so good as to send to be used on occasions, are a most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion. An honorable peace will be more advantageous to Canada than a war very uncertain as to its success. I am of opinion, whatever Messrs the Merchants may say, that the war would be very prejudicial to them, and that you do them a good turn by inducing the Iroquois to give you satisfaction.

I am, with all sort of respect and submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE, Jesuit.

D'Onontaqué ce 14.e aoust 1684

Monseigneur

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

les onnontaguek ont fait partir de leurs gens pour auertir a onnëiout, Agnié et oëjoiogoüen de se trouuer a ochoüegen pour vous y saluër, pour répondre avos propositions. Ils souhaitent si fort devoir icy v[ostre] Sieur Le moine que vous leur auez promis qu'il viendroit icy, qu'il semb[le] que rien ne se feroit, s'il ne venoit pas. De mesme que vous auez auerti qu'on ne seroubliast pas a la vüe devos barques et devos gendar[mes] ils vous auertissent aussi de n'estre pas surpris quand vous verrez a-ochoüegen des visages peints de rouge et de noir.

J'ay donné a vn goüogoüen des lettres pour vous. Il ya 8 ou 9 jours, Jen[nes] s'il vous les aura rendües. Je croy que je vous y mandois que monsr le Gou[verneur] Dongan auoit fait mettre des sauuegardes de monsieur le duc d'york aux trois bourgades des Iroquois superieurs, et qu'il se disoit seigneur des Iroquois. Vn yurogne a rompu icy les dites sauuegardes; et il ne reste qu'un Le poteau ou les armoiries du Duc d'york étoient attachées.

J'ay donné ala grande gueule vostre collier sous terre et leur ay marqué Dechoter que vous desiriez qu'il fust effectuer. il se dit vostre bon Camarade et vous auez bien fait de vous estre attachés a celuy qui est le plus forte teste, et le plus forte voix des Iroquois.

Les Capots et les chemises que vous avez bien voulu envoyer pour le Service dans les occasions est vn moyen tres efficace de gagner ou de maintenir les Esprits. ce pays honorable, sera plus avantageux au Canada, qu'vne guerre tres incertaine dans ses succes, le dans la pensée quoiqu'en disent messieurs les marchands, que leurs lettres rendent vn bon office, de disposer les Iroquois vous a faire donner sa et quelaguerre leur auroit esté tres prejudiciable. Jesus

avec toute sorte de respects et obeissance

Monseigneur

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

De Lamberville

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES

Le P. Lamberville
17. aoust Iroquois
1694

2.

I gave a Cayuga some letters for you 8 or 10 days ago. I do not know if he will have delivered them. I believe I advised you that Colonel Dongan had the Duke of York's placards of protection *(des sauvegardes)* affixed to the three Upper Iroquois villages, and that he styled himself Lord of the Iroquois. Here, a drunken man tore these proclamations down and nothing remains but the post to which the Duke of York's escutcheon was attached.

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I am, with all sort of respect and submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE, Jesuit.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontagué, this 28th of August, 1684.

My Lord,

M. le Moine's arrival has much pleased our burgomasters, who have exhibited towards him many attentions, and have promised to terminate matters with you in the manner you desire. The Onnontaguez have called the Deputies of each Nation together, as I have advised you. The Cayugas came here the first, with 2 young Tionnontatés to restore them to you; we expect the Senecas, and as we were hoping that the Oneidas would arrive to-day, one Arnaud, whom Father Bruyas is well acquainted with, came here on horseback from Mr. Dongan to tell the Iroquois that he did not wish them to talk to you without his permission, being complete master of their country and of their conduct towards you; that they belonged to the King of England and the Duke of York; that their Council fires were lighted at Albany, and that he absolutely forbade them talking with you.

Two words which we whispered in the ears of your pensioner, La Grande Gueule,[1] caused us to see at once how unreasonable, in his opinion, was so strange a proceeding as that of M. Dongan, after having himself exhorted the Iroquois to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid a disastrous war which would have very bad [consequences]. When M. le Moine and I will have the honor to see you, we shall give you the particulars of these things, and how, we being two or three days' journey from here, La Grande Gueule made use of high words against

[1] See note, supra, p. 243.

this messenger, exhorting all the warriors and chiefs not to listen to the proposals of a man who seemed to be drunk, so opposed to all reason was what he uttered.

The said Messenger has produced three strings of Wampum. The 1st and 2nd are from the Mohawks and the Oneidas, who have promised Mr. Dongan that they would not go to meet us; and the 3d was for the Onnontaguez, to exhort them to give their string of Wampum also as assurance of the same thing. The latter have answered, by La Grande Gueule, that they esteemed themselves too highly honored by your having granted them the embassy of M. le Moine, and by your having placed the affairs of the peace in their hands, to commit so cowardly an action and so grave a fault as that which seemed to be desired they should perpetrate. After many disputes the Onnontagues counseled among themselves, and concluded to inquire of M. le Moine if he would not wait the permission M. Dongan wished the Iroquois to have from him to talk with you, and if he would not tarry, and you remain at the Lake, ten days more, so as to learn M. Dongan's final will. This is a piece of Iroquois cunning, not to embroil themselves with M. Dongan, and to follow entirely what M. Le Moine should say, whom they well knew would not wait so long, matters having advanced to the point at which they are, and knowing, moreover, that delay was directly contrary to your instructions. The Iroquois requested M. le Moine himself to communicate their opinion to the Cavalier, which he certainly did in an excellent manner, as you will be glad to learn when he will give an account of his negotiation.

He has thought proper to send you one of his canoes at once to inform you hereof, and to assure you that as soon as the Seneca deputies shall have arrived here, he will endeavor to to have them dispatched hence at the earliest moment to be conducted to you. If not, he will leave with the Senecas who are here.

Tegannehout has acted his part very well and harangued strongly against Mr. Dongan's Messenger and in favor of Onontio. Good cheer and the way you regaled him were a strengthening medicine which has sustained his voice, when it might perhaps have failed in any other who had not experienced proofs of your friendship such as you did him the honor to give him. He will return with M. Lemoine.

The Cavalier says that, before returning to his Master, he wishes to speak to the Senecas who are expected here. I caress Tegannehout somewhat, in order that he may win those of his Nation over to his opinion, and not suffer them to yield to the solicitations of Sieur Arnaud, to whom the Onnontaguez have given two wretched belts to tell M. Dongan that they could not do otherwise than as he himself had urged them to do; to wit, to settle matters peaceably with you; and to soothe his spirit if he were dissatisfied with them for not going to Albany whence they had returned very recently. A letter which he has given to M. le Moine is sent you.

Whatever Sieur Arnaud may say, we have not neglected to send for the Oneida deputies whom we expect to-morrow. Monsieur le Moine will use the greatest possible diligence to return to you, inasmuch as his delay is not very agreeable to himself.

I am always, My Lord,

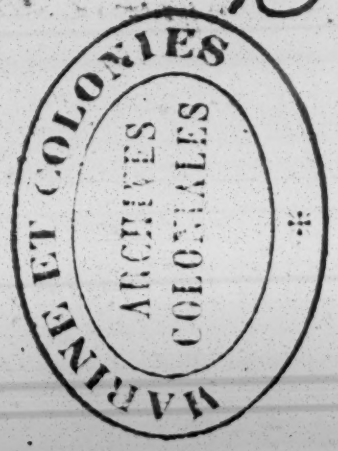
Your most humble and most

obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

ne laisser aller aux sollicitations de sieur Arnaud.
Aussi les ont ils dit deux mots Deux mots Colliers
pour dire au S.r Bongan, qu'ils ne pouvoient pas faire
autrement. que celui le devoit lui même presser de faire
sçavoir s'il est determiné avec vous les affaires à l'amiable.
et pour luy refaire l'esprit s'il étoit mes coulent d'eau ; —
de ce qu'ils ne partiroient pas pour Albanie, d'où il re-
étoit revenu sans rien faire. L'on vous porte
une lettre qu'il adresse à m.r Le moine.

Quoique aye dit le sieur Arnaud, on n'a pas laissé
d'envoyer querir Les deputés d'orgeiout que nous
attendons demain. monsr. Le moine fera la plus
grande diligence qu'il pourra pour retourner vers
vous, au sibien il pour ne luy est pas trop agreable
Je suis toujours monseigneur



Votre très humble et très
obeissant serviteur
De Lamberville

D'ommontagué ce 27e aoust 1684

Monseigneur

28. aou/t 84

3e

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES

L'arrivée de monsr Le moine a bien rejoüi nos bourgemestres, qui luy ont fait bien des amitiés et promis de terminer avec vous Les affaires de la maniere que vous les souhaités. Les ommontagues ont apellé les deputés de chaque nation, cõe je vous ai deja mandé, Les goiogouins hier sont venus icy les 1ers avec 2 Jeunes Tronontaks, pour vous les vemener, nous attendons les Sonnontoüans, et comme nous esperions que les onneiouts arriveroient aujourdhuy vn nommé Arnaud que le Pere Bruyas connoit bien, est venu icy a cheval de la part de monsieur Dongan pour dire aux Iroquois qu'ils ne vouloit pas qu'il vous parlassent sans sa permission, comme etant entierement maistre de leur terre et de leur conduite a vostre Egard. qu'ils apartenoient au Roy d'angleterre et au duc d'yorke, et que le feu de leur Conference etoit allumé a Albanie, et qu'absolument Il leur defendoit de vous

Deux mots que nous dismes a loreille a vostre pensionnaire Lagrande nous firent bien voir aussitost combien vn procedé aussi surprenant que celuy de m.r Dongan, estoit a son auis deraisonnable, apres auoir luy mesme exhorté Les Irroquois a vous faire satisfaction, pour euiter vne facheuse guerre qui auroit de tres mauuaises. Quand m.r le moine et moy aurons L'honneur de vous voir, nous vous dirons Le detail des choses. Lamme la grande gueule en est venu aux grosses paroles contre cet Iroquois Lexhortant tous les soldats et les anciens, a nepas ecouter des propositions d'vn fol qui semblait estre yure, tant ce qu'il disoit estoit eloigné de toute raison, vous etant a deux ou 3 journées d'icy.

Le dit Iroquois a produit trois cordes de pourcelle La 1.ere et 2.de de trois toises et demy et des ornements qui ont promis a m.r Dongan, qu'ils ne vous iroient point trouuer, et la 3.e estoit pour les ommontagnes pour les exhorter a donner aussi leur corde de pourcelle. Iroquois dit la mesme Chose. ils ont repondu par la grande gueule qu'ils estenoient trop honorez que vous leur euss.t accordé L'honneur de m.r le moine, et que vous leur euss.t mis L'affaire de la paix entre les mains, pour faire vne action aussi lache et vne faute aussi grossiere qu'elle qu'il semblait leur vouloir faire Homme Mettre. apres beaucoups de contestations, Les ommontagnez ont tenu Conseil entre eux qui ont Jugé qu'il falloit scauoir de mons.r Le moine, s'il ne voulait pas attendre Laper missions que m.r Dongan vouloit que les Iroquois euss.t [illegible] et s'il n'attendrait pas bien

enior dix Jours, et vous aussi au lac pour sçavoir
les dernières volontés de m.r Dorgan. c'étoit une
adresse Iroquoise pour ne pas brouiller avec m.r Dorgan
et s'attacher entièrement a ceque diroit m.r Lemoine
qu'ils sçavoient bien ne vouloir attendre vn si long temps, les
affaires étant avancées jusqu'au point ou elles sont, et sçachant
d'ailleurs que de retarder etoit faire directement contre vos
intentions, les Iroquois prierent m.r Lemoine de dire luy
meme ses pensées au cavalier. Ce qui fit de la belle
maniere assurément, et que vous serez bien aise de
sçavoir lorsqu'il vous rendra compte de sa negociation. Il a jugé a propos de vous renvoyer promptement
vn de ses canots pour vous informer de cecy, et vous assurer que si tost que les deputés des Sonnontouans seront
venus icy, il tachera de les faire partir au plutost pour
vous les emmener. sinon on partira avec les Sonnontouans
qui sont icy. Tegannehout a tres bien fait son personnage
et a harangué fortement contre l'avis de m.r Dorgan
en faveur D'onnontio. la bonne chere, et la manie-
re dont vous l'avez regalé a esté vne medecine —
Confortative qui luy a fort tenu lieu lorsqu'elle auroit
manqué peut estre a quelqu'autre qui n'auroit des marques
de vostre amitié comme vous lui avez fait l'honneur de luy
en donner. Le Cavalier dit qu'il veut parler aux
Sonnontouans qu'on attende avant que de retourner
a son maitre. je caresse vn peu Tegannehout afin
qu'il detruise ces fausses impressions a son sentiment, et ame-

Copie de la Lettre Pastorale pour le R. P.
Lamberville au Sujet du Festin Solennel
que les Indiens Iroquois

29. Janvier 1684

Mon très cher Frère, je vous suis infiniment obligé de la manière dont vous m'avez fait la grâce de m'écrire, tant de la Charité Vrayment Chrétienne dont vous voulez bien user envers vos Missionnaires, que envers moy en particulier.

Les Indiens m'ont raconté que vous leur avez dit les choses si Vigoureusement, qu'ils ont bien reconnu que vous avez fait l'honneur de votre Caractère, en leur reprochant leur crime. Vous nous soutenez ici les Ambassadeurs en portant la parole aux Nations, qui les attendent de la part de Dieu vous nous Conduisez ainsi avec vous quand bien Spirituel les âmes que nous tâchons de gagner au Ciel dans ce Pays, qui est en vérité Vraiment Barbare, et qui nous retient ici ; l'abord des Missionnaires qui les sert retiré avec l'agrément des Indiens pour éviter les insultes que les Iroquois nous auroient faites pendant l'Hyver, de l'Hyvernie ; Vint le Carême dans les Chrétiens, a Dominicales à la Dimission de tous Chrétiens à Loger aux lieux ou ils Hyvernoient : Depuis qu'ils retournent leurs Cabanes, appréhendons que les affaires de Dieu ne soient traversées à l'amiable comme il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il arrivera aux Jésuites et moi estant ici pour y maintenir autant que nous pourrons

le Royaume de Iroquoisie, et vous ne pas abandonner
luy que vous Embrassé la foy ; J'ai Crû de la foy de vos
pas Votre Lettre, et j'apprendre les Sauvages mêmes que
vous evitez l'Effusion du Sang Chrêtien pour les affaires
des Barbares, vous Souhaitez qu'ils fissent Satisfaction a
M. de la Barre des pertes qu'ils lui ont faites ; il me
entièrement dans Votre Sentiment, que vous me mandez
Lui avois Mangé dans les Lettres que vous lui avez Ecrites,
et Dessus entièrement a ce que vous lui avez fait
savoir. Les Sauvages Iroquois pour Seconder vos
desseins lui ont envoyé dire qu'ils étoient Contents d'en venir
a une pour parler de paix, et comme ils étaient en vos
Iroquoisie, ils lui ont dit de faire attendre trois jours
ici sur le bord du Lac pour y Conclure paix Chrêtienne
Les Conditions de la Paix, qu'ils sont de lui faire quelques
Satisfactions raisonnables pour la paix, de permettre aux
Iroquois Iroquoisie, et Leur rendre Ceux Sauvages qu'ils
ont enlevés pour trahir ou Contre toute sorte de Justice
de Droit

Les Sauvages trouvent ces deux difficultés, ce vous ont
grandement ennuyé Monsieur le Marquis de Montreal
qu'ils Connoissent particulièrement pour avoir demeuré
plusieurs années ici, pour avoir de lui les Sentiments de
M. de la Barre, et dès que je vous les aurai donné, ce
pour aller se Rembarquer sur le bord du Lac : Comme j'en
étois sur les points de partir, le Sr Renaud est venu ici
de votre part, qui a dit aux Sauvages que vous leur defendez
absolument en qualité de maître et de Seigneur de leurs terres
d'avoir aucun pourparler avec M. de la Barre, qui leur
pour tout a fait Contraire a ce que le dit Sr Renaud

leur avoit été engagement, et que [illegible] leur avoit dit aussi
lorsque vous leur avez témoigné souhaiter qu'ils fussent
M. de la Barre pour les fonctions qu'ils lui avoient faites
et que alors ne le pouvoit faire sans Statuts et Arrêts
M. Renaud et les Juges d'Audiences s'étoient opposés
disant qu'il falloit que M. Renaud les portât à la grande
Cour M. de la Barre, leur défendant de servir et de lui
parler ; lorsque, étant assemblés en Conseil, ils appellèrent
M. le Moyne pour savoir de lui ce qu'il avoit à répondre
et qu'il parla publiquement à M. Renaud. Sans vouloir
pas d'abord me trouver à leurs Exhortations, comme me
mêlant pas de leurs affaires, ayant tout deux affaire à Cour
de justice de leurs Maîtres : mais, sitôt qu'ils furent
de scandaliser sur leurs différents par des Contestations
un peu fortes, je dis à Vérité à M. Renaud qu'il ne
devoit pas le Juge de Renard, sans vouloir dégénérer
sur des Matières qui me regardoient ni lui ni M. le Moyne
et qu'il s'étoit laissé à leurs Maîtres à décider entre eux
les Choses sur lesquelles ils s'embarrassoient ; qu'il étoit
vrai que tous les Juges sous votre pouvoir,
que les Juges étoient à ceux de M. le Duc d'Orléans
le Roi qui étoient alors : M. le Moyne qui étoit trop
sage pour se prêter les bornes de son pouvoir répondit qu'il
avoit tout le respect possible pour nous ; que les Deux
Gouverneurs étoient également Maîtres sur leurs terres,
et que M. de la Barre ne prétendoit rien de plus que
que le partisse toute chose par un accommodement juste
et raisonnable, et qu'il eût lui-même le vendre l'entretien
pour nous devoir donné ; qu'il y en fût, il remarqua

qu'effectivement, vous ne défendiez pas que les Indiens parlassent
à M. de la Barre de la paix ; Mais, que vous vouliez
maintenant qu'ayant du parler, ils vous en fissent demander
la permission, et qu'on vint à Albani avec la propositions
des uns et des autres. Cela parut à M. le Moyne impossible
vû l'état de choses et les approches de M. de la Barre
qui avoit déjà fait dire aux Iroquois de se
rendre pour se rendre au Lac Ontario. Les
Indiens dirent que ce pouvoit bien faire vû la saison
voyant l'hiver s'approcher, et qui s'entendoient
d'ailleurs à la paix, M. le Moyne dit qu'il étoit content
qu'on l'eût appellé ici pour avoir l'entière proposition
qu'il n'étoit pas même besoin de la porter à M. de la Barre ; M
Aenasa ayant eu peu après à dire, il s'excita un dit
que puisqu'on devoit que cela étoit impossible, de même
on fit attendre dès à Demain M. de la Barre sur
le Bord du Lac pour avertir de tout ce savoir ses intentions
sur ce que les Indiens se rendoient absolument avec M
de la Barre, M. le Moyne répondit qu'il vous étoit
très honnête homme pour vouloir entendre à
ce Demain M. de la Barre attendant ses ordres,
que vous dira très bien pour le traitté de la Sente et
l'affaire sur un Lac où il y a déjà plus de trois semaines
qu'il étoit, on les vents ne sont pas encore si propices que
sur la Mer, car, il faut de fort bien de temps et de quarante
de temps, outre qu'il se trouve rarement des jours
quoiqu'il, Il vous étoit très difficile de très justes pour
le vouloir faire pour avec son ordre à Mme demander
Custine à des Barbares qui l'ont outragé, qu'ayant appris

a la lettre que vous avez écrite, par laquelle vous l'invitez
à exiger de la satisfaction qu'on lui offrira, il me pouvoit
empêcher comme vous me voulez pas qu'il l'allât trouver
sur leur terre sur laquelle il s'étoit rendu avec ce qui
avoit accompagné de tout temps et sans reproche. Ce
qui ici, les Indiens d'Alem d'ici me voulez pas venir
avec lui comme je lui avois permis qu'ils fussent, disant
qu'il s'en retourneroit dire à M. de la Barre qu'il avoit
ce qu'il avoit à faire. Mais, qu'il étoit allé qu'il en
retourneroit par un Moniere aussitôt qu'il auroit appris
que M. Arnaud lui avoit fait mission de vous, par quoi,
M. Arnaud, jespere toujours comme me fait envoyer la
pointe. Il demande aux Indiens qu'ils lui déclarassent
s'ils me voulez pas vous obéir? Ils me lui répondirent
comme je leur avois dit jusqu'ici, un Dieu
qui le ciel a témoin de l'injure qu'on fait Dieu et dans
le Pere Arnaud voit pour l'exécuter les bonnes affaires;
Il disoit que l'on entreprit de mettre entre M. de
la Barre et le Sonnontouan pour l'empêcher de la
battre, il vous mettoit dans lui, et vous faisoit dire
Onnontagué, Onnontagué, ne te fie pas que le fils et le
Pere t'entretuent. Mais, maintenant, Arnaud m'empêche
d'entre l'un et l'autre; Il faut donc que je me tue
moi-même ou que mes autres aussi l'aient que la mienne.
Je me doute bien que Volant que l'Iroquois fait comme
vous le dites; Onontio, dit-on à dire M. de la Barre, me
conte d'homme me le voulois faire la guerre sur mon
Vous-ou que le fils de l'homme le Pere Volant, une Nigre

votre nom. Ecoutez ma Voix, Il n'y a que Deux Romains qu'onontio m'a adopté pour son fils, Il m'a baptisé au Montréal ou Il m'a fait Regalé et habillé en fils d'Onontio nous y avons planté l'Arbre de la Paix, et a Onnontagué Ou Il envoye les Ambassadeurs ordinairement pour aller Le Sonnontouan n'a point d'Agnié; les Onontio les ont dispensés en ont fait autant, nous avons Deux Dieux, nous en portons un a Montreal pour y appuyer l'Arbre de la Paix, l'autre est fort Redoutable qui depuis long tems est notre frere, nous y appuyons aussi l'Arbre de la Paix. L'un est notre Pere depuis dix ans, l'autre est notre frere depuis long tems, parceque je l'ai bien voulu ni l'un ni l'autre n'est mon maitre; celui qui a fait le Ciel et la Terre m'a donné Ame et Vie, Je suis Libre, j'ai du Bien et Vous voi les Iroquois, Vous Etes gueux j'entends dire que vous etes des Coquins agités de furieux Remords, Je ne veux point Etre gueux, Il faut agir incessamment et que Je me debarasse avec mon Canot a peu la peine de venir Jusqu'a moi pour Etre Riche Vous Dites que le Bonnet Blanc; Je donne un Collier de Porcelaine a M. Arnaud pour vous dire Ceci, Il me ajouté un beau Canot lequel Il vous prie d'accepter en Bon frere d'agréer la Conduite, et de ne la pas blamer Je n'avois pû suivre Vos intentions dans une Nouvelle ou il étoit impossible de faire autrement. M. Arnaud m'a prié de Vous dire encore J'avois Oui, et entendu par mon Esprit de Vous entretenir lorsque je me regardois entre nous. Je me suis fait que vous avez du Bon Jugement

Je prétends Seulement par cette lettre vous assurer mes
respects, et Mr. Desmarais sçaura s'avoir agi de la manière
du monde. Je vous obligerai pour me témoigner le
soin que vous voudrés bien prendre de conserver mes
[illegible] jours ici d'autres vûes ni d'autre intérêt que ceux
de Jesus Christ et de sa Religion
Agréés Dame &c.

Vigné de Lamberville s.j.

of the number I had left there, already departed, all sick, for Montreal, and having given the necessary orders as to the number of soldiers to be left there for the security of that post, until the arrival from France of Sieur de la Forest, Major thereof, I started, about nine or ten o'clock in the morning, on my return. Shortly after my departure, the bark arrived from Niagara with some French officers of the army who brought me news from it that night, and assured me that the Chiefs of all the savages had accompanied them to the Fort, desirous to see me, and that they would visit me at Montreal, where I should await them. The Rev. Father de Lamberville Senr came, likewise, with these Gentlemen on account of some difficulties which he was very glad to arrange for Onontague whither he returned. We worked some hours together; I then sent him back to the fort with some of the arrived French; the others being desirous to leave and come down again into the country.

After having waited some time for Messrs du Tast and de Cahonet, to whom I gave one of my canoes and two of my attendants well acquainted with the navigation, to pilot their batteaux and troops in safety through the rapids, I resumed my journey down the river. I likewise took on board one of my canoes the Sieur Le Moine whose fever had seriously augmented, and who had served the King in this affair with so much zeal and affection, aided by the intimate knowledge he had of the Iroquois language, that it may be said the entire Colony owes him a debt of eternal gratitude.

Finally, in my return of three days I accomplished what cost us thirteen in ascending, and found in the stores at Montreal and la Chine, forty-five thousand weight of flour, which, had we received it, would have enabled us to have made a longer sojourn in the upper country.

Done at Quebec the 1st day of October 1684.

LE FEBURE DE LA BARE.

PRESENTS MADE BY THE ONNONTAGUES TO ONONTIO, AT LA FAMINE, THE 5th 7ber 1684.*

[From the same.]

The Onnontagués, whose mediation between the French and the Senecas the General accepted, having repaired to a place called La Famine about 25 leagues from their country, Sieur Hateouati, who is the Orator of that Nation, spoke by fifteen presents, not only on behalf of the Senecas, but also for the other Iroquois Nations.

1st *Word of the Iroquois.* After having taken God to witness the sincerity of his heart, and having assured Onontio of the truth of his words, he spoke in this wise:

I give you a Beverage devoid of bitterness, to purify whatever inconvenience you may have experienced during the voyage, and to dispel whatever bad air you may have breathed between Montreal and this place.

Answer of Onontio to the words of Hoteouaté :—As I have placed in your hands the mediation with the Senecas, I wish, truly to do what you ask me. I, therefore, lay down my Hatchet and refer to you to obtain a reasonable satisfaction.

2d *Word.* I remove the hatchet with which you threaten to strike the Senecas. Remember he is your child, and that you are his father.

3d *Word.* Mr. Lemoine, your ordinary envoy, having come last year, and speaking to us in your name, cut a deep ditch into which he told us you and we should cast all the unkind things that

* Endorsed by the Minister, "These letters must be kept secret."

might occur; I have not forgotten this word, and in obedience to it, I request you to throw into that ditch the Seneca robbery, and that it may disturb neither our country nor yours.

Answer. That ditch is well cut, but as your young men have no sense, and as they may make this a pretext for committing acts of hostility anew, after having cast the Seneca robbery into that ditch, as you desire; arrest, then, your young men, as I shall restrain mine. I cover it up forever.

4th *Word.* I set up again the tree of peace, which we planted at Montreal, in the conference we had the honor to have with you last summer.

Answer. It is not I who think of throwing it down: it is your nephews who have seriously shaken it. I strengthen it.

5th *Word.* I exhort you, Father, to sustain it strongly, in order that nothing may shake it.

6th *Word.* I again tie up (*je rattache*) the Sun which was altogether obscured: I dispel all the clouds and mists that concealed it from our view.

7th *Word.* The robbery committed by the Senecas on your nephews, is not a sufficient motive to make war against them. Where has blood been shed? I promise you that satisfaction shall be afforded you for the loss the French have experienced by the pillage of their merchandize.

Answer of Onontio. It is good that you promise me satisfaction: deceive me not. The first thing that I expect of you is, that you restore me the two prisoners of Etionnontaté who are with the Seneca, and a third who remains at Cayuga.

8th *Word.* Onontio, my father, I feel uneasy and cannot pluck up courage, whatever kindnesses you have the goodness to show me. What disquiets me, is to behold Soldiers, hear drums, etc. I pray you return to Quebec, so that your children may sleep in peace.

Answer. I depart to-morrow and quit this country, to show you what deference I pay to your demands.

9th *Word.* The fires of peace and the halls of our Councils were at Frontenac or at Montreal. The former is a poor country where the Grasshoppers prevent me sleeping, and the second is far away for our old men. I kindle the fires of peace on this spot, which is the most agreable that we can select, where there is good fishing, hunting, &c.

Answer. I accept the selection you have made of this place for our conferences, without, however, extinguishing the fire which I keep burning at Montreal.

10th *Word.* Our warriors have, as well as our other chiefs, accepted the peace. I bear their words by this belt.

Answer. You need not doubt the obedience of my soldiers; endeavour to make yourselves obeyed by your own. To prove to you that I maintain uphold the tree of peace, I sent to Niagara to cause the army to return which was coming from that direction.

11th *Word.* You told us, last summer, to strike the enemy no more. We heard your voice. We shall not go to war again in that quarter.

Answer. Remember that the Maskoutenek is brother to the Oumeami. Therefore strike neither the one nor the other.

12th *Word.* He has killed some, this spring, in divers rencounters, but as you bound my arms I allowed myself to be beaten, without defending myself.

Answer. That's good; you need not pursue the Oumeami who struck you; I shall send him word not to commit any more acts of hostility.

13th *Word.* Regarding the Illinois, I am at war with him; we shall, both of us, die fighting.

Answer. Take heed, in firing at the Illinois, not to strike the French whom you meet on your path and in the neighbourhood of Fort St. Louis.

14th *Word.* Restore to us the Missionaries whom you have withdrawn from our villages.

Answer. They shall not be taken from you who are our mediators; and when the Senecas shall have commenced to give me satisfaction, they shall be restored to them as well as to the other nations.

15th *and last Word.* Prevent the Christians of the *Sault* and of the Mountain coming any more among us, to seduce our people to Montreal; let them cease to dismember our country as they do every year.

Answer. It is not my children of the *Sault* nor of the Mountain who dismember your country; it is yourselves who dismember it by your drunkenness and superstitions. Besides, there is full liberty to come and reside among us; no person is retained by force.

The General added two presents to the above.

By the first he said: You see the consideration which I have for the request you have made me. I ask you in return, if the Seneca, Cayuga or any other commit a similar insult against me, that you first give him some sense, and if he will not hear you, that you abandon him as one disaffected.

By the last belt, he exhorted them to listen not to evil sayings, and told them to conduct Teganneehout back to Seneca and to inform these of the above conclusions.

Papiers 1684.

Presens des onontaguez faits a Onontio, a la famine le Cinq.e Septembre 1684

Les, Onontaguez dont Mons.r le General a accepté la mediation entre les françois et les Sonnontoüans, s'estans rendûs en vn lieu nommé la famine a vingt Cinq lieües enuiron de leur païs Le sieur hotreouatj, qui est l'orateur de cette nation, parla par quinze presens, de la part non seulement des Sonnontouans mais encore des autres quatre nations Iroquoises

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

1re Parole des Iroquois

Apres auoir pris Dieu a témoin de la sincerité de son coeur, et auoir asseuré onontio de la verité de ses paroles, il parla de cette maniere

Je Vous donne vn Creuuage qui n'a rien d'amer, pour purifier tout ce qui pourroit vous auoir Incommodé pendant le voyage, et Chasser le mauuais air que vous auez respiré depuis montreal jusques icy.

2e. Parole

Je vous oste la hache dont vous menacez de frapper le Sonnontouan; Souuenez vous que C'est vôtre Enfant et que Vous este Son pere

3e. Parole

Mons.r le moine vôtre enuoyé ord.re pour les affaires, estant venu icy l'an passé et nous parlant de vostre part fist vne grande fosse dans laquelle il nous dist que vous et nous jetterions toutes les mechantes affaires qui pouroient Suruenir; je ne me suis pas oublié, de cette parole et pour y obeir, je vous prie de jetter dans la sus.d.t fosse le Vol des Sonnontouans, et que cela ne trouble pas nostre terre et la vostre

Reponse d'onnontio aux paroles d'hotreouatj.

Monsieur le General a repondu a ces deux Colliers par vn present

Comme je vous ay remis la mediation auec les Sonnontouans entre les mains, je veux bien faire ce que vous me demandez, je pose donc ma hache et me remets a vous pour auoir vne Satisfaction raisonnable

Reponse

Cette fosse a esté bien faitte, mais comme vôtre jeunesse n'a point d'esprit et qu'elle pouroit prendre ce pretexte de commettre impunement de nouueaux actes d'hostilité apres auoir jetté dans la Sus.d.t fosse le Vol des Sonnontouans comme vous le Souhaittez je la Couure pour toujours, arrestez donc vôtre jeunesse comme je retiendray mes Repuuex &Ca.

4.e Parole

Je redresse l'arbre depaix que nous
avons planté a Montreal dans la
conference que nous eûmes l'honneur d'avoir
avec vous l'été passé

Reponse a ces deux pre

Ce n'est pas moy qui pense a le renuer
Ce sont vos nepueux qui l'ont puissam
Ebranlé, je le rafermis

5.e Parole

Je vous Exorte mon pere a le Soutenir
fortement, affin qu'il n'y ait rien qui
puisse l'Ebranler,

6.e Parole

Je rattache le Soleil qui estoit tout
obscurcy; je Chasse tous les Brouillards
et les nuages qui nous en ostoient la
veüe

7.e Parole

Le vol faict par les Sonnontoüans sur
vos nepueux, n'est pas vn motif Suffisant
pour luy faire Satisfaction la guerre
ou est le Sang repandu? je vous promets
qu'on vous Satisfera pour la perte
que les Francois ont faitte par le
pillage de leurs marchandises, et ont promis de
donner S.t printemps mil Castors.

Reponse d'onnontio

Voila qui est bien que vous me promett
de me faire Satisfaction, ne me trompez p
la premiere que j'attens de vous est que v
me ramenez les deux prisonniers d'Etiom
qui sont a Sonnontouan et vn troisiem
qui est a Goiogouen,

8.e Parole

Onnontio mon pere j'ay tousjours
l'esprit en Inquietude et ne puis me
rasseurer quelques Caresses que vous aiez
la bonté de me faire, ce qui m'inquiette
est de voir ces Soldats, d'entendre ces
tambours &.a je vous prie de vous en
retourner a Quebec affin que vos Enfans
dorment en asseurance

Reponse

Je parts demain et quitte cette terre pou
vous faire Connoistre la Serenité qu
j'ay a vos demandes

9.e Parole

Le feu de la paix et le lieu de nos
Conferences estoit au fort frontenac
ou a Montreal, le premier est vn,

Reponse

J'accepte le Choix que vous avez fait
de celuy pour y tenir nos Conferences
sans neanmoins Esteindre le feu que j'ay

Paroles des Iroquois —

mechant païs ou les Sautrelles —
mempeschent de dormir, et le second
est bien Elpigné pour nos viellards

Jallume le feu depaix en ce lieu-cy
qui est le plus agreable que nous
puissions Choisir ou il y a bonne peschе
et Chasse —

10e Parole —

Nos Soldats ont Embrassé la paix
aussy bien que nous autres anciens; je
porte leur voix par ce Collier —

11e Parole —

Vous nous dites l'esté passé de ne plus frapper
l'oumiamj; nous avons Ecouté vostre voix
nous n'jrons plus en guerre de ce Costé la

12e Parole —

Il m'a tué ce printemps en diverses
rencontres, mais comme vous m'avez
lié les bras, je me suis laissé battre
sans me deffendre

13e Parole —

Pour ce qui est de l'Illinois, je suis aux
prises avec luy, nous mourons tous les
deux en nous battant —

14 Parole —

Rendez nous les missionnaires que
vous avez retirez de nos bourgades.

15e & Derniere parole

Empeschez les Chrestiens du sault St
Louis et de la Montagne de venir plus
Chez nous pour attirer nos gens au
Montreal, qu'ils cessent de demembrer
nostre terre, comme ils font tous les
ans —

Reponse d'onnontio —

Vous ne pouvez pas douter que mes Soldats ne —
soient obeissans, tascher de vous faire obeir par
les vôtres: Pour vous montrer que je soustiens
fortement l'arbre de paix, jay Envoyé a Niagara
pour faire retourner l'armée qui venoit de ce Costé la —

Reponse —

Souvenez vous que le Maskoutench est le frere
de l'oumiamj, ainsy ne frapper ny luy ny l'autre

Reponse —

Cela est bien que tu n'ayes pas pourtant oumiamj
qui t'avoit frappé, je le feray advertir qu'il ne
commette ces actes d'hostilité

MARINE ET COLONIES
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Reponse —

Prenez garde en tuant l'Illinois de ne frapper
pas les francois que vous rencontrerez sur le
Chemin et aux Environs du fort St. Louis —

Reponse —

A Vous qui estes mes mediateurs on ne les ostera
point, et quand les Sonnontouans auront
Commencé a me Satisfaire, on les leur rendra
aussy bien qu'aux autres nations

Reponse —

Ce ne sont pas mes Enfans du sault ny de la
Montagne qui demembrent la terre, C'est toy
meme qui la demembre par tes yvrongneries et
Superstitions; au reste il y a grande liberté
de venir demeurer parmy nous, on n'y arreste
personne par force — & Ca —

— Mons.r le General a adjouste deux presens aux susdits —

— Au le premier il adit, vous voyez la consideration que jay eüe pour la Demande que vous m'aves faitte, je vous demande en recompense, que si le Sonnontouan, Goiogoüen ou quelquautre me faisoit une semblable Injure, que vous luy donnez d'abord de l'Esprit; que s'il ne veut pas vous Ecouter, vous l'abandonnies comme un Seditieux &C.a

— Au le dernier Collier, il les a Exhorté a n'ecouter pas les mechantes affaires et leur adit de reconduire Tegannehot a Sonnontouan, et de leur raconter les Conclusions susdites ///.

No. Et Ils disent que les paroles cy dessus ont esté dites par les treize deputez de la Nation Iroquoise, et la parole portée par le nommé Satrecouati leur Orateur au poste de la famine a l'Embouchure de la Riviere d'Onontaqué, En PRESENCE des R.R.P.P. Briart, de Lamberville Vaillant &c. Lesquels ayant rendu les Reponses pour moy, et de tous les officiers de l'armée qui se trouve en sante' fait ledt jour Cinq.e Septembre 1684.

Jc Bruyas de la Barre

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Etat civil 1684

5 Sept 1684(II)

Governor La Barre's humiliation by an Onondaga orator at Hungry Bay 5 September 1684

When the reports of this French disaster reached Paris and were read by the Minister M. de Seignelay, he endorsed them as "secret", until some decision could be made for the future.

(These were printed in N.Y.Col.Docs. 1:117-120 and 9:236-239. The latter is a more literal translation and preserves the parallel columns of the original.)

Lahontan who witnessed the events has left a spritely account which favors the Iroquois. See 2 Nov 1684 (New Voyages to North America, by the Baron de Lahontan, Reprinted from an English editor of 1703. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1905).)

La Barre was under the misapprehension that the English were promoting Iroquois aggression in the west to break the French stranglehold on the fur trade. He thought that the Iroquois would attack the French allies one by one and destroy them and then turn on New France. He resolved on advice of notables in the colony to invade Iroquoia and destroy the western fires of the Longhouse. Here its manpower was centered. While he was right with respect to Governor Dongan's support of the Iroquois, he was wrong as regards the Albany merchants who were indifferent to Dongan's imperial ambitions, since they could get all the furs they wanted with cheaper goods from the Iroquois and via the black market to Montreal.
La Barre's motley army of Troupes de la Marine, militia, and Indians fell victims of Spanish influence and extended supply lines.

When La Barre's fever-ridden camp became known to Iroquois scouts he had no alternative but to accept the Iroquois terms as stated by Hotreouti in fifteen scornful words. The Iroquois let the remnants of La Barre's army to escape downriver to Montreal, where the Governor wrote his reports which, when they reached Paris, surely did not appeal to the grandeur of his Majesty Louis XIV who recalled La Barre in disgrace and replaced him with Denonville.

Lahontan describes the circumstances with great candor and no little satire. His "Garangula", or Otréoute, emerges as a cool cat, who sat regarding the end of his pipe across the fire from the Governor as he delivered his false threats. The fifteeen messages of Hotreoute's reply scarcely do justice to Lahontan's account. They are from the classic mould of an Iroquois treaty speech. There is, first, the medicine to alleviate hardships; second, he takes the hatchet out of the hands of the "father" who would strike his "son", the Senecas; third, he suggests throwing animosities into a ditch (pit); fourth, he erects the Tree of Peace; fifth, he asks the Father to sustain it; sith, he refastens the Sun, a symbol of peace reaffirmed; seven, the grievance with the Senecas is balanced by mutual losses and does not justify war; eight, the sight of armed soldiers disquiets his children who cannot sleep in peace until they return to Quebec; nine, would move the fire of peace to the Onondaga country from Frontenac, where grasshoppers prevent his sleeping", and Montreal, too distant for our Old Men; ten, a belt that affirms both warriors and elders embrace the peace; eleven, agree not to go to war against the Miami; twelve, although Iroquois were killed, their hands were tied; thirteen, are at

war with the Illinois; fourteen, restore the missionaries withdrawn; and finally, fifteen, restrain Christians of Sault Ste. Louis (Caughnawaga) from drawing our people to Montreal and dismembering our nation.

La Barre assured that Tegannehot would be returned to the Seneca.

The 1 October 1684 Memorandum of de la Barre as to what occurred and had been done regarding the War against the Senecas (see N.Y.Col.Docs. 9: 239-43) contains errors in transcribing Iroquois personal names: p. 243 (Ms. 9 (312)) hotrehouati et Garagontier (not "k" for "t" in latter), and Teganeout Sonnontouan (not Tegancout). N.Y.Col.Docs. 9:243, in a footnote equates Outreouati and Grande Geule (Big Mouth), with Lahontan's Grangula, by Latinizing the French.

Although Lahontan's account may not be trustworthy, it conveys a sense of the reality of the situation and the spirit of Onondaga oratory and satire come through. Cadwallader read Lahontan, but saw the event from the Albany perspective through the Indian Records.

WNP

Sieur Desambaux, Aid-Major.
Monsieur de Beaulieu, Lieutenant of the Colonel's company, present.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 75 Soldiers.
Monsieur de Beaumont, Captain of the Island of Orleans, present.
Sieur Thibierge, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 4 Serjeants, 70 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Monsieur Dumont, Captain of the Côte de Lauzon, present.
Sieur Vincelot, Lieutenant.
In said Company— 3 Serjeants, 59 Soldiers.
Total, 9 Serjeants, 204 Soldiers, 1 Drum.

In the Fort.

The Reverend Father François,[1] a Recollet Friar,
Sieur Bertet,
Sieur Prenouveau,
Pertuy, locksmith,
Colin, Interpreter,
La Fleur,
La Vasser,
Baptist, servant.

Carpenters.

Mrs. Moyse, Petitit Trein, Montroux, Pelletier, Bastien, Le Petit Breton, Caulker, LAnglois, Mesnier Cassan, Cassan, Jean de Quebec, Marmande,
Soldiers of Monsieur Dutast's Company omitted therein.
La Grenade, Soldier of M. Cahouet's Company omitted therein.
Jean Bardineau,
Pierre Pruneau,
Jean Dubois,
Bisestre, Mechanic,
Gregoire, farmer of the fort, his wife, and five children, for three persons.
Making, in all, twenty-nine persons.

Done and concluded at Fort Frontenac, the Fourteenth August, 1684.

LE FEBURE DELABARRE.

Presents of the Onondagas to Onontio at La Famine, the 5th 7ber, 1684.

Endorsed by the Minister: These are to be kept secret.

The Onnontagués, whose mediation between the French and the Senecas the General accepted, having repaired to a place called La Famine, about 25 leagues from their country, Hateouati, who is Orator of that Nation, spoke by fifteen presents, not only on behalf of the Senecas, but of the other four Iroquois Nations also. After having taken God to witness the sincerity of his heart, and having assured Onontio of the truth of his words, he spoke in this wise:

[1] Rev. FRANÇOIS WASSON. He came to Canada in 1681, and was six years among the Iroquois at this post. *Le Clercq: Gaspesia*, 561, 570. He was succeeded by Father Luke Buisset. — ED.

1st Word of the Iroquois.

I give you a beverage devoid of bitterness, to purify whatever inconvenience you may have experienced during the voyage, and to dispel what bad air soever you may have breathed between Montreal and this place,

2d Word.

I take from you the hatchet with which you threaten to strike the Senecas. Remember he is your child, and that you are his father.

3d Word.

M. Lemoine, your ordinary envoy, having come last year, and speaking to us in your name, cut a deep ditch, into which he told us you and we should cast all the unkind things that might occur; I have not forgotten this word, and in obedience to it request you to throw into that ditch the Seneca robbery, that it may disturb neither our Country nor yours.

4th Word.

I again set up the tree of peace, which we planted at Montreal in the conference we had the honor to have with you last summer.

5th Word.

I exhort you, Father, to sustain it strongly, in order that nothing may shake it.

6th Word.

I again tie up *(je rattache)* the Sun,[1] which was altogether obscured: I dispel all the clouds and mists that concealed it from our sight.

7th Word.

The robbery committed by the Senecas on your nephews is not a sufficient motive to make war against them. Where has blood been shed? I promise you that satisfaction shall be afforded you for the loss the French have experienced by the pillage of their merchandise.

Answer of Onontio to the words of Hoteouaté.

As I have placed in your hands the mediation with the Senecas, I wish truly to do what you ask me. I therefore lay down my Hatchet and refer to you to obtain a reasonable satisfaction.

Answer.

That ditch is well cut, but as your young men have no sense, and as they make this a pretext for committing acts of hostility anew, after having cast the Seneca robbery into that ditch, as you desire. Stop your young men, as I shall restrain mine. I cover it up forever.

Answer.

It is not I who think of throwing it down: it is your nephews who have seriously shaken it. I strengthen it.

Answer.

'Tis well that you promise me satisfaction: deceive me not. The first thing that I expect of you is, that you restore me the two Etionnontaté prisoners who are with the Seneca, and a third who remains at Cayuga.

[1] A figurative expression, meaning to renew a firm Peace. *La Potherie.* — Ed.

8th Word.

Onontio, my father, I am always uneasy and cannot pluck up courage, whatever kindnesses you have the goodness to show me. What disquiets me is to behold soldiers, hear these drums, etc. I pray you return to Quebec, so that your children may sleep in peace.

Answer of Onontio.

I depart to-morrow and quit this country, to show you what deference I pay to your demands.

9th Word.

The fire of peace and the halls of our Councils were at Frontenac or at Montreal. The former is a poor country, where the Grasshoppers prevent me sleeping, and the second is very far away for our old men. I kindle the fire of peace on this spot, which is the most agreeable that we can select, where there is good fishing, hunting, &c.

Answer.

I accept the selection you have made of this place for our conferences, without, however, extinguishing the fire which I have lighted at Montreal.

10th Word.

Our warriors as well as our other chiefs have accepted the peace. I bear their words by this belt.

Answer.

You need not doubt the obedience of my soldiers; endeavor to make yourselves obeyed by your own. To prove to you that I firmly uphold the tree of peace, I sent to Niagara to cause the army to return which was coming from that direction.

Eleventh Word.

You told us, last summer, to strike the enemy no more. We heard your voice. We shall go no more to war in that quarter.

Answer.

Remember that the Maskoutenek is brother to the Oumeami. Therefore strike neither the one nor the other.

12th Word.

He has killed some of my people this spring, in divers rencounters; but as you bound my arms I allowed myself to be struck, without defending myself.

Answer.

That's well; you need not pursue the Oumeami who struck you; I shall send him word not to commit any more acts of hostility.

13th Word.

Regarding the Illinois, I am at war with him; we shall both of us die fighting.

Answer.

Take heed, in firing at the Illinois, not to strike the French whom you meet on your path and in the neighborhood of Fort St. Louis.

14th Word.

Restore to us the Missionaries whom you have withdrawn from our villages.

Answer.

They shall not be taken from you who are my mediators; and when the Senecas will have commenced to give me satisfaction, they shall be restored to them as well as to the other Nations.

15th and last Word.	Answer of Onontio.
Prevent the Christians of the Saut and of the Mountain coming any more among us to seduce our people to Montreal; let them cease to dismember our Country as they do every year.	It is not my children of the Saut nor of the Mountain who dismember your country; it is yourselves who dismember it by your drunkenness and your superstitions. Besides, there is full liberty to come and reside among us.

The General has added two presents to the above.

By the first he said: You see the consideration which I have for the request you have made me. I ask you in return, if the Seneca, Cayuga, or any other commit a similar insult against me, that you first give him some sense, and if he will not hear you, that you abandon him as one disaffected.

By the last belt he exhorted them to listen not to evil counsels, and told them to conduct Tegannehout back to Seneca, and to report the above conclusions.

M. de la Barre's proceedings with the Five Nations.

Memoir of M. de Labarre as to what had occurred and had been done regarding the War against the Senecas.

Having been obliged to leave early in June, agreeably to the resolution adopted by the Intendant, the Bishop, the heads of the country and myself, to wage war against the Senecas for having, in cold blood, pillaged seven hundred canoes belonging to Frenchmen; arrested and detained the latter, to the number of fourteen, as prisoners for nine days; and afterwards attacked Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois, where Chevalier de Baugy gallantly defended himself; and having also resolved, at the same time, to seize Teganeout, one of their chiefs, and his twelve companions who had come to ratify the peace made last year, and had left their country before they heard of this attack; a circumstance that would have obliged me not to treat them ill, but merely to secure their persons; we considered three things proper and necessary to be done: First, to endeavor to divide the Iroquois among themselves, and for this purpose to send some persons expressly to communicate my sentiments to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who are Missionaries there, and to request them to act; secondly, to send to the Outaouacs to engage our French to come to my assistance by the South, by Lake Erie, and to bring as many as they could of the savages, our allies; and thirdly, to advise Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, of what we were obliged to do, whilst at the same time I should throw a considerable reinforcement of men into Fort Frontenac to secure it. Being arrived at Montreal the tenth of the said month, we sent for Mr Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of said town and of the Indian Mission at the Mountain, and the Reverend Father Brias, Superior of the Mission of the Sault Saint Louis, who, after having concurred with us, furnished seven Christian Iroquois, friendly to the French and pretty shrewd, two of whom we sent with some Belts of Wampum to the Mohawks, and two to the Oneidas, to say to them that we were resolved to observe peace made with them—that we were very

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontaé, this 27th Sept., 1684.

My Lord,

I return here after having been delayed ten days in the Lake by very strong head winds. A day before the Iroquois deputies met here, the Senecas sent belts to the 4 Iroquois villages, to declare to them that, should you disembark in their Country, they would attack you. Six or seven hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* were preparing to go to the assistance of the Iroquois, as the Outaoutes were aiding the French. Some Seneca scouts have been as far as Kaionhouague,[1] where you have concluded the peace, to be certain of the place at which your army had encamped. The Onnontagues were, for several days, under the impression that they had killed me. Tegannehout's arrival in his country will have calmed the minds in communicating the peace to them from you. No news have as yet been received from Seneca. Some say they will shortly come here to confer on important matters. If any one come here from the Fort I shall inform you of whatever I shall have learned.

Sieur Arnaud, Mr Dongan's deputy, has not reappeared here since my departure from Onnontaé, though he had assured me that he should return in ten days. 'Tis said that his delay is caused by his not having found his master at Orange, and that he has gone to Manath to inform him of the proceedings of the Onnontagues and of your arrival at Gainhouagué.[1]

I had the honor of writing to you from the Fort, whence I sent you a Wampum belt from the Tionnontatés. I have given Sieur Hannataksa the belt of Wampum and the red Calumet in your name, and told him that you would be ever obliged to him if he would turn his arms to the left of Fort Saint Louis,[2] where the Illinois are mingled with the Oumiamis, in order to give no cause of complaint.

Uncertain as I was regarding matters on the side of the Senecas, and fearful that they would create confusion on arriving here, I made some presents, in your name, to some captains who could best curb their insolence, so as to prevent the brewing of the storm.

Your man of business, I mean La Grande Gueule, is not astonished at any thing; he is a venal being, whom you do well to keep in pay. I assured him that you would send him the jerkin you promised.

The Cayugas who are gone to the borders of Merilande and Virginia to fight, have sent home some of their warriors to say that the English had killed three of their men, and that, having taken five Englishmen alive, they had cut their throats after subjecting them to some bad treatment, and that their little army is still in the English Country.

After having spoken to you of others, I must acquit myself of a part of my duty, by thanking you very humbly for all the kindness you have been pleased to shower on me. I should have wished you, in addition to the good health in which it pleased God to preserve you in the midst of an army weakened by diseases, greater satisfaction for the trouble you have taken for the public good. Many individuals assuredly know that, if you had not accepted what was considered a very favorable peace since no one had been killed on either side, the Colony would have been exposed to the mercy of the Iroquois, who would pounce, in different directions, on defenceless settlements, the people of which they would carry off in order to pitilessly burn

[1] See Note 1, III., 431. — Ed.

[2] Peoria, Ill.

them. I pray God, who knows the sincerity of your intentions, to be your reward and to heap His blessings on you to the extent of the wishes of him who is entirely,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

I told Colin that you would remember him and his comrade.

The Tionnontatés have sent to thank the Onnontaguez for having, by their obliging disposition, gained you over to treat for peace, and thus preserved the lives of many, and [to say] that they were attached to Onnonthio. Sieur de la Grande [Gueule] has pronounced your panegyric here, and professes to keep the promise he made you, to cause the articles of peace to be observed. Some furs are to be collected this fall. He is treating on this subject with Hanagoge and Garakontié. There is no news yet from the Senecas.

Domontaé ce 27.e Sept. 1684

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Monseigneur

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Je retourne icy apres auoir esté dix Jours arresté sur le lac par
des vens fort opiniatres. vn jour auant que les deputés des
Iroquois reuinssent icy les Sonnontoüans auoient enuoyé des
Colliers aux 4 bourgades Iroquoises pour leur declarer
que si vous veniés au debarquage de leur pays, ils vous
attaqueroient. Six a Sept cens Loups le dit pesoient a partir
pour secourir les Iroquois, comme les outaouats secouroient
les Francois. des découureurs Sonnontoüans ont esté Jusqu'a
Kaionhoüagué ou vous auez conclu la paix pour estre
assurés du lieu ou vostre armée étoit. les onnontagués ont
veû pendant plusieurs jours, qu'ils m'auoient tüe. l'arriuée
de Segannehout en son pais aura calmé les Esprits en leur
donnant la paix de leur part. on n'a encor receu aucunes
nouuelles de Sonnontoüan. quelques vns disent qu'ils doiuent
bientost venir icy, pour conferer d'affaires Importantes. si
quelqu'un vient du fort icy je vous informeray de tout ce que j'aur
ay pû.

Le sieur Arnaud deputé de monst. Dongan n'a point repa
icy depuis mon depart D'Onnontaé quoiqu'il meust assuré que
dix jours il reuiendroit. on dit que le sujet de son retardement
qu'il n'a plus trouué son maistre a Orange, & qu'il est al
s'informer des demarches des onnontagues a manath,
de vostre arriuée a la Baye Royale.

Je me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire du fort d
Jay donné de vostre part le collier de pourcelaine et la ca
rouge au sieur Hannatakta, a qui Jay dit que vous lui
feuriez bon gré s'il tournoit les armes a la gauche du fo
S.t Loüis, ou les Illinois sont meslez auec les oumiamis
de ne donner aucun sujet de plainte.

Dans l'incertitude, ou j'ai vû, les affaires du costé de
Sonnontoüan, et dans la Crainte que Jay eüe, que les So
nontoüans ne broüillassent lorsqu'ils viendront icy, j'ay
fait quelques presens en leur nom a quelques Capitaines
qui pouuoient le plus arrester leur fougue affin de
preuenir l'orage auant qu'elle fust formée.

Vostre homme d'affaire, Je veux dire la grande gueule
ne s'étonne de rien; c'est vne ame venale que vous fau
tres bien d'entretenir, Je l'ai assuré que vous luy enuoye
le Just au corps que vous luy auez promis.

Les goiogoüens qui sont allez a la guerre vers les confi
de merimlande et de Virginie ont remué quelques vns de
leurs soldats chez eux pour raconter que les anglois leu
ont tüé trois hommes, et qu'eux ayant pris vingt cinq
anglois, ils leur ont coupé la gorge apres quelque mau
traitement qu'ils leur ont fait. et que leur petite arme

est encor sur les terres des anglois.

Apres vous auoir parlé des autres, il faut que je m'acquitte aussi d'vne partie de mes deuoirs en vous remerciant tres-humblement detouter les bontés dont vous auez bien voulu me honorer, et je vous aurois souhaité outre la bonne sante qu'il a plu a dieu de vous conseruer au milieu d'vne armée affoiblie par les maladies, vn peu plus de satisfaction des peines que vous vous estes données pour le public, bien des particuliers me sauent assurément que si vous n'eussiez agrée la paix qu'on trouuoit tres juste puisque personne n'auoit, ni tiré depart ni daubre, la Colonie étoit exposée a la merey des Iroquois qui seroient venus fondre en diuers endroits sur les habitations sans defense, dont ils auroient enleué les gens pour les bruler impitoyablement. Je prie Dieu qui connoit la sincerité de vos intentions qu'il soit vostre recompense, et qu'il vous comble de ses benedictions autant que le souhaite celuy qui est parfaitement

Monseigneur

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Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant
seruiteur De Lamberville

Jay dit a Colin que vous vous souuiendriez de luy, et de sa famille.

Les Tsonnontatés ont envoyé remercier les onontagues de leurs bons
parleur avoir fait gagné vre Esprit pour menager la paix et ainsi conser
la vie a biendes gens, et qu'ils etoient attachés a conserver le feu de la paix
a fait icy vre panegyrique, et prié tout l'onontague qu'il vous fait
faire garder le chemin de la paix. de l'automne dernier on voulut quelque
pelleterie il agit pour cet effet avec Annagoge Karakonthié on n'a eu
aucune nouvelle des Sonnontouans.

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

A Monseigneur

Monseigneur le General
a Kébec.

A Lettre

MARINE ET COLONIES
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Quebec.

Memoire de M. de la Barre Sur ce qui s'est passé dans la paix faite avec les Iroquois. 1.re Octobre 1684.

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Il partit de Quebec au commencement de Juin

Mr. de la Barre fit la guerre aux Soumontouans Scauoir le pillage de 7. canots francois faits prisonniers pendant 9. jours, et l'attaque du fort S.t Louis des Illinois

Ld.t S.r de la Barre fist arrester Tegantoui l'vn de leurs chefs, et ses 12. compagnons venus pour confirmer la paix, sans estre informez de ses hostilitez

Il resolut 1.o d'enuoyer prier les Jesuites Missionn.rs chez les Iroquois de trauailler a les diuiser

2.o de faire venir les alliez Outaouax a son Secours

3.o d'aduertir le Gouuerneur de la nouuelle York de son dessein pendant qu'il seroit jetter du secours dans le fort de frontenac.

Arriua a Montreal le 10.e ou le superieur du Seminaire et celuy du sault S.t Louis luy fournirent 7. Iroquois Chrestiens, dont il enuoya 4. auec des colliers de pourcelaine aux Aguiers, et aux Onejouts pour les prier de ne se point meler de la guerre des Soumontouans qui auoient rompu la paix

Et les 3. autres a Ounontaguee pour le mesme sujet.

Depescha ensuite aux Outaouax pour auertir les S.rs de la Durantre, et Dulhut

Enuoya ses ordres aux superieurs des Missions pour les faire agir, et a Orange pour donner aduis au Colonel Dongan de l'insulte faite aux francois par les Soumontouans et luy offrir de se joindre a luy pour vanger la mort de 26. anglois tuez l'hyuer dernier

Le 20. il enuoya le S.r du Tast auec 56. soldats, et 6. ouuriers au fort de frontenac pour le mettre hors d'insulte:

Ld.t S.r de la Barre partit de Montreal le 24.e pour reuenir a Quebec ou il arriua le 26.e et fist faire 15. batteaux plats pour porter 14. ou 15. hommes chacun.

Diuisa sa troupe en 3. corps dont il commanda l'vn, et les S.rs Dorueilliers et Duguay anciens Capnes les 2. autres

Ld.t Dorueilliers auoit esté reconnoistre le Lac Ontario, et les pays des Soumontouans dont il auoit raporté vn plan exact

Villebon - Beccaucourt estoit Major de la brigade, et a agy sous luy auec beaucoup de diligence, et d'experience.

Partit de Quebec le 9.e juillet a la teste de 300. hommes de milice, et arriua a Montreal le 16.e

Dorueilliers le joignit le 21.e auec 250. hommes, et des batteaux

Detacha Villebon et sa brigade et 2. compagnies de la marine pour prendre les deuants.

Le.

alagarde
Mpur-tonir ces-lettres
secretes

Arrêtés depuis entre elles pour ce
Commencement.

leur auoit promis 400. Cheuaux, et 400. hommes de pied de secours.
Le traitté Cette D. fust conclud, et promit de decamper le lendemain a quoy
il estoit contraint par le grand nombre de malades, y ayant a peine de
sains pour les conduire
Il souffrit que les Onontaguez traittassent en celuy a fin d'estre en
droit d'en se prendre possession de leur consentement quand le Roy
le desireroit, et d'exclure par la les pretentions des anglois.
La barque depeschee vers l'armée du Sud la trouua arriuee au
nombre de 700. hommes dont 150. francois.
Il partit le 6. ayant fait embarquer ses malades auant le jour, arriua au
fort de frontenac, et en partit pour Montreal.
Les chefs des Sauuages de lad. armée luy firent dire qu'ils viendroient
le trouuer a Montreal.
Il loue beaucoup du zele et connoissance du Sr. le Moyne dans la
langue Iroquoise, et asseure que toute la Colonie luy a obligation
eternelle de succez de cette affaire.

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Le 30.e il les joignit. Dorvilliers savoit l'arrivée garde avec la 3.e
Le 1.er Aoust, il fust joint par 2. Jesuites venant d'Onontaqué, et d'Onejouts.
Par les lettres cottés A il paroist que les Onontaquez, Onejouts, et Orogouis
avoient obligé les Sonnontouans, de les rendre médiateurs, et te prioient de leur
envoyer le S.r le Moyne pour terminer cette affaire.
Le 2.e il arriva au Sony Sault que l'on eust beaucoup de peine a passer, et fit
l'ay de des Iroquois Chrestiens en 2. jours.
Il fist sçavoir aud.s nations que pourveü qu'elles luy fissent faire une
satisfaction raisonnable, il avoit tant de consideration pour leurs prieres
qu'il preferoit leur médiation a la guere
Trois choses l'ont obligé a ce party. 1.o La disposition du Colonel Anglois a se
mesler de cette affaire comme nostre ennemy. 2. le retardement des vivres
qu'il attendoit de Montreal. 3. les vents contraires qui retardoient la barque
depeschée pour advertir l'armée du Sud.
Il fist ensuite la reveüe des troupes cottée B.
Led.t jour le S.r le Moyne l'ayant joint avec le reste des Iroquois Chrestiens
il le depescha le 16.e a Onontaqué. Et luy remit entre mains l'Ambassade
des Sonnontouans.
Il envoya 2. brigades et 200. Sauvages Chrestiens camper a la Famine
poste avantageux a 4. lieues de la riviere d'Onontague.
Le 25. il receut de Montreal 8. a 9. milliers de farine au lieu de 20
qu'il en attendoit.
Le 27.e arriva d'Onontague un canot des enfans du S. le Moyne
avec led.t Ambassadeur qui raporterent que le Colonel Anglois avoit envoyé
deffendre aux Onontaquez d'entrer en aucun traitté sans sa permission, les
regardans comme sujets du Duc d'Iorck, et que 3. jours auparavant il avoit
fait planter les armes dud.t Duc dans leur bourg.
Que cette nation en avoit esté fort en colere, et que le Deputé avoit couru risque
d'estre pris qu'ils estoient libres.
Prierent un Jesuite d'escrire aud.t Colonel la lettre cottée C.
Led.t S.r de la Barre se hasta de se rendre au camp de la Famine, ou il
trouva 150. malades de fievre.
Le 3. Septembre le S.r le Moyne arriva avec 14. Deputez, 9. d'Onontaguez 3
d'Onejouts, et 2. d'Orogoua
Le lendemain la paix fust conclue en 6. heures en presence du Sonnontouan
les autres n'ayant osé venir de peur de deplaire au Colonel Anglois qui

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willing to live there as with friends—and that we requested them not to interfere in the war we were about to wage against the Senecas, who had cruelly insulted us in the instance of the Frenchmen whom they had plundered and seized, and of Fort Saint Louis which they had attacked since, and in violation of the peace made last year at Montreal; we sent the three others to Onontagué to explain the same things, and finally I dispatched Sieurs Guillet and Hébert to the Outaouacs to advise Sieurs Ladurantaye and Dulhut of my design and of the need I had of their assistance, and sent my orders to the Reverend Father Enjalran, Superior of said Missions, to operate there and to send instructions to different quarters according to his usual zeal and capacity, whilst I dispatched Sieur Bourbon to Orange or Manatte to notify Colonel Dongan of the insult the French had received from the Senecas, which obliged me to march against him, whereof I gave him notice, assuring him that if he wished to revenge the twenty-six Englishmen of Merilande, whom they had killed last winter, I would promise him to unite my forces to his, that he may obtain satisfaction for it or avenge them.

On the twentieth of the same month I dispatched Sieur Dutast, first Captain of the King's troops, with five or six picked soldiers and six mechanics, carpenters and masons, with provisions and munitions of war, to throw themselves into Fort Frontenac, and put it, in all haste, beyond insult; after which, having caused all to embark at la Chine, I proceeded from Montreal, on Saint John's day, to return to Quebec, where I had requested the Intendant to make out the detachment of Militia which could follow me to the war, without inconvenience to the country. I arrived there on the twenty-sixth, having used great diligence on the route, and found the people ordered and some canoes purchased, but as they were not sufficient for the embarcation of all, we caused fifteen flat (bottomed) pine bateaux, each capable of conveying fourteen or fifteen men, to be constructed in a hurry.

I divided all my small force into three divisions; placed myself at the head of the first, or vanguard, which I commanded. I left the management of the second to M^{r}. D'orvilliers, ancient Captain of Infantry; the third, composed of troops from the Island of Montreal and environs, was commanded by Sieur Dugué, ancient Captain of Carignan. Sieur D'orvilliers had been, since the fore part of Spring, reconnoitring Lake Ontario and the Seneca Country, to see where the descent should be made, and in what direction we should march to their two principal villages, of which he had made a faithful and exact plan. I selected Sieur de Villebon-Beccancourt,[1] formerly Captain of the King's Dragoons, as Major of the Brigade I commanded, so that, acting in my place, as I was obliged to have an eye to all, I could confide in him; he succeeded therein with all possible diligence and experience. I left Quebec the ninth of July, at the head of Three hundred militiamen, accompanied by the said Sieur de

[1] Chevalier de Villebon was son of the Baron de Bekancourt. After this expedition he returned to France, and was sent in 1690 to Port Royal and proceeded thence to the River St. John, where his vessel was captured whilst he was absent up the river. He went to Quebec, whence he repaired again to France, and, in consequence of his representations at Court, came out in the following year with a commission of Governor of Acadia, with which he arrived at Quebec in the beginning of July, 1691, where he was detained until September, and did not reach Port Royal until 26th November following. After taking possession of that place, he removed to the River St. John. In 1692, Governor Phipps sent three armed vessels and 400 men to seize him, but the attempt failed. In 1696, he assisted at the reduction of Fort Pemaquid by Iberville, and, on his return to Fort Naxoat, on the River St. John, with his Indians, was taken prisoner by the English, but was released shortly after; he then proceeded to his fort, where the English, under Colonel Hawthorn, followed and attacked him on the 18th of October; but his defence was so gallant as to oblige the enemy to retire. He continued on the River St. John until 1700, in the month of July of which year he died. *Charlevoix.* — Ed.

Villebon, and arrived at Montreal the sixteenth, where I was joined by Sieur D'orvilliers on the twenty-first, who brought me, in addition to Two hundred and fifty militia, some bateaux to embark the King's troops. Thus, after having issued every possible order for the conveyance of provisions, in which I had much difficulty in consequence of the scarcity of canoes and of experienced persons to conduct them in the portages of the rapids, I detached Sieur de Villebon to lead the van with my brigade and the two Companies of King's troops, and ordered them to pass the first and second portages, where I should join them, so that on the thirtieth I passed their encampment, beyond the said second portage, and we proceeded next day, both brigades together, Sieur D'orvilliers bringing up the rear with the third, one day behind us. On the first of August, being in Lake St. Francis with about two hundred canoes and our fifteen bateaux, I was joined by the Reverend Father Lamberville, Junior, coming on behalf of his brother, from Onontagué, and by the Reverend Father Millet from Oneida. By the annexed letters from Onontagué you will learn that these people, having been joined by the Oneidas and Cayugas, had obliged the Senecas to appoint them mediators as to the reparation they should agree to make me for the insult which had unfortunately been committed against the French in the month of March, and prayed me to send M^{r}. le Moine to them, with whom they could terminate this affair. This obliged me immediately to dispatch a canoe to Fort Frontenac in all haste, to send me from there the new bark I had built in the winter, in order to freight her with the provisions I brought, and to send the Canoes in which they were loaded to fetch others from la Chine.

On the second we arrived at the Portage of the Long Sault, which I found very difficult, notwithstanding the care I had taken to send fifty men ahead, to cut the trees on the bank of the river which prevented those passing who were to drag the Canoes and bateaux; because the stream being voluminous and the bank precipitous, the people were beyond their depth the moment they abandoned the shore, and were not strong enough to draw said bateaux; this necessitated my sojourn at that place, where, having been joined by the Christian Iroquois of the Sault and of Montreal, they undertook, for a few presents of Brandy and Tobacco, to pass the said bateaux and the largest Canoes, which they fortunately accomplished in two days without any accident.

On the morning of the fifth, I found the new bark arrived at La Galette where I had all the provisions discharged from the canoes before eight o'clock in the morning; and these dispatched at the same, on their return, to la Chine to be reloaded. The strong winds from the South West, which constantly prevailed all this time, and obstinately continued during the remainder of the month, were the cause of the great diligence that the bark had made, and likewise delayed our march so much that I could not arrive at the Fort with my canoe alone until the ninth. I was joined there by Father de Lamberville, whom I dispatched next day to his brother at Onontagué, whom I instructed to assure that Nation that I had so much respect for their request and for that of the other two, that I should prefer their mediation to war, provided they procured me reasonable satisfaction. Three things obliged me to adopt this resolution: the first, because it appeared by letters I had received from Colonel Dongan, in answer to the message by the man named Bourbon, that he was very far from the good understanding of which his Majesty had assured me; but much disposed to interfere as our enemy in this matter. The second, because I had few provisions, and I did not see that any effort was made to forward flour to me with any diligence from Montreal; and the third, because the wind prevailed so strong from the South west that my

bark did not return from La Galette, and I could not dispatch another to Lake Ontario to notify the army of the South, which was to arrive forthwith from Niagara, of my arrival at Fort Frontenac with that of the North. I afterwards reviewed all our troops, as annexed,[1] and Sieur le Moine having overtaken me on the same day with the remainder of the Christian Iroquois who had not previously arrived, I dispatched them on the sixteenth to Onontagué, and placed in his hands Tegancourt, the Ambassador from the Senecas, whom I had arrested at Quebec. Seeing the wind always contrary, I sent, on the preceding day, eight of the largest Canoes that I had, to the bark at La Galette, to bring me ten thousand weight of flour, bread beginning to fail, which caused me a good deal of uneasiness, and created considerable murmurs among the troops and the militia.

Finally, on the twenty-first, my canoes arrived with what I sent them for. I set to work immediately, with all possible diligence, to have bread and biscuit baked; and sent off forthwith the King's troops, D'orvilliers' and Dugué's two brigades, and two hundred Christian Savages to encamp at La Famine, a post favorable for fishing and hunting, and four leagues from the river of Onontagué, so as to be nearer the enemy, and able to refresh our troops by fishing and the chase, as we were short of provisions, intending to join them myself with about three hundred Frenchmen, whom I had remaining.

On the twenty-fifth, the Canoes I had detached from La Galette to Montreal arrived, but in far less number than I had looked for, and brought me only eight or nine thousand weight of flour, instead of twenty thousand, I expected, and which I left ready for loading when I departed. I caused bread and biscuit to be immediately made for the support of our troops, who were at the aforesaid place called La Famine. On the twenty-seventh, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a canoe of M^{r}. Lemoine's children arrived from Onontagué with Tegancourt, who reported to me that the Onontagués had received orders from Colonel Dongan, which he sent by one Arnaud, forbidding them to enter into any treaty with me without his express permission, considering them the Duke of York's subjects, and that he had caused the Arms of the said Duke to be raised three days before in their village; that the Council had been convened at the said place of Onontagué, to which Sieur Lemoine had been invited, and the matter having been debated, these Savages got into a furious rage, with some danger to the English delegate; said they were free, and that God, who had created the Earth, had granted them their country without subjecting them to any person, and requested Father Lamberville the elder to write to Colonel Dongan the annexed letter; and, the said Sieur Lemoine having well sustained the French interests, they unanimously resolved to start in two days to conclude affairs with me at La Famine. On the receipt of this news I immediately called out my canoes in order to depart, and was accompanied by a dozen of others, having caused six of the largest to be loaded with bread and biscuit for the army.

After having been buffeted by bad weather and high winds, we arrived in two days at La Famine. I found there tertian and double tertian fever, which broke out among our people, so that more than one hundred and fifty men were attacked by it; I had also left some sick at the Fort, which caused me to dispatch, on arriving, a Christian Savage to Onontagué to M^{r}. Lemoine, to request him to cause the instant departure of those who were to come to meet me. This he accomplished with so much diligence, though he and his children were sick, that he arrived on the third of September with fourteen Deputies; nine from Onontagué, three from Oneida, and two Cayugas, who paid me their respects, and I entertained them in the

[1] For this paper see p. 234.

best manner I was able, postponing the talk about business until the morrow morning, when matters were fully discussed and peace concluded after six hours' deliberation, three in the morning and as many after dinner; Father Brias speaking for us, and Hotrehouati[1] and Garagonkier for the Iroquois; Tegancout, the Seneca, was present, the other Senecas not daring to come in order not to displease Colonel Dongan, who sent to promise them a reinforcement of four hundred horse and four hundred foot, if we attacked them. The treaty was concluded in the evening on the conditions annexed,[2] and I promised to decamp the next day and withdraw my troops from their vicinity; which indeed I was obliged to do by the number of sick, that had augmented to such a degree that it was with difficulty I found enough of persons in health to remove the sick on board the canoes; also by the scarcity of provisions, as there was no more than the trifle of bread I had brought them. I allowed the Onontagués to light the Council fire at this place without extinguishing that at Montreal, in order to be entitled to take possession of it by their consent when the King should desire it, and thereby exclude the English and Colonel Dongan from their pretensions.

On leaving the Fort, I had ordered one of the barks to go to Niagara to notify the army of the South to return by Lake Erie to Missilimakinack; she had a favorable passage; found it had arrived, only six hours previously, to the number of seven hundred men, viz., one hundred and fifty French, and the remainder Indians. I departed on the sixth, having had all the sick of my troops embarked before day (so as not to be seen by the Indians) to the number of one hundred and fifty Canoes, and twelve flat bateaux, and arrived in the evening of the same day at Fort Frontenac, where I found one hundred and ten men, of the number I had left there, already departed, all sick, for Montreal. Having given the necessary orders as to the number of soldiers to be left there for the security of that post, until the arrival from France of Sieur de Laforest, its Major, I started, about nine or ten o'clock in the morning, on my return. Shortly after my departure, the bark arrived from Niagara with some French officers of the army, who brought me news from it at night, and assured me that the chiefs of all the savages had accompanied them to the Fort, desirous to see me, and would visit me at Montreal, where I was to wait for them. The Reverend Father de Lamberville, the elder, came likewise with these Gentlemen on account of some difficulties he was very glad to arrange for Onontagué, whither he returned.

We worked some hours together; I then sent him back to the Fort with some of the arrived French; the others being desirous to leave and come down again into the Country.

After having waited some time for Messrs. du Tast and de Cahouet, to whom I gave one of my canoes and two of my guards, well acquainted with the navigation, to pilot their bateaux and troops in safety through the rapids, I resumed my journey down the river. I likewise took on board one of my canoes the Sieur Le Moine, whose fever had seriously augmented, and who had served the King in this affair with so much zeal and affection, aided by the intimate knowledge he had of the Iroquois language, that it may be said the entire Colony owe him a debt of eternal gratitude.

Finally, in my return of three days, I accomplished what cost us thirteen in ascending, and found in the stores at Montreal and la Chine, forty-five thousand weight of flour, which, had we received it, would have enabled us to have made a longer sojourn in the Upper country.

Done at Quebec the 1st day of October, 1684.

LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

[1] Outréouati, otherwise called *Grande Gueule* (Big Mouth). *Belmont.* This is La Hontan's famous Orator, *Grangula*, whose name he manufactures by merely Latinizing the French. — ED.

[2] See p. 236.

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Copie

Du 1er 8bre 1684 à Mr

Ayant esté obligés les 1ers jours de juin, de partir après la resolution prise entre Monsieu l'Intendant, Mons.r l'Evesque, Les principaux du pays et moy de faire la guerre aux Tsonnontouans pour avoir de sang froid pillé Sept Canotz de françois, ceux au nombre de quatorze arrestez et retenus prisonniers pendant Neuf jours, Et ensuitte attaqué Le fort de Saint Louis des Illinois ou le Chevalier de Baugy se seroit vaillamment deffendu, Et en mesme temps resolu aussy de faire arrester Teganeoui l'un de leurs chefs et ses douze Compagnons qui estoient venus pour confirmer la paix faite l'année derniere, estans partis de leur pays auant qu'on y eut Sceu la Nouuelle de cette attaque; Ce qui m'auroit obligé de ne leur faire aucun mauuais traittement, Mais Seulement de m'assurer de leurs personnes; Nous aurion crû à propos et necessaire de faire trois choses, L'une de Nous Efforcer de diuiser Les Iroquois entr'eux, et de leur Enuoyer pour cet Effet des personnes exprés pour porter mes Sentimens aux R. R. Pp. Jesuittes qui y sont Missionnaires et les prier d'agir, La Seconde d'Enuoyer aux Outaouaz pour Engager nos francois de me venir Secourir par le Sud par le Lac Erié, et d'y amener le plus qu'ils pourroient de Sauuages nos allieZ, Et la troisd d'auertir Mons.r le Colonel Dongan Gouuerneur de la Nouuelle yorck de ce que nous estions obligés de faire, tandis que dans Le mesme temps je jetterois vn secours considerable d'hommes dans le fort frontenac pour les mettre en Seureté. Estant arriués à Montreal le dix dud. moise Nous aurions Mandé Mons.r Dollier Superieur du Seminaire de lad.e ville et de la Mission des Sauuages de la Montagne, Et le R. P. Brias Superieur de la Mission

du Sault de Saint Louis, Lesquels estans entrez dans
nostre sens, Nous auroient Soumis sept Iroquoises
Chrestiens affectionnez aux François et assez
habiles, dont nous en aurions Envoyé deux avec
quelques Colliers de pourcelaine aux Agnierre,
et deux aux Oneiouts, pour leur dire que nous
estions dans la resolution d'entretenir la paix
faite avec Eux; Que nous y voulions bien Vivre
comme avec nos amis, et que nos. les priions de
ne se point mesler de la Guerre que nous
allions faire aux Sonnontouans qui nos. avoient
Cruellement offensé en la personne des françois
qu'ils avoient pillés et pris, Et du fort de S.t Louis qu'ils
avoient attaqué, depuis et au préjudice de la paix faite
l'année derniere au Montreal; Et les trois autres a
Onontagué pour y Exposer les mesmes Choses, Et
ensuitte j'aurois despesché les S.rs Guillet et Hebert
aux Outaouas pour faire advertir les S.rs de la Durantaye
et Dulhut de mon. dessein et du besoin que j'avois
de leur Secours, Et Envoyay mes Ordres au R. Pere
Enjalran Superieur desd.t Missions pour y agir et
Envoyer les Ordres de divers Costez Suivant son Zele
et Capacité ordinaire; Tandis que je despeschois le
S.r Bourbon a Orange ou Manatte pour donner
avis au Colonel Dongan de l'Insulte que les
françois avoient receuë des Sonnontouains, Et qui
m'obligeoit de marcher a Eux dont je l'advertissois
l'assurant que s'il se vouloit vanger des vingt six
Anglois de la Merlandes qu'ils avoient tuez l'hyver
dernier, Je l'assurois que je joindrois mes forces aux
Siennes pour luy en faire avoir satisfaction ou les
vanger

Partir. Je fis ensuitte le 20e. dumesme mois partir
le Sieur du Tast premr. Capne. des Trouppes du Roy
auec cinq Cens Soldats d'Elite et Cent Ouuriers en
Charpentiers ou Maçons auec des Viures et Munitions
de Guerre, pour s'aller jetter dans le fort frontenac
et le mettre en toute diligence hors d'Insulte,
apres quoy ayant fait embarquer le tout a la
Chine, je partis de Montreal le jour de S.t Jean
pour reuenir a Quebec ou j'auois prié Mons.r l'Intendant
de faire le detachement des milices qui pourroient
me suiure a la guerre sans incommoder le pays.
J'y arriuay le 26. ayant fait grande diligence en
chemin, et trouuay les gens Commandez et quelques
Canots a chetter. Mais comme ils ne pouuoient pas
suffire a l'Embarquement de tout notre monde, Nous
fismes faire en diligence quinze batteaux plats
les plus propres a porter quatorze ou quinze
hommes chacun. Je diuisay toutes mes petittes
trouppes en trois Corps; je me jettay a la teste du
premier que je Commandois, pour prendre le deuant.
Je laissay la conduitte de l'Arriere Mr Dorvilliers
Ancien Capne. d'Infanterie, et trois. estandars
Composez des trouppes de l'Isle de Montreal
et Environs, qui fut Commandé par le Sr Duguè
Ancien Capne. des Carignan. Le Sieur Dorvilliers auoit
esté dez le petit printemps reconnoistre le Lac
Ontario et les pays des Sonnontouans pour voir
ou l'on deuoit faire la descente, et par ou l'on
deuoit marcher a leurs principaux Villages
dont il auoit un plan fidele et exact. J'auois choisy
pour Major de la Brigade que je Commandois le

ARCHIVES COLONIALES

( )

Sieur de Villebon Beaucourt ce devant Capne de
Dragons du Roy, afin qu'agissant en mon place
comme j'estois obligé d'avoir l'oeil a tout, je me
puisse reposer sur luy, a quoy il a reussi auec
toute la diligence et experience possible. Je
partis de Curbetes le 9e de juillet a la teste de
trois Cens hommes de milice auec led Sr de Villebon
et arrivay a Moutreal le 16e ou je fus joint
par le S.r Dorvilliers le 21, qui auoit 250
hommes de milices, nous manquoit des batteaux
pour embarquer les trouppes du Roy, ainsy
apres auoir donné tout lordre possible au transport
des Vivres ou jeus beaucoup de peines par la disette
des Canots et des gens habiles pour les conduire
dans les portages des rapides. Je detachay le S.r
de Villebon auec ma brigade pour prendre le
deuant et les deux Compagnies des troupes du Roy
auec Elle, et leur ordonnay de passer les 1.er et
2.e portage ou je les irois joindre; si bien que
le 30 je passay par leur Campement au dessus
du 2.e portage, et nous marchâmes le lendemain
deux Brigades jointes, le Sieur Dorvilliers faisant
l'arriere garde auec la troisieme avec jeunesse de nous
encorta que les 2.e et 3.e portage etant dans les Lac S.t
François environ deux Lieues Canots et nos quinze
Batteaux, j'y fus joint par le S.r de Lamberville le
jeune venant de la part de nos freres d'Onontag
et par les S.rs Millet et Arnaud d'Onnioults. Par
A. les Lettres d'Onontagué cy jointes vis. Connoistre
que ces peuples d'ayant eu joints les Onnioults
et Otiogoins, auoient obligé les Sonnontouäns

de

de les rendre Médiateurs de la Reparation qu'ils
demandoient me faire pour l'Insulte qui avoit
este malheureusement Commis au mois de mars
contre les françois, et me prioient de leur Envoyer
Mons.r Delmoyne auec lequel ils pussent termine
cette affaire. Ce qui m'obligea a l'Instant de
depescher au fort frontenac un Canot en toute diligence
pour me faire Expedier de mesme la barque
Neuve que j'y avois fait faire thuyer, afin d'y
decharger les Viures que je portois, et de renvoyer
les Canots qui en estoient chargés en querir d'autres
a la Chine. Nous arrivasmes le 2.e au portage du
Long sault que je trouvay tres difficile nonobstant
le soin que j'avois eu d'y Envoyer Cinquante hommes
devant pour Couper les arbres qui estoient sur le
bord de la Riviere et empeschoient que l'on y pust
passer, pour y traisner les Canots et batteaux, parce
que l'Eau estant fort grosse, et la Coste Ecore, l'on
estoit a la Nage a l'Instant que l'on l'abandonnoit et
on n'avoit pas de forces pour tirer les d.s batteaux
Ce qui m'obligea de Sejourner en ce lieu, au ayant este
joints des Iroquois Chretiens du Sault et de Montreal
ils entreprirent moyennant quelques petits presents
d'Eau de vie & de Tabac de passer les d.s batteaux et
les plus grands Canots, Ce qu'ils firent heureusement en
deux jours sans aucun accident. Le Cinq.e au matin
je trouvay la barque Neuve airivée a la galette, ou
Je fis avant huit heures du matin decharger tous les
Canots des Viures, et repartir en mesme temps pour
regagner la Chine et y aller rechanger. Les Gentes
forces du Sud-Ouest qu'il avoit fait pendant tout

ce temps là et qui Continuerent avec opiniastreté pend
espres que le reste du mois auoient causé [illegible] grande
diligence que labarque auoit faite, et retarderent
aussy si fort Mestre marche, que je ne pus arriu
avec mon Canot seul que le 9.e au soir. Jy sua
jant pas le S.r de Lamberville que je fis partir
le Lendemain pour aller trouuer son frere a Monta
auquel je mandois d'assurer auec de cette Nation
que j'auois tant de Consideration pour les priere
et pour celles des deux autres, que pourueu qu'ils
me fissent faire une satisfaction raisonnable
Je preferrois Leur Mediation a la guerre
Trois choses m'obligerent a prendre ce party, La
1.re par ce que par les Lettres que j'auois receues
du Colonel Dongan par la réponse d'Enuoy du
Nommé Bourbon, il parroissoit bien Esloigné de la
bonne Intelligence dont Sa Majesté m'auoit assuré
Mais fort porté a se mesler comme nostre Ennem
dans cette affaire, La seconde par ce que j'auo
peu de viures, et que je ne voyois pas qu'on se
mist en deuoir de me faire passer les farines
de Montreal avec diligence, Et la trois.e par ce
que les Vents s'opiniastroient si fort au Sud-oüe
que ma barque de la Galotte ne reuenoit point
et que je ne pouuois en Expedier aucune autre
pour le Lac Ontario pour aduertir l'armee
du Sud qui deuoit Incessamment arriuer a Niagar
que j'estois arriué au fort Frontenac auec celle
du Nord. Je fis ensuite la Reuue de toute
nos troupes qui joint, Et le meme jour Le
Sieur le Moyne m'ayant joint auec le reste des
Iroquois

Iroquois Chrestiens qui n'estoient encore arriuez, Je les despeschay le 16. a Montagué, et luy remis en mains Tegancout Ambassadeur des Sonnontouans que j'auois arresté a quebec. J'auois despesché le jour precedent huit des plus grands Canots que j'auois, a la barque restée a la galette voyant les vents toujours Contraires, pour m'en rapporter dix milliers de farines Commençant a manquer de pain, Ce qui m'a fait beaucoup de peine et causé du murmure parmy les Troupes et les milices. Enfin le 21. mes Canots arriuerent auec ce que je leur auois Enuoyé querir. Je fis a l'Instant trauailler auec toute la diligence possible a faire faire du pain et du biscuit, Et aussi tost je fis partir les Troupes du Roy, Les deux Brigades Dorueilliers et Duques et deux Cens Sauuages Chretiens pour aller Camper a la famine, poste Auantageux pour La peschc & po. la Chasse et a 4. Lieuës de la Riuiere d'Montagué, a fin d'estre plus prés des Ennemis et de pouuoir rafraichir nos troupes par la peschc & La Chasse dans le peu de Viures que Nous auions, me proposant de donner auec enuiron 300. Francois qui me restoient Le 25. Les Canots que j'auois destachez de la galette pour aller a Montreal arriuerent, Mais en bien moindre quantité que je n'auois Espere, Et ne m'apporterent que huit a Neuf milliers, de farines, au lieu de 20000: que j'en attendois, Les ayants Laissé prests a charger en partant: J'en fis aussi tost faire Du Biscuit et du pain pour le Secours de nos trouppes qui estoient au sud. dit lieu Nommé la famine. Le 27. a 4. heures aprés midy, arriua d'Montagué un

Canot des Enfans de M. Le Moyne, ^ allez Teganeout qui me rapporterent
que les Onontagues auoient receu des ordres du Colonel
Dongan par Le Nommé Arnaud par luy Envoyé
par lesquels il Leur deffendoit d'entrer en aucun traitté
auec moy sans Sa permission particuliere. Lesq.
Considerant comme Sujets du Duc D'yorck, Et que
trois jours auparauant il auoit fait planter les armes
dud. Duc dans Leur Bourg: Que le Conseil auoit
esté assemblé aud. lieu d'Onontagué, et laq.le m.r le moyne
Jnuité de Se trouuer, dans lequel La Chose ayant
esté agitée auroit mis ces Sauuages dans une
furieuse Colere auec quelques risques du Deputé
anglois, Disant qu'ils estoient Libres, Et que
Dieu qui auoit fait la Terre, Leur auoit donné la
Leur Sans les Soumettre a personnes, Et ils prierent
Le S.r Lamberuille Laisné descrire au Colonel
C. Dongan la Lettre cy jointe, Et led. S.r le moyne
ayant parfaittement bien Soutenu les Interests des
François, ils auoient resolu vnanimement de partir
dans deux jours pour venir Conclure auec moy
a la famine. Cette nouuelle Venue, je Commanday
a l'Jnstant mes Canots pour partir, et fus accompagné
d'vne douzaine d'autres, en ayant fait Charger Six
des plus grands des miens de pain et de Biscuit pour
l'armee. Nous arriuâmes en deux jours a la famine
apres auoir esté battus de mauuais temps et de
gros Vent. J'y trouuay les Pieces tierces et double
tierces qui s'estoient jettés parmy nostre monde
Ensorte qu'il y en auoit plus de 150. hommes attaq.
J'en auois aussi Laissé quelques vns au Fort, Ce qui
me fist depescher Cappres mon arriuée Son Sauuage
chrêtien

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

Chrestien a montagué a M.r Lemoyne pour le prier
de faire partir Incessament ceux qui me deuoient venir
querir, Ce qu'il fist auec tant de diligence, quoy que
Luy et Ses Enfans fussent malades ; que le 3.e de
Septemb.r il arriua auec 14. deputez 9, d'montagué, trois
d'oneiouts, et deux Oiogoin, qui me firent leurs Complim.ts
et que je traittay le mieux qu'il me fut possible
remettant au Lendemain matin a parler d'affaires
ou Les choses furent amplement agitées et la paix
Concluë en six heures de Conseils, trois le matin
et autant ta pres-disnée, Le Pere Brias portant la
parole pour nous, et hotrehouati et Garagontié
pour Les Iroquois ; Teganeout Onnontouan present,
Les autres Onnontouans n'ayant osé venir pour ne
pas deplaire au Colonel Dongan qui leur auoit
Enuoyé promettre 400. Cheuaux & 400 hommes
de pied de Secours S'ils nous les attaquions ; Le Traitté
D. fut Conclû le Soir Sus les Conditions cy jointes
et je leur promis de decamper le Lendemain et
faire retirer mes troupes de leur Voisinage ; Ce que
j'estois bien necessité de faire par le nombre des
malades qui auoit augmenté a tel point, qu'a peine
trouuay-je assés de personnes en santé pour Conduir
Les malades dans les Canots, outre la disette de
Viures n'y ayant plus que le peu de pain que j'auois
apporté. Je Souffris que les Onnontagués
allumassent le feu des affaires en ce poste, sans
Eteindre celuy de Montreal, afin d'estre en droit d'en
faire prendre possession de leur Consentement
quand le Roy le desireroit, Et parla Exclure Les
Anglois et le Colonel Dongan de Leurs pretentions.

J'auois en partant du fort Commandé vne des Barque
pour aller a Niagara, aduertir l'armée du Sud de
Rebrousser par le Lac Erié vers Missilimakina
Elle eust vn temps fauorable La trouua seulement
arriuée de six heures auparauant au Nomb. de 700
hommes, Sçauoir 150 francois et le reste Sauuages.
Je partis Le 6. ayant fait Embarquer auant le jour
tous les malades de mes troupes pour n'estre pas veus
des Sauuages, au nombre de 150. Canots et douze
Batteaux plats, et vins le mesme jour a l'entrée
de la Nuit au fort frontenac, ou je trouuay desja Cent
dix hommes tous malades partis po. le Montreal
du nombre que j'y auois. Laissé, Et ayant donné
les ordres neces.res pour ce qu'il estoit a propos d'y
Laisser de Soldats pour la Seureté de ce poste jusqu
a l'arriuée de france du Sieur de la forest Major
d'jceluy, Je pris Sur les neuf a dix heures du matin
La route du Retour. Peu apres mon depart la Barque
de Niagara arriua auec quelque Nombre d'officiers
francois de l'armée qui m'en rapporterent des Nouue
La Nuit, et m'assurerent que les Chefs de tous Les
Sauuages les auoient accompagnés au fort desireux
de me voir, et qu'ils me viendroient trouuer au Mont
ou je deuois prendre la peine de les attendre. Le S.
Lamberuille Laisné vint aussy auec ces M.rs pour
quelques difficultez qu'il estoit bien aise de
regler pour Montagné ou il s'en retournoit. Nous
trauaillâmes quelques heures ensemble, puis je le
renuoyay au fort auec quelques vns des francois venu
Les autres ayans desiré de s'en reuenir et redescendre
dans le pays. Je repris ma route de la descente
de la riuie

de la Riviere a prés auoir attendu quelque temps M.rs du Tast
et de Cahouët ausquels je donnay vn de mes Canots
et deux de mes Gardes fort Experimentez au chemin
pour Conduire sans peril Leurs Batteaux et trouper
a la descente des Rapides. Je fis aussi prendre dans vn
de mes Canots Le Sieur le moyne dont la Sœur auoit
fort augmenté; Et lequel a servy le Roy en cette
affaire auec tant de Zele et d'affection, aidé de la
grande Connoissance qu'il a de la Langue Iroquoise
que l'on peut dire que toute la Colonie Luy aura
vne Eternelle obligation. Je fis ensuitte pour le retour
en trois jours, ce qui nous en fut Conté treize a monter
et trouuay dans les Magazins de Montreal et de la Chine
quarante Cinq milliers de farines qui nous auroient donné
lieu de faire vn plus grand Sejour en haut si nous les
Eussions pû recouurir. Fait a Quebec le 1.er jour
d'octobre 1684.

Le Bouc de la Barre

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

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ARCHIVES

7 Octobre, 1684.

Resumé du Mémoire de M. de la Barre sur ce qui s'est passé dans la paix faite avec les Iroquois.

Il résolut de partir au commencement de Juin. Motifs de la guerre à faire aux Sonnontouans, savoir: le pillage de sept canots Français, 14 faits prisonniers pendant neuf jours et l'attaque du Fort St. Louis des Illinois.

Le dit Sr. de la Barre fit arrêter Tegaroüet, l'un de leurs chefs et ses 12 compagnons venus pour conférer la paix et être informés des dites hostilités.

Il resolut 1°. d'envoyer prier les Jésuites Missionnaires chez les Iroquois de travailler à les diviser. 2°. de faire venir les alliés Outaouas à son secours. 3°. d'envoyer avertir le Gouverneur de la Nouvelle York de son dessein pendant qu'il feroit jeter du secours dans le Fort Frontenac.

Arriva à Montreal le 10e. où le Supérieur du Séminaire et celui du Sault Saint Louis lui fournirent sept Iroquois Chrétiens dont il envoya trois des colliers de porcelaine aux Agniers et aux Onneiouts pour les prier de ne point se mêler de la guerre des Sonnontouans qui avaient rompu la paix. Et les trois autres à Onnontagués pour le même sujet. Dépêcher ensuite aux Outaouas pour avertir les Srs. de la Durantaye et du L'Hut.

Envoya ses ordres aux supérieurs

des

des missions pour les faire agir de concert pour donner avis au Colonel Dongan de l'insulte faite aux Français par les Sonnontouans et lui offrir de se joindre à lui pour venger la mort de 26 anglais tués l'hiver dernier.

Le 20 il envoya le Sr. du Tast avec 56 soldats et six ouvriers au Fort de Frontenac pour les mettre hors d'insulte.

Le dit Sieur de la Barre partit du Montréal le 24 pour revenir à Québec où il arriva le 26 et fit faire 15 bateaux plats pour porter 14 ou 15 hommes chacun. Divisa sa troupe en trois corps dont il commanda l'un et les Srs. d'Orvilliers et Duguay anciens Capitaines les deux autres.

Le dit d'Orvilliers avait été reconnaître le Lac Ontario et les pays des Sonnontouans dont il avait rapporté un plan exact.

Villebon Bécancourt était major de la Brigade et a agi sous lui avec beaucoup de diligence et d'experience.

Parti de Québec le 9 Juillet à la tête de 300 hommes de milice et arriva à Montréal le 16.

D'Orvilliers le joignit le 21 avec 250 hommes et des bateaux.

Détacha Villebon et sa brigade et 2 Compagnies de la Marine pour prendre les devants.

Le 30 il les joignit. D'Orvilliers faisait l'arrière garde avec la troisième.

Le 1er. Aout il fut joint par deux Jésuites venant d'Onontagué et d'Oneiout-

Pir

Par les lettres cottées A. il paraît que les Onnontagués, Onneiouts et Ouygouins avaient obligé les Sonnontouans de les rendre médiateurs et les priaient de leur envoyer le Sieur le Moyne pour terminer cette affaire. Le 2 il arriva au Fort Frontenac que l'on eut beaucoup de peine à passer et le fit à l'aide des Iroquois chrétiens en deux jours.

Il fit savoir aux dites nations que pourvu qu'elles lui fissent faire une satisfaction raisonnable il avait tant de considération pour leurs prières qu'il préférait leur médiation à la guerre.

Trois choses l'ont obligé à ce parti 1°. La disposition des Colonies Anglois à se mêler de cette affaire comme nous avions. 2°. le retardement des vivres qu'il attendait de Montréal. 3°. les vents contraires qui retardaient la barque dépêchée pour avertir l'armée du Sud.

Il fit ensuite la revue des troupes cottée B. le dix jour de Septembre l'argent joint avec le reste des Iroquois chrétiens il le dépêcha le 16 à Onnontagué et lui remit ès-mains l'Ambassade des Sonnontouans.

Il envoya deux brigades de 200 Sauvages Chrétiens camper à la Famine poste avantageux à quatre lieues de la rivière d'Onnontagué.

Le 25 il reçut de Montréal 8 à 9 milliers de Farine au lieu de 20 qu'il attendait.

Le 27 arriva d'Onnontagué un canot

mr Canot des enfans du Sieur Lemoyne
avec le dit Ambassadeur qui rapporterent
que le dit Colonel Anglais avait envoyé
defendre aux Armontagués d'entrer en aucun
traité sans sa permission, les regardant
comme ses sujets du Duc d'Yorck et que
trois jours auparavant il avait fait
planter les armes du dit duc dans leur
bourg.

Que cette nation en avait été fort en
colere et que le député courut risque, desirant
qu'ils étoient libres.

Prièrent un Jésuite d'écrire au dit
Colonel la lettre cottée C.

Le dit Sr de la Barre se hata de
se rendre au camp de la famine où
il trouva 150 malades de fievre.

Le 3 Septembre le Sr Lemoyne arriva
à 114 députés, 9 d'Armontagués, 3 d'Omeiocs
et 2 d'Orogonis.

Le lendemain la paix fut conclue
en sept heures en présence des Sonnontouans
les autres de la nation n'ayant osé venir
de peur de déplaire au Colonel Anglais
qui leur avait promis 400 chevaux et
400 cents hommes de pied de secours.

Le traité cotté D fut conclu et
promis de décamper le lendemain à
quoi il était fort contraint par le grand
nombre de malades, y ayant à peine
assez de 8 pour le conduire.

Il soffrit que les Armontagnes traitassent
en ce lieu afin d'être dans le droit de
faire prendre possession de leur consen-
-tement quand le Roi le désirerait et

d'exclure

d'arrêter par là les prétentions des Anglais.

La barque dépêchée vers l'armée du Sud, la trouva arrivée au nombre de 700 dont 150 Français.

Il partit le 6 ayant fait embarquer ses malades avant le jour, arriva au Fort de Frontenac et en partit pour Montréal. Les chefs des Sauvages de l'armée lui firent dire qu'ils viendraient le trouver à Montréal.

Il loue beaucoup du Zèle et de la connaissance du St. Sacrement dans la Langue Iroquoise et assure que toute la Colonie lui a obligation du succès de cette affaire.

ARCHIVES NATIONALES COLONIALES

M.r de la Barre a Quebec le 7. octobre 1684

Remet a rendre compte de sa conduite, et a ce qu'il a response a ce quon luy a escrit par le retour des vaisseaux, par lesquels Il enuoyera son Capne des gardes pour rendre de bouche vn compte qui seroit trop long par escrit, et pour respondre a toutes les jmpostures dont on la voulu noircir.

Il nesent que pour ce qu'il sauoit que la guerre n'apoint este sanglante, et qu'il a fait la paix auec les Sonnontouans, qui paroist deuoir estre de duree, et autant honnorable qu'il se peut.

Et que le Colonel Dongan gouuerneur de la nouuelle Yorck n'a pas executte les ordres du Roy son Mre et a pousse les choses a l'extremite contre les francois.

La consideration des affaires d'Europe l'a empesche de marcher au deuant de luy, parcequil a voulu trancher du Mre Souuerain de toute l'amerique Septentrionale au dessous de la riuiere de St. Laurent, et a fait planter les armes du Duc d'Yorck dans les Bourgs des Iroquois, ou elles n'ont pas este partout esgalement receues, dans le temps que luy Ce Barre n'estoit qu'a 6 lieues de la, en ayant fait prez de 200. pour y arriuer.

Il mettoit en estat les preuues de ces choses pour les enuoyer, Il en remet le detail a son Capne des gardes.

Les quatre Compagnies de marine Sont arriuees en bon estat.

Les Gens du St. de la Salle partoient pour le fort des Illinois, Il leur donne le secours que lon a ordonné.

En attendant qu'il enuoye vne response exacte. Il executera ponctuellement les ordres qu'il recoura

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES

C. Monseigneur.

Je vous écris ces lignes par aduance, remettant a vō. rendre Compte de toute ma conduitte, Reception des ordres de sa M.té et reponse a celles dont il vō. plû m'honorer, par le retour des Vaiss.x par lesquels je prendray la liberté de vō. Enuoyer mon Cap.ne des gardes pour vō. rendre de bouche vn Compte qui seroit trop long par Ecrit, et pour pouuoir repondre a toutes les impostures dont on m'a voulu noircir près de sa M.té et de vous; Et je le fais pour vous faire Sçauoir que nôtre guerre n'a point esté sanglante, et que j'ay fait la paix auec les Sonnontouäns, qui paroist deuoir estre de quelque durée, et autant honorable qu'il se peut auec des Barbares

Que le Colonel Dongan Gouuerneur de la Nouuelle york

a oublié les ordres qu'il auoit receû du Roy son Maître, ev
pousé les choses a vne Extremité contre nous, qu'il a
fallu que la Consideration des affaires d'Europe mait
retenu et empesché de marcher au deuant de celuy qu
voulu trancher du maître souuerain de tout l'amerique
Septentrionalle au dessous de la Riuiere de St. Laure
et a fait planter les armes du Duc d'yorK dans les
Bourgs des Iroquois (ou elles n'ont pas esté par tout
Egalement receuës) dans le temps que je n'estois qu
Six lieuës de la, en ayant fait prés de deux cent
pour y arriuer.

Comme je mets en Etat toutes les preuues de ces cho
pour les Enuoyer, j'en remets le détail a mon Cap.ne d
garde, et me contente de vous dire que les quatre
Compagnies de Marine sont bien arriuées et en bon
Etat; que les gens de mons.r de la Salle partent pou
le fort des Illinois ou je leur donne le secours que vous
ordonnés, Et qu'en attendant que je puisse Vo.tre Enuoye

vne reponse Exacte, vous pouuez vous assurer d'une parfaitte obeissance a tous les ordres que je receuray de vôtre part, qui me fera sans doute obtenir vre protection Contre les fausseteZ Et Calomnies que l'on vous a debitéés contre moy, en faueur.

De

Vôtre Trehumble Et

Treé-obeissant seruiteur

Le Rebure de la Barre

Quebec le 7. Octob.

1684.

MARINE ET COLONIES
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them. I pray God, who knows the sincerity of your intentions, to be your reward and to heap His blessings on you to the extent of the wishes of him who is entirely,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

I told Colin that you would remember him and his comrade.

The Tionnontatés have sent to thank the Onnontaguez for having, by their obliging disposition, gained you over to treat for peace, and thus preserved the lives of many, and [to say] that they were attached to Onnonthio. Sieur de la Grande [Gueule] has pronounced your panegyric here, and professes to keep the promise he made you, to cause the articles of peace to be observed. Some furs are to be collected this fall. He is treating on this subject with Hanagoge and Garakontié. There is no news yet from the Senecas.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontagué, this 9th Octobr, 1684.

My Lord,

Your sending three canoemen here, from Montreal, shows you to be in reality a man of your word. Sieur de la Grande Gueule has been informed by an express, who is gone to find him at his fishery, eight leagues from here, that you have written. I shall cause him, when he returns, particularly to recollect his promise to you, to have satisfaction given you. I have spoken, in his absence, both privately and publicly, to influential persons, and obtained promises from the chiefs and warriors that they would send two strings of wampum to the Senecas, in three days, to remind them of the word which the leader of those who pillaged the French canoes had himself brought here from those of his own nation, that they had accepted all you had concluded at La Famine. I told them what you had concluded and had ordered me to acquaint them with. The report about the thousand Illinois is a mere rumor, without any foundation, and M. du Lut told me at Katarokoui that he did not believe the truth of this news; besides, there was not any apprehension that they had dared to undertake anything, having met neither Frenchmen nor Outaouas; all of whom could make a demonstration of more fuzileers than they.

A party of 40 warriors will leave here in six days to attack the Illinois whom they may find among the Chaouennons. I have presented the Captain a shirt in your name, to exhort the Senecas, through whom he will pass, to keep their word with you. He has assured me that he will not lead his troops towards the quarter you forbade him. I notified him, as well as the others, that you had dispatched a canoe to inform the Oumiamis and the Maskeutens that you had included them in the peace, and that they could remain secure at the place where they had been before they were at war with the Iroquois. The Senecas shall be equally notified of this in a few days. You may rest assured, My Lord, that I shall spare no pains to have that satisfaction given you which you expect from the Iroquois. The Frenchmen who

came here told me that, whilst you were at La Famine, a false alarm that the Iroquois were coming, had reached Montreal, where there was nothing but horror, and flight and weeping. What would so many poor people have done in their settlements, if merely six hundred Iroquois had made an irruption into the country in its present condition? You form a better opinion than one hundred manufacturers of rhodomontades who are unacquainted with the Iroquois, and reflect not that the country, such as it is, is not in a condition to defend itself. Had I the honor to converse with you somewhat longer than your little leisure allowed me, I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Kaniatorontogouat[1] without having been utterly defeated in the then state of your army, which was rather an hospital than a camp. To attack people within their intrenchments and to fight banditti in the bush, required one thousand men more than you had. Then you could accomplish nothing without having a number of disciplined savages. I gave you already my thoughts, and I believe I told you the truth, and that you deserved the title of "Liberator of the Country," by making peace at a conjuncture when you might have beheld the ruin of the Colony without being able to prevent it. The Senecas had double palisades, stronger than the pickets of the Fort, and the former could not have been forced without great loss. Their plan was to keep only 300 men inside, and with 1,200 others perpetually to harrass you. All the Iroquois were to collect together and fire only at the legs of your people, to master them and to burn them at their leisure; and, after having decimated them by a hundred ambuscades among the foliage and grass, pursue you in your retreat even to Montreal, to spread desolation throughout its vicinity also; and they had prepared for that purpose a quantity of canoes of eighteen men each, which they kept concealed. But let us all speak of this war to thank God that He hath preserved our Governor in the midst of so much sickness, and hath had compassion on Canada, from which he hath averted the scourge of war which would have laid it entirely desolate. The English of Merinlande who have killed three Iroquois, and of which English the Iroquois had killed five, are about to have difficulties with that belligerent nation, which has already killed more than 29 of their men, and has been threatened with war should it continue to insult them. We shall see what the English of that quarter will do.

Garakontie returned to-day from Orange, where he told by a belt of Wampum how you had given peace to the public; also, how Colonel Dongan had urged the Iroquois to secure it by the satisfaction which he advised them to give you. Mr. Dongan left Orange when those who brought the Duke of York's safeguards came to this place; it is supposed that Arnaud's visit here, to prevent the Iroquois going to see you and to get them to hold a Council at Orange, was an intrigue of the Orange merchants, who feared that their trade would be diminished by a conference held with you with arms in your hands; for Mr. Dongan had probably departed from Orange when Arnaud left to come here. After having heard Mr. Dongan exhort them to an arrangement with you, the Iroquois know it was in nowise probable that he had forbidden them, on the eve of a negotiation, to visit you without his permission.

A man named La Croix, in Indian Tegaiatannhara,[2] who answered Garakontié on behalf of the Dutch, said that had you not made peace, knowing that the safeguards of England were on the Iroquois, 800 Englishmen and 1,200 Loups, who are between Merinland and New-York,

[1] Literally, An opening into, or from, a Lake; an inlet or Bay, from *Kaniatare*, a Lake, and *kotontogouan*, to open.

[2] The literal Mohawk translation of the word *Cross*. — Ed.

Abstract of the preceding Memoir of M. de la Barre. 1st October, 1684.

[Omitted, the Memoir being already printed in full.]

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

I address you these lines in advance, deferring an account of all my conduct, the receipt of his Majesty's orders, and the answer to those you were pleased to honor me with, until the return of the ships by which I shall take leave to send you the Captain of my guards to report to you, verbally, what, in writing, would be too long, and to enable me to reply to all the impostures by which it is sought to blacken me in his Majesty's and your estimation. I write now to inform you that our war has not been bloody, and that I concluded with the Senecas a peace, which apparently will be of some durability, and as honorable as possibly can be with Savages.

That Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, has forgotten the orders he had received from the King, his Master, and has pushed matters against us to such an extremity, that the consideration of the affairs of Europe alone retained and prevented me marching against him who fain would assume to be sovereign lord of the whole of North America, south of *(au dessous)* the river Saint Lawrence, and has caused the arms of the Duke of York to be raised in the Iroquois villages (in which they were not every where similarly respected) at a moment when I was only six leagues distant, having traveled nearly two hundred to get there.

As I am arranging all the proofs of these things, to be transmitted, I refer the details to my Captain of the guards, and content myself with informing you that the four companies of marines have safely arrived, and in good condition; that Monsieur de la Salle's people are departing for the Fort of the Illinois where I furnish them the aid you have ordered; and that, until I can send you an exact answer, you may rely on a perfect obedience to all the orders I shall receive from you, which will doubtless insure me, against the falsehoods and calumnies retailed to you to my prejudice, a protection in favor of your most humble and most obedient servant

(S^{d}) LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

Quebec, the 7th October, 1684.

M. de Meulles to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

I thought you would be somewhat impatient to learn the success and result of the war the General had undertaken against the Iroquois, which rendered it necessary for him to call a

part of the people of this Country together and make all necessary preparation, at his Majesty's expense, for that expedition. The troops have been as far as a place called La Famine, thirty leagues beyond Fort Frontenac. The army consisted of nine hundred French and three hundred Savages, and from the Niagara side there was an army of six hundred men, one third of whom were French, and the remainder Outawacs and Hurons, amounting in all to eighteen hundred men.

What Indians there were, evinced the best disposition to fight the Iroquois to the death. Sieur de la Durantaye, who brought the last six hundred men from Missilimakinak, has informed us that he learned from a Miami Chief that more than a thousand Illinois were coming to our aid, on learning that we were about to fight the Iroquois; to such a degree are they their irreconcilable foes. Certainly, never was there remarked a better disposition to fight and conquer them, and purge the country of that nation which will be eternally our enemy. All the French breathed nothing but war, and, though they saw themselves obliged to abandon their families, they consoled themselves with the hope of liberating themselves by one victory from a Nation so odious as the Iroquois, at whose hands they constantly dread ambushes and destruction. But the General did not think proper to push matters any further, and, without any necessity, sent Sieur Lemoyne to the said Iroquois to treat of peace at a time when every one was in good health, and when all necessary provision was made of food, &c., to dare every enterprize; and finally, after various comings and goings on one side and the other, the General concluded peace, such as you will see by the articles I take the liberty to send you, as written by the hand of his Secretary.

This peace, My Lord, has astonished all the officers who had any command in that army, and all who composed it, who have testified so deep a displeasure and so sovereign a contempt for the General's person that they could not prevent themselves evincing it to him. I assure you, My Lord, that had I strayed ever so little from my duty, and not exhibited exteriorly, since his return, the respect I owe his character, the whole world would have risen against him, and would have been guilty of some excess.

The said General excuses himself because of the sick, and even says that the troops lacked food; to which I feel obliged to answer, being certain that he seeks every pretext and has recourse to every expedient to exculpate himself and perhaps to put the blame on me.

'Tis certain that there was a great number of sick among the Militia he took with him to Fort Frontenac, who were in perfect good health on arriving there; but having encamped for a fortnight in Prairies between the woods and a pond, it is not surprising that some fell sick. Again, he made them stay at La Famine in places that were never inhabited, entirely surrounded by swamps, which aggravated the sickness in his army; and had he remained there longer, he would not have saved a man. This has caused all to remark that he did not care; that he had not the least desire to make war; that he made no use of these long sojourns, except to employ them in his negotiations. Had he seriously wished to attack the said Iroquois, he would not have wasted ten or twelve days at Montreal, fourteen or fifteen at Fort Frontenac, and as many at La Famine; he would have remained merely a day or two, and have used the greatest dispatch possible to fight the Iroquois, and not uselessly consumed all his provisions; he would have, indubitably, surprised the said Iroquois, who were not expecting this attack, especially as the greater number of their young men had been at war in the beginning of the spring.

He says he lacked provisions; though that were true, he would be the cause and could not but accuse himself of imprudence, as I had supplied him, generally, with whatever he required

of me, of which the whole Country is a witness; and with a little precaution, or, rather good faith, he would have had everything in abundance. He had determined not to leave until the 15th of August; he departed on the 15th July. That did not prevent me furnishing all he required of me; such as bateaux, canoes, arms, ammunition, and all the provisions he desired. This is so true, that there yet remained at the end of the Island of Montreal, at a place called la Chine, thirty-five thousand weight of flour and five of biscuit, which he found on his return, and which he had requested me to retain for him at Montreal. Had he not halted, and had he been disposed to push into the Iroquois Country, the first convoy of provisions which accompanied him had sufficed; for the greater number of the Militia, unwilling to wait for the King's supplies, had laid in their own private stock, the most part of which they brought back with them, as all the Captains in command will certify. This convoy consisted of eighteen canoes full of biscuit, pork, brandy, and, apparently, other things which I do not precisely know, having been loaded at Montreal whilst I was at Quebec, where I was issuing orders for the provisions that the General had demanded of me, and for saving the harvest of those who had gone on the expedition.

If it had been the General's design to make war, he should not have caused the cargoes of the eighteen canoes I have mentioned to be put into barks thirty leagues from Montreal, above the Rapids, instead of letting the voyage be continued by the canoe men who were paid to go Fort Frontenac, and who had already accomplished the roughest part of the road, and who, without a doubt, would have arrived in three days at the Fort. This was represented to him by all the officers, who stated to him that the barks required wind, which, being contrary, would keep them more than three weeks from arriving, which turned out to be true. Notwithstanding all these reasons, he absolutely insisted that all the said provisions should be put in the barks. Some have assured me that the canoes of said convoy were partly laden with merchandise, and, not being very desirous to let the circumstance be known, that he had caused the barks to precede the canoes, to put the goods secretly into them, and keep the knowledge of the fact from every body. In this way he made use of these canoes to convey that merchandise to the Fort at the King's expense, which has always been his practice for two years, ever pretending certain necessity to transport munitions of war, and making use, by this means, of these conveyances for which the King is made to pay under pretext of keeping the Fort in good order. It is impossible to conceive the quantity of Brandy that he has caused to be conveyed thither during eighteen months, whereof I have had most positive information, and of which I had the honor to advise you in my last.

Others supposed that he had the said provisions put on board those barks in order to obtain time, and, by this address, to negotiate a peace with the Iroquois, as he had sent Sieur Lemoyne to them, who is a very brave man, and who was in despair at all this negotiation, stating openly that they ought to be whipt. All the delays at Montreal, the Fort, and at La Famine, caused the useless consumption of a portion of the supplies, which however did not fail, other convoys having been received from time to time; but they were always wasted, without anything having been done.

After the said General had determined in his own mind on this war, he sent the man named Bourbon, an inhabitant of this country, to Colonel Dongan to advise him that he was obliged to wage war against the Iroquois, requesting him not to afford them any aid; which he confided to me eight days after the departure of the said Bourbon. This obliged me to tell him that I was astonished that he should have thus proceeded; that the Iroquois having

insulted us, and did I intend to fight with and destroy them, I should not have deemed it proper to inform neighbors thereof who have an interest in our destruction, as he afforded thereby an opportunity to Colonel Dongan, who is an Englishman, and consequently our born enemy, to give underhand information of our designs to the Iroquois, and convey secretly to them all that may be necessary for their defence against us. I asked him if he did not perceive that the English would never desire our advantage, and that they would contribute all in their power to destroy us, though at peace as regards France; that they would always be jealous of the Fur trade prosecuted by us in this country, which would make them protect the Iroquois always against us.

This Bourbon negotiation gave Colonel Dongan occasion to use some rhodomontade, as the General has informed me; and assuredly it was that obliged him, having this information, to send an Englishman, who was in the habit of negotiating with the said Indians, to raise the Duke of York's arms among the Onnontagués, which is an Iroquois village, wishing by that act to take the first possession of the country. We have not heard talk of any other movement on the English side, and it is even certain that they will never cause us any apprehension in that quarter, and that they could not prevent us achieving that conquest this year, had the General been willing to fight.

You can hardly believe, My Lord, that the General has alone undertaken the war without having consulted any person, neither officers of the army, nor gentlemen, nor the people of the country who are the most interested, nor any individual whomsoever, except Sieur de la Chesnaye, with whom he acts in concert for the entire destruction and ruin of the country. He has again made peace in this manner without any communication with any of the officers or others of those who were near his person. What seemed a wonder in the country is that one individual, a subject of his Majesty like others, should of his own will make war and peace, without having consulted, or demanded the opinion of any person. His Majesty never acted thus. He has his Council of War, and when he is about to commence hostilities he demands advice of his Council, communicating to them the reasons which he may have to do so, and even causes the publication of manifests throughout the Kingdom, wishing to lay before his people the justice of his undertakings. But the General has treated of peace like a sovereign with the said Iroquois, having employed none of those who were nigh him, and who were acquainted with the Iroquois tongue, except as Interpreters. He dared not consult the officers, being certain that they would all have concluded on war, and but little was necessary to make them select a Chief from among themselves to attack the enemy.

The said general proceeds at the head of a small force to make war against the Iroquois, and far from doing that, he grants them all they ask. His principal design was to attack the Senecas, who instead of showing him any civility, did not even condescend to come and meet him, and gave an insolent answer to those who proposed it to them—if people had any thing to say to them, let them take the trouble to come and see them. There came altogether on this embassy only a certain sycophant who seeks merely a good dinner, and a real buffoon, called among the French la Grande Gueule, accompanied by eight or ten miserable fellows, who fooled the General in a most shameful manner, as you will perceive by the articles of peace I have the honor to send you, and which I doubt not he also will send you. They will assuredly excite your pity. You will see he abandons the Illinois, among whom M. de La Salle is about to establish himself, and who are the occasion of this war, inasmuch as

the Iroquois went to attack them even in Fort Saint Louis, which Sieur de la Salle had erected among them, and of which the General took possession, having ousted and driven away those whom Sieur de La Salle had left in command there, and sent hither de Baugy, his lieutenant of the guards, who is still there.

When he concluded this peace he already had his Majesty's letter eight days in his possession, but so far from conforming to its intentions, he consents to the slaughter of the Illinois, who are our allies, and among whom His Majesty designed to plant a new Colony or some powerful establishment under M. de la Salle's direction.

I consider it also my duty to inform your Lordship that the General left La Famine the moment peace was concluded, without taking the least care of the troops, abandoning them altogether to their own guidance, forbidding them on pain of death to leave the place until a long time after him, fearing to be surprised by the Iroquois, and having (so to say) lost his wits, caring little what became of the army. Certain it is that he went up to the Fort without taking information about any thing, and returned in the same manner.

The worst of this affair is the loss of the trade, which I find inevitable, because the Outawas and other Savages who came to our aid, will hereafter entertain no respect for us, and will regard us as a people without courage and without resolution.

I doubt not, my Lord, but the General sends you a letter which he received from Father Lamberville, the Jesuit, who is a Missionary in an Iroquois village at Onnontagué, whence those Ambassadors came with whom peace was negotiated. The Father, who had learned the General's intentions from Sieur Le Moyne, has been wise and sufficiently discreet, anticipating his design, to write to him in accordance with his views, and to ingeniously solicit that which must flatter and highly please him. But one thing is certain, that all the Jesuits at Quebec, and particularly Father Bechefer, have openly stated there for six weeks that the Country was destroyed if peace were concluded; which is so true that, having communicated to him the two letters I wrote to the General, he highly approved of them and advised me to send them to the Fort. I shall take leave to send you copies of them, requesting you, most humbly, to be persuaded that I speak to you without passion, and that I state nothing to you but what is most true and reliable, and this only because I feel obliged to let you know the truth as regards all things, without which you will never have the least confidence in me.

I should wish, My Lord, to avoid explaining myself in this manner, fearing you might infer that the General and I were greatly disunited, which is quite contrary to the manner in which we live together; since it is certain that we never had, personally, the least difference, wishing in that to conform myself to your desires and his Majesty's orders, aware that it is the most assured means that I can take to be agreeable to you. This is the sole ambition I have in the world, and to prove to you that no person can be, with more profound respect and greater devotedness than I,

My Lord,

Your most humble and
most ob: Servant.

This, My Lord, is only incidentally. I defer informing you of what has occurred in this Country during this year, until the departure of the vessels.

Quebec, the 10th 8ber, 1664. DE MEULLES.

165

11- 8bre 1684.

368.

Capt 14

A Monseigneur.

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

J'ay crû que vous auriez quelque Impatience d'aprendre le Iuccez et L'evenement de la guerre que Monsieur Le General auoit entrepris de faire aux Iroquois, qui l'a obligé de conuoquer vne partie des peuples de ce païs, et faire tous les preparatifs necessaires aux despens de sa Majté pour cette entreprise; Les trouppes ont esté Iusques a un Lieu nommé La Famine qui est a trente Lieües par dela le fort de Frontenac; Larmée estoit composée de neuf cens françois et trois cens Sauuages

Inventaire des armes et munitions

1800 h. du Coté des Francois

et du Coté de Niagara il y auoit un autre Corps darmée de six Cens Hommes dont antrien estoit françois et les deux autres dIroquois et Hurons le tout faisant le nombre de dix sept cens Hommes.

dont six cents h. de Mississiquimenés par le Sieur de la Durantaye — trois Cents Hommes Vinrent a notre Secours —

Cequil y auoit de Sauvages estoit dans une tres grande disposition de combattre les Troquois Iroquesala mort, Les.r de la durantaye qui auoit amené les six cens dernier Hommes de Missilimaquinac nous a raporté quil auoit apris dun chef des Miamis quil venoit plus de mil Illinois a nostre secours apres auoir Sceus que nous allions Combattre les Troquois dautant quils sont leurs ennemis irreconciliables.

Arrivée de Monsieur de la Barre Gouverneur de la Nouvelle France

Il est certain quon nã Jamais veu une plus belle disposition pour les Combattre et vaincre et purger le pais de cette nation qui nous Sera toujours ennemie, Tout cequil y auoit de françois ne respiroient que la guerre, et quoiquils se visent obligés dabandonner leurs familles, ils se consolòient tous dans lespoir de pouuoir se liberer par une victoire dune nation aussy odieuse que celle des Troquois et dont ils craignent infinyment les surprises et de perir par leurs mains. Mais Monsieur Le General na pas jugé apropos de pousser les affaires plus loing, Et Sans aucunne necessité il a enuoyé chez les.d. Troquois les.rs Le Moyne pour traitter de la paix dans un temps ou tout le monde se portoit bien et ou il y auoit toutes les prouisions necessaires comme de viures et autres choses pour oser tout entreprendre, et enfin apres plusieurs allées et venües de part et dautre, Monsieur le General a conclud la paix telle que vous la verrez par les articles que je prens la liberté de vous enuoyer, Lesquels sont escrits de la main de son secretaire.

Arrivée de Monsieur de la Barre pour subir, ou se venger

Cette paix, Monseigneur, a surpris tous les officiers qui auoient le Commandement dans cette armée et tous ceux qui la composoient Lesquels en ont temoigné un si grand desplaisir et un si grand mespris pour la personne de Monsieur le General quils nont pu sempescher de les faire paroistre; je vous asseure Monseigneur que depuis son retour Si je meritois tant soit peu escarté de mon deuoir et que je neusse pas temoigné exterieurement le respect que je dois pour son caractere tout le monde se seroit tous leué contre luy et se seroit porté a quelques extremités.

Indignation et refus de tous entretien de la part de

Mond.sieur Le General se excuse sur les malades et dit mesme

il chante à l'exces que les troupes manquoient de viures a quoy je croy estre obligé de respondre estant certain que j'ay cherché toutes sortes de pretextes et mis tout en usage pour me disculper et peut estre mon attribuer la gloire.

Il est certain que j'ay eu beaucoup de Malades parmy les habitans que j'ay menés avec luy sur ces Lacs au fort frontenac lesquels se portoient tous parfaitement bien en y arrivant, mais les ayant fait camper pendant quinze jours dans des prairies entre des bois et un estang, il ne faut pas s'etonner s'il en est tombé une partie malade; j'ay les a fait encore sejourner à la famine une ou deux Jours dans des Lieux qui n'ont jamais esté habités tous entourés de marecages, ce qui a encore beaucoup contribué aux maladies de son armée, Et s'il y eust demeuré davantage j'en serois pas sauvé un seul, ce qui fait dire a tout le monde que j'avois aucune envie de faire la guerre, n'ayant de ces longs sejours que pour les employer a ses negotiations qu'il a voulu tout de bon faire la guerre aux d. Iroquois, j'en aurois demeuré dix ou douze Jours a Montreal, quatorze ou quinze au fort frontenac et autant a la famine; mais j'en y aurois demeuré qu'un Jour ou deux et aurois esté le plus viste que j'eust pu Combattre les Iroquois et n'aurois point Consommé inutilement tous les vivres, j'eust surpris indubitablement les d. Iroquois qui ne s'attendoient pas a cette guerre, d'autant que la plus part de leur jeunesse avoit esté en guerre au commencement du printemps.

Il dit qu'il a manqué de vivres, quand cela seroit vray j'en serois cause et ne pourroit que s'accuser d'Imprudence, luy ayant fourny generallement tout ce qu'il m'a demandé dont tout le pais est temoin, Et avec un peu de precaution ou plutost de bonne foy j'en eust eu toutes choses en abondance, J'avois resolu de ne partir que au quinze d'aoust et j'en est party au quinze Juillet, cela n'a pas empesché que je ne luy aye trouvé tout ce qu'il m'a demandé comme batteaux, Canots, armes, munitions de guerre et tous les vivres qu'il a souhaittés, ce qui est si vray qu'il y avoit encore au bout de l'Isle de Montreal, dans un Lieu nommé la Chine trente cinq milliers de farines et cinq de biscuit X j'en ne sceus pas arrivé et qu'il eust voulu pousser Jusques dans le pais des Iroquois

qu'il a trouvé a son retour et qu'il m'avoit prié de luy faire venir a Montreal

jl auroit avec du premier convoy deux mil quj s'avoit avec eux la plus grande partie des habitans, sans vouloir s'attendre aux vivres du Roy, en ayant fait provision dans leur particulier, dont la plus part en ont encore rapporté avec eux. Ce que generallement tous les Capitaines qui ont commandés certains, ce convoy connoissoit en dix huit Canots plains de biscuit, Lards, eau de vie et autres choses, en apparences, ne les sachant pas au vray ayant esté chargés a Montreal dans le temps que jes toit a Quebec ou je donnois ordre pour les vivres que Monsieur le General mavoit demandé et pour faire faire la recolte de ceux qui estoient en guerre.

Si le dessein de mond. Sieur le General eust esté de faire la guerre jl n'auroit pas fait mettre la charge des dix huit Canots dont je viens de parler dans des barques qui se sont trouvées a trente Lieües de Montreal au dessus des rapides, au lieu de laisser continüer la route aux Canoteurs qui estoient payés pour aller jusques aud. fort de Frontenac et qui avoient deja fait la moitié du chemin et le plus rude et qui seroient arrivez indubitablement en trois jours au fort ce qui leur fut representé par tous les officiers, leur faisant connoistre qu'il falloit du vent pour les barques, lequel estant contraire les retiendroit peut estre plus de trois semaines sans arriver, ce qui s'est trouvé veritable; Nonobstant toutes ces raisons jl voulut absolument que lon mist lesd. vivres dans les barques, Les assurant que lesd. Canots du Convoy estoient chargés en partie de Marchandises, et que n'estant pas bien aise de donner connoissance a personne jl avoit fait venir lesd. barques au devant des Canots pour les y mettre secretement et en oster la connoissance a tout le monde; par ce moyen jl se servoit de ces Canots pour faire porter de ces marchandises au fort aux despens du Roy ce qu'il a toujours pratiqué depuis deux ans, faignant toujours de certaines necessités de porter des munitions de guerre et se servir par ce moyen de ces voytures qu'il a fait payer au Roy sous pretexte d'entretenir le fort en bon estat, on ne peut pas s'imaginer la quantité d'eau de vie qu'il y a fait porter depuis dix huit mois dont j'ay eu des Connoissances tres certaines et dont j'ay eu l'honneur de vous donner advis par ma derniere.

D'autres ont crû qu'il avoit fait mettre lesd. vivres

A l'occasion de la barque qui coula a fond a montrer la capacité sans fin d'Homas ni deprudence

dans ces Barques pour avoir Lotemps par cette adresse de negocier
la paix avec les Tsoquois, par ce que Leuo avoit envoyé le Sr. Le
Moine qui est un tres brave Homme, et qui estoit au desespoir
de toutes ces Negociations, disant Faultement que falloit les combattre.
Tous ces Sejours de Montreal, du Sort et de la famine ont fait
consommer inutilement une partie des vivres, lesquels nonobstant
cela n'ont point mangé ayant reçu de temps en temps d'autres
convoys qui les consommoient toujours sans rien faire.

Apres que mond. S.r le General eut resolu cette guere dans son
esprit, il envoya le nommé Bourbon habitant de ce pais
au Colonel Dongueine, pour luy donner advis qu'il estoit obligé
d'Entreprendre la guerre contre les Tsoquois en la priant de ne
leuo donner aucun Secours; dont il me fit confidence huit jours
apres le despart dud. Bourbon; ce qui m'obligea de luy dire que
je m'estonnois de ce qu'il avoit fait cette desmarche, et que les
Tsoquois nous ayant offensez, et ayant dessein de les aller
Combattre et les destruire, je n'aurois pas jugé a propos de donner
advis a des voisins qui ont Interest a nostre destruction, Et qu'il
donnoit Lieu par la au Colonel Dongueine qui est Anglois et
par consequent notre ennemy ne de donner la main aux de
nostre dessein aux Tsoquois, et leur faire tenir secretement
tout ce qui leur pourroit estre necessaire pour se defendre contre
nous, je luy demanday s'il ne voyoit pas que les Anglois
ne souhaitteroient jamais Nostre Advantage, et qu'ils
Contribueroient autant qu'ils pourroient a nous destruire, et que
quoique nous fussions en paix du Costé de la France qu'ils
auroient toujours de la Jalousie du commerce des peltories que
nous faisons en ce pais, Ce qui leur feroit toujours proteger les
Tsoquois contre nous.

Le Colonel apres une rodomontade fait planter les armes du Duc d'York chez les Onnontagués

Cette negociation de Bourbon a donné Lieu au Colonel Dongüene
de faire quelque rodomontade a ce que m.dit Monsieur le General,
et c'est asseurement ce qui l'a obligé ayant eu cet avis d'envoyer
un Anglois qu'il a accoutumé de negocier parmy les Sd. Sauvages
pour planter les armes du Duc Dyorque chez les Onnontagués qui
est une Cabane Tsoquoise, voulant par cette action se mettre le
premier en possession du pais, Nous n'avons pas oüy parler d'aucun
autre mouvement du Costé des Anglois; il est mesme certain qu'ils

les nous donneront jamais de quartier de ce costé là, et qui les nepouseient nous empescher de faire cette année dans Conquette si monsieur le General eust voulu combattre.

Elle aures de la peine a croire Monseigneur que Mon.r le General ait luy seul entrepris la guerre sans avoir Consulté personne, ny officiers des trouppes, ny les Gentilshommes, ny les Peuples du Païs qui y sont les plus Interessez, ny aucun particulier tel qui il puisse estre, sinon les s.rs de la Chesnaye auec lequel il s'est determiné pour destruire et ruiner entierement le paiis; Il a encore fait la paix de cette maniere sans l'avoir Communiqué a aucun des officiers ny autres de ceux qui estoient aupres de sa personne, Ce qui a paru un prodige dans le païs, qu'un particulier sujet de sa Maj.té comme les autres de son Estat face la guerre et la paix sans avoir tenu aucun Conseil et avoir demandé l'avis de personne cest, Sa Maj.té n'en a jamais use ainsy. Elle a son Conseil de guerre, et quand elle veult entreprendre elle en demande avis a ceux de son Conseil en leur faisant connoistre les raisons qu'elle peut avoir de la faire Et fait mesme publier des manifestes partout le Royaume, voulant faire connoistre a ses Peuples la Justice de ses Entreprises.

Ne faites Mon.r Le General a mis Souverainement de la paix avec les s.rs Troquois, ne s'estant servy de quelques uns qui estoient auprés de luy et qui sçavoit la langue Troquoise qu'en qualité de Truchemens. Il n'a voit consulter les officiers, estant certain qu'ils auroient tous conclud a la guerre, et il s'en est peu fallu qu'ils n'ayent fait un Cartel entr'eux pour donner sur le nez au Mond.t s.r le General. va a la teste d'un petit corps d'armée pour faire la guerre aux Troquois, et bien loing de cela il leur accorde tout ce qu'ils demandent; il alloit principalement pour attaquer les Sonnontoüans, mais au Lieu de leur faire quelque honnesteté ils ne daignent pas le venir trouver, Et firent response fierement a ceux qui leur en parlerent que si on avoit quelque chose a leur dire qu'on se donnast la peine de les venir trouver, Il n'est venu en tout pour faire cette embassade qu'un certain Parasitte qui ne cherche qu'a faire un bon repas, et un vray bouffon nommé parmy les Francois la grande Gueule, accompagné de huit ou dix miserables, qu'il a joüé Mon.r Le General d'une maniere tout a fait honteuse Ce que vous Connoistrez Clairement par les articles de paix

que jay L'Honneur de vous envoyer, et que je ne doutte point
qu'il vous envoyera pareillement; S'il a vous feront a deurement
pitié, vous verrez qu'il a abandonné les Illinois Chez qui Mons.
de la Salle sera establir et qui sont le sujet de cette guerre
d'autant que les Iroquois les estoient allé attaquer Jusques dans le
fort S.t Louis qu'ce Sr. de la Salle a fait bastir chez eux
et dont Mon.r Le General estoit mis en possession, ayant
dépossédé et Chassé Ceux que led. S.r de la Salle y avoit laissé
pour y commander, Et ou il avoit envoyé le S.r de Baugy son
Lieutenant des gardes qui y est encore a present.
Quand il a fait cette paix il avoit desja receu la lettre de sa
Maj.té il y avoit plus de huit Jours, mais bien loin de se
Conformer a ses Intentions, Il consent que lon tue les d.
Illinois qui sont nos allier, et ou sa Maj.té paroist avoir
Intention de faire vne nouvelle Colonie ou quelque fort
establissement sous la conduitte dud. S.r de la Salle.
Je croy vous devoir encore dire Monseigneur que Monsieur
le General partit de la Famine aussitost que la paix fut
Conclue sans prendre aucun soin des Troupes et les abandonnant
entierement a leur Conduitte, leur faisant deffenses a peine
de la vie de ne partir que long temps apres luy, craignant d'estre
surpris par les Iroquois, et si on le peut dire ayant perdu la
Tramontane, se souciant peu de ce que deviendroit L'armée,
Il est certain qu'il est monté au fort sans s'informer de rien,
et qu'il est descendu de la mesme maniere.
Le Plus grand Malheur de cette affaire est la perte du
Commerce que je trouve j'heuit [illegible] parceque les Outaouacs
qui estoient venus a nostre [illegible] que les autres Sauvages
n'auront a L'avenir aucune [illegible] pour nous, et nous
regarderont comme des gens sans cœur et sans resolution.
Je ne doutte point Monseigneur que M.r Le General ne
vous envoye vne Lettre qu'il a receüe du Pere Lamberville
Jesuitte qui est en mission a Onnontagué dans un village
des Iroquois, d'ou sont venus ces embassadeurs auec lesquels on a
traitté de la paix. Ce Pere qui avoit apris L'Intention de Mons.
Le General par le S.r Le Moine, a esté assez sage et assez
discret, prevoyant son dessein, de luy escrire suivant ses

ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Inclinations et luy faire avec Esprit des prieres qui deussent le
flatter et luy estre infiniment agreables; mais vne chose
qui est certaine c'est que tous les Jesuittes de Quebec et
principalement Le Pere Becheker Superieur a dit hautement
dans Quebec six semaines durant que ce païs estoit perdu si
on faisoit la paix; Ce qui est si vray que luy ayant montré
les deux Lettres que j'ay escrittes a Mon.r Le General, jé les a
extremement aprouuées, et ma conseillé de les Luy enuoyer
au fort. je prendray la liberté de vous en enuoyer les copies
en vous Supliant tres humblement d'estre persuadé que je vous
parle sans passion et que je ne vous dis rien que de tres veritable
et fort sincere, et parceque je me sens obligé de vous faire
Connoistre la verité de toutes choses, sans quoy vous ne deuriez
jamais auoir les moindre confience en moy.

Sentiments du Pere Becheker touchant la guerre

Je voudrois bien Monseigneur me pouuoir dispenser de mexpliquer
de la maniere que je fais; craintes que vous ninferiez de la que nous
soyons dans vne grande desunion Mon.r Le General et moy, ce qui
est bien oppose a la maniere dont Nous viuons ensemble, puisque
est certain que Nous Nauons jamais eu personellement le moindre
different, voulant en cela me conformer a vos desirs, et aux ordres
de sa Maj.te Sçachant que c'est le plus seur moyen que je puisse
prendre pour vous estre agreable qui est la seulle ambition que
jaye au monde, et de vous prouuer que on ne peut estre auec vn
plus profond respect que moy et auec plus de passion.

Il n'a jamais eu de different personnel entre le Gouverneur et moy

Monseigneur.

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant Serviteur.

D. Gualtier

Celluy Monseigneur n'est que par occasion
je remets a vous Informer au desparts des
vaisseaux de ce qui s'est passé en ce païs pendant
cette année

LETTER VII.

Dated at *Monreal Novemb.* 2. 1684.

Deſcribing the Courſe of the River of St. Laurence, *from* Monreal *to the firſt great Lake of* Canada; *with the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Navigation of that River: As alſo Fort* Frontenac, *and the Advantages that accrue from it. Together with a Circumſtantial account of the Expedition of Mr.* de la Barre, *the Governor-General, againſt the* Iroqueſe; *the Speeches he made, the Replies he receiv'd, and the final Accommodation of the difference.*

SIR,

THANK God I have finiſh'd this Campaign, and am now return'd in ſafety to this place. To preſent you with the Hiſtory of our Campaign, be [30] pleas'd to know that in two or three days after the date of my laſt, I imbarqu'd on board of a Canow that was work'd by three expert Canow-Men. Every Canow contain'd two Soldiers; and we all row'd up againſt the Current of the River till we arriv'd at *Saut de St. Louis*, about three Leagues above this Town, which is a little Water-fall, but ſo rapid, that our Watermen were forc'd to ſtand in the water up to their Middle, in order to drag the Canows againſt the Stream for half a quarter of a League.[1]

[1] Sault St. Louis was the name originally given to Lachine Rapids, just above Montreal, by Champlain (1611), apparently in memory of a lad named Louis who

We reimbarqu'd above this Paſs, and row'd about twelve Leagues up the River, and thro' the Lake of St. *Louis*, till we arriv'd at a place call'd the *Caſcades*, where we were forc'd to turn out and carry our Boats and Baggage over-land, about half a quarter of a League. 'Tis true, we might have tow'd our Boats againſt the Stream in this place with ſome labour; but there was a Cataract a little above it, which they call *le Cataracte du Trou*. I had taken up a notion that the only difficulty of ſailing up the River, conſiſted in the trouble of Land-carriage; but when I came to be a Spectator of the matter, I found that the ſtemming of the Currents whether in towing of the Canows, or in ſetting them along with Poles, was equally laborious. About five or ſix Leagues higher we came to the Water-falls call'd *Sauts des Cedres*, and *du Buiſſon*, where we were forc'd to tranſport our Boats five hundred paces over Land. Some Leagues above that, we enter'd the Lake of St. *Francis*, which is ſaid to be twenty Leagues in Circumference; and having croſs'd it, met with as ſtrong Currents as before, particularly at a fall call'd *Long Saut*, where we had recourſe to Land-carriage for half a League. Then

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was drowned at this place. The head of navigation upon the St. Lawrence, Cartier ascended to this point on his second voyage (1535), and explored the region in 1541. The name "Lachine" commemorates the derision excited among the enemies of La Salle; upon his embarkation thither for the West (1669), they said he was headed for China (La Chine), an allusion to the then prevalent notion that in the West might be found a transcontinental waterway which should prove a short-cut to China. The term "La Chine" was equivalent to our "China-town." The Lachine Rapids are the most dangerous on the St. Lawrence, and are now avoided by the Lachine canal, eight and a half miles long, on the northern side. In descending, however, specially-constructed passenger steamers "shoot the rapids," a favorite amusement among the people of Montreal. — ED.

we were forc'd to drag up the Boats againſt the rapid Stream; and after a great deal of fatigue came at laſt to a Paſs call'd *la Galete*, from whence we had but twenty Leagues ſailing to Fort *Frontenac*.[1] This [31] Paſs was the laſt difficulty we had to ſurmount; for above it the water was as ſtill as that of a Pool, and then our Watermen ply'd with their Oars in ſtead of Poles.

The *Maringouins*, which we call *Midges*, are unſufferably troubleſom in all the Countries of *Canada*. We were haunted with ſuch clouds of 'em, that we thought to be eat up; and ſmoaking being the only Artifice that could keep 'em off, the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe: In the Night-time the People ſhelter themſelves from 'em in Bowers or Arbours, made after the following manner. They drive into the Ground Stakes or little branches of Trees, at a certain diſtance one from another, ſo as to form a ſemicircular Figure; in which they put a Quilt and Bedcloaths, covering it above with a large Sheet that falls down to the Ground on all ſides, and ſo hinders the Inſects to enter.

We landed at Fort *Frontenac* after twenty days ſailing; and immediately upon our arrival, Mr. *Duta* our Commander in chief, view'd the Fortifications of the place, and three large Barques that lay at Anchor in the Port.[2] We repair'd the

[1] Lahontan here describes in some detail the passage from Montreal to Lake Ontario. For a similar description in reverse order, with enumeration of the rapids, see Journal of Father Bonnecamps (1749), in *Jesuit Relations*, lxix, pp. 195, 197. The Long Sault of the St. Lawrence is now paralleled by the Cornwall canal. — Ed.

[2] Captain Du Tas (Tartre) was in command of the advance guard sent to convey provisions to Fort Frontenac. See New York *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 234. He

Fortifications in a very little time, and fitted up the three Barques. This Fort was a Square, conſiſting of large Curtains flanked with four little Baſtions; theſe Flanks had but two Battlements, and the Walls were ſo low, that one might eaſily climb upon 'em without a Ladder. After Mr. *de la Salle* concluded the Peace with the *Iroqueſe*, the King beſtow'd upon him and his Heirs the property of this place; but he was ſo negligent, that inſtead of enriching himſelf by the Commerce it might have afforded, he was conſiderably out of pocket upon it.[1] To my mind this Fort is ſituated very advantageouſly for a Trade with the five *Iroqueſe* Nations: For their Villages lye in the Neighbourhood of the *Lake*, upon which they may tranſport their Furs in Canows with more [32] eaſe, than they can carry 'em over-land to New-*York*. In time of War I take it to be indefenſible; for the Cataracts and Currents of the River are ſuch, that fifty *Iroqueſe* may there ſtop

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ſtopped but a brief time in the colony, but again brought reinforcements in 1690, when Frontenac sent him to guard the St. Lawrence. He served in the English Channel in 1692; went to Hudson Bay (1695), and the following year was in the campaign in Acadia.— Ed.

[1] Courcelle had recommended the site of Fort Frontenac (Catarakouy) on his expedition of 1671. His successor, acting upon the suggestion, advanced up the St. Lawrence in 1673, and built the stockade on the present site of Kingston, Ontario. Two years later, La Salle, strongly endorsed by Frontenac, obtained from the court at Versailles a grant of the fort and district as a seigniory. Had La Salle been a mere merchant, he would, as Lahontan suggests, have made his fortune therefrom. Using it merely as the base of Western exploration, he became involved in financial difficulties, and upon the departure of his patron Frontenac it was seized by his enemies, headed by La Barre (1683). Upon the order of the king, it was restored the following year to La Salle's lieutenant. At the outbreak of Frontenac's War (1689), Denonville gave orders for the destruction of this fort; but Frontenac restored it in 1695, and the French maintained it until its capture by the British in 1758.— Ed.

five hundred *French*, without any other Arms but Stones. Do but conſider, Sir, that for twenty Leagues together the River is ſo rapid, that we dare not ſet the Canow four paces off the ſhoar; Beſides, *Canada* being nothing but a Forreſt, as I intimated above, 'tis impoſſible to travel there without falling every foot into Ambuſcades, eſpecially upon the banks of this River, which are lin'd with thick Woods, that render 'em inacceſſible. None but the Savages can skip from Rock to Rock, and ſcour thro' the Thickets, as if 'twere an open Field. If we were capable of ſuch Adventures, we might march five or ſix hundred Men by Land to guard the Canows that carry the Proviſions; but at the ſame time 'tis to be conſider'd, that before they arriv'd at the Fort, they would conſume more Proviſions than the Canows can carry; Not to mention that the *Iroqueſe* would ſtill out-number 'em. As to the particulars relating to the Fort, I ſhall take notice of 'em when I come to give a general deſcription of New-*France*.

While we continued at Fort *Frontenac*, the *Iroqueſe* who live at *Ganeouſſe* and *Quentè*, at the diſtance of ſeven or eight Leagues from thence,[1] threw in upon us Harts, Roe-bucks, Turkeys and Fiſh; in exchange for Needles, Knives, Powder

[1] In 1668 several Cayugas, asking for a missionary, came to Montreal from a new settlement recently made on Quinté Bay, on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The Sulpitians sent out two of their members, who maintained the mission until 1673, when Frontenac granted the Recollects the chaplaincy of his new fort. Hennepin was stationed here, and administered to the mission for several years. See Hennepin, *New Discovery* (Thwaites's ed., Chicago, 1903), pp. 47, 97. The mission was abandoned during the Iroquois disturbances just preceding the outbreak of Frontenac's War (or about 1687).—Ed.

and Ball. Towards the end of *Auguſt* Mr. *de la Barre* joyn'd us; but he was dangerouſly ill of a Feaver, which rag'd in like manner among moſt of his Militia; ſo that only our three Companies were free from Sickneſs. This Feaver was of the intermitting kind; and the convulſive Motions, Tremblings, and frequency of the Pulſe that attended the cold Fit, were ſo violent, that moſt of our ſick Men dy'd in the ſecond or third Fit. Their Blood was [33] of a blackiſh brown colour, and tainted with a ſort of yellowiſh Serum, not unlike *Pus* or corrupt Matter. Mr. *de la Barre's* Phyſician, who in my opinion knew as little of the true cauſes of Feavers as *Hippocrates* or *Galen*, and a hundred thouſand beſides; this mighty Phyſician, I ſay, pretending to trace the cauſe of the Feaver I now ſpeak of, imputed it to the unfavourable qualities of the Air and the Aliment. His plea was, that the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, put the Vapours or Exhalations into an over-rapid Motion; that the Air was ſo over-rarify'd, that we did not ſuck in a ſufficient quantity of it; that the ſmall quantity we did receive was loaded with Inſects and impure Corpuſculum's, which the fatal neceſſity of Reſpiration oblig'd us to ſwallow; and that by this means nature was put into diſorder: He added, that the uſe of Brandy and ſalt Meat ſower'd the Blood, that this ſowerneſs occaſion'd a ſort of Coagulation of the Chyle and Blood, that the Coagulation hindered it to circulate thro' the Heart with a due degree of Celerity; and that thereupon there inſued an extraordinary Fermentation, which is nothing elſe but a Feaver. But after all, to my mind this Gentleman's

Syſteme was too much upon the *Iroqueſe* ſtrain; for at that rate the Diſtemper muſt have ſeiz'd all without diſtinction, whereas neither our Soldiers nor the ſeaſon'd *Canadans* were troubled with it; for it raged only among the Militia, who being unacquainted with the way of ſetting the Boats with Poles, were forc'd at every turn to get into the water and drag 'em up againſt the rapid Stream: Now, the waters of that Country being naturally cold, and the heat being exceſſive, the Blood might thereupon freeze by way of *Antiperiſtaſis*, and ſo occaſion the Feaver I ſpeak of, purſuant to the common Maxim, *Omnis repentina mutatio eſt periculoſa*, i. e. *All ſudden changes are of dangerous Conſequence.*

[34] As ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* recover'd, he imbarqu'd in order to continue his march; tho' he might have eaſily known, that after halting fourteen or fifteen days at that Fort, when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanc'd, he could not pretend to compaſs the end of his Expedition. We row'd Night and Day the Weather being very calm, and in five or ſix days came before the River of *Famine*, where we were forc'd to put in upon the apprehenſion of a Storm.[1] Here we met with a Canow that Mr. *Dulbut* had ſent from *Miſſilimakinac*, with advice, that purſuant to orders he had ingag'd the *Hurons*,

[1] Rivière la Famine was previously identified with Onondaga (Oswego) River, but later investigations have proven that it was Salmon River, Oswego County, N. Y. See N. Y. *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 242. The region was not named for lack of supplies in La Barre's army, but from some previous Indian famine. La Barre encamped on the northwest side of the river, opposite the present Port Ontario. See Hawley, *Early Chapters of Cayuga History* (Auburn, 1879).—Ed.

Outaoua's, and ſome other People, to joyn his Army; in which he had above two hundred braye * Foreſt Rangers. Theſe News were very acceptable to Mr. *de la Barre;* but at the ſame time he was very much perplexed; for I'm perſwaded he repented oftner than once, of his entring upon an Expedition that he foreſaw would prove Succeſsleſs; and to aggravate the danger of his Enterpriſe, the *Iroqueſe* had at that time an opportunity to fall upon us. In fine, after a mature conſideration of the Conſequences, and of the Difficulties that ſtood in the way, he ſent back the Canow to Mr. *Dulhut*, with orders to diſmiſs the Foreſt Rangers and Savages immediately, where ever he was, and by all means to avoid the approaching to his Troops. By good luck Mr. *Dulhut* had not yet reach'd *Niagara*, when he receiv'd theſe Orders; with which the Savages that accompany'd him were ſo diſſatisfied, that they threw out all manner of Invectives againſt the *French* Nation.[1]

* *See* Coureurs de Bois *in the Table.*

As ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* had diſpatch'd this Canow, he

[1] Daniel Greysolon DuLuth (duLhut), "king of coureurs des bois," had been an officer in the French army. Coming to Canada before 1674, he set out four years later on an expedition to the Sioux country, and remained in the Northwest for over twelve years, exploring, trading, and securing the Indians in the French interest. He was so powerful that his services were sought by successive governors. He brought an Indian force to the aid of Denonville in 1687; and in 1694 was fighting the Iroquois under Frontenac. Two years later he was commandant at Fort Frontenac, and died in 1710. See McLennan "Gentlemen of the King's Guard," in *Harper's Magazine*, Sept., 1893; and "Death of DuLuth" in *Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, ix, pp. 39-47. The Huron and Ottawa who composed his party upon the occasion here cited by Lahontan, were from those tribes that had fled from the Iroquois attacks and settled under French protection at Fort Mackinac.— Ed.

ſent Mr. *le Moine* to the Village of the *Onnontagues*, which lay about eighteen Leagues up the River. This Mr. *le Moine* was a Gentleman of *Normandy*, and highly eſteem'd by the *Iroqueſe*, who [35] call'd him *Akoueſſan*, i. e. *the Partridge*.[1] His Orders were, to indeavour by all means to bring along with him ſome of the old ſtanders of that Nation; and accordingly he return'd in a few days, accompany'd with one of their moſt conſiderable Grandees, who had a Train of thirty young Warriours, and was diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of the *Grangula*.[2] As ſoon as he debarqued, Mr. *de la Barre* ſent him a Preſent of Bread and Wine, and of thirty Salmon-Trouts, which they fiſh'd in that place in ſuch plenty, that they brought up a hundred at one caſt of a Net: At the ſame time he gave the Grandee to underſtand, that he congratulated his Arrival, and would be glad to have an Interview with him after he had reſted himſelf for ſome days. You muſt know that he had us'd the precaution of ſending the ſick back to the Colony,

[1] Charles Le Moyne, sieur de Longueuil, was a native of Dieppe, born in 1624. He came to Canada in 1641, and after four years among the Huron with the Jesuits, settled at Montreal. There he acted for many years as interpreter of the colony, and captain of militia. In 1655 he was captured by the Iroquois, who were so impressed by his intrepidity that they adopted him into their tribe, and sent him home unharmed. The value of his services to the colony was so great that he was ennobled by the king (1668). His sons distinguished themselves in the history of the colony; the eldest, first baron of Longueuil, was governor of Canada; Iberville and Bienville were the founders of Louisiana.— Ed.

[2] By this Latinized form Lahontan designates the Iroquois chieftain known by the French as La Grande Gueule (Big Mouth), in allusion to his oratorical ability. His Indian name was Otréouaté, and he belonged to the Onondaga tribe. Although not one of their great chiefs, he was a wily diplomatist, and owed his influence to skill in oratory and powers of dissimulation. For his signature in the totems of his clan, see N. Y. *Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 386.— Ed.

that the *Iroquese* might not perceive the weakneſs of his Forces; and to favour the Stratagem, Mr. *le Moine* repreſented to the *Grangula*, that the Body of the Army was left behind at Fort *Frontenac*, and that the Troops he ſaw in our Camp, were the General's Guards. But unhappily one of the *Iroquese* that had a ſmattering of the *French* Tongue, having ſtroul'd in the Night-time towards our Tents, over-heard what we ſaid, and ſo reveal'd the Secret. Two days after their arrival, the *Grangula* gave notice to Mr. *de la Barre* that he was ready for an Interview; and accordingly an hour being appointed, the whole Company appear'd as the figure repreſents it.

The *Grangula* ſat on the Eaſt ſide, being plac'd at the head of his Men, with his Pipe in his Mouth, and the great *Calumet* of Peace before him. He was very attentive to the following Harangue, pronounc'd by our Interpreters; which you cannot well underſtand, without a previous explication of the *Calumet*, and the *Coliers* that it mentions.

[36] The *Calumet of Peace* is made of certain Stones, or of Marble, whether red, black, or white. The Pipe or Stalk is four or five foot long; the body of the *Calumet* is eight Inches long, and the Mouth or Head in which the Tobacco is lodg'd, is three Inches in length; its figure approaches to that of a Hammer. The red *Calumets* are moſt eſteem'd. The Savages make uſe of 'em for Negotiations and State Affairs, and eſpecially in Voyages; for when they have a *Calumet* in their hand, they go where they will in ſafety. The *Calumet* is trimm'd with yellow, white, and green Feathers,

and has the ſame effect among the Savages, that the Flag of friendſhip has amongſt us; for to violate the Rights of this venerable Pipe, is among them a flaming Crime, that will draw down miſchief upon their Nations.[1] As for the *Coliers*, they are certain ſwathes of two or three Foot in length, and ſix Inches in breadth; being deck'd with little Beads made of a certain ſort of ſhells that they find upon the Sea ſhoar, between New-*York* and *Virginia*. Theſe Beads are round, and as thick as a little Pea; but they are twice as long as a grain of Corn: Their colour is either blew or white; and they are bor'd thro' juſt like Pearl, being run after the ſame manner upon ſtrings that lye ſideways one to another. Without the intervention of theſe *Coliers*, there's no buſineſs to be negotiated with the Savages; for being altogether unacquainted with writing, they make uſe of them for Contracts and Obligations. Sometimes they keep for an Age the *Coliers* that they have receiv'd from their Neighbours; and in regard that every *Colier* has its peculiar Mark, they learn from the old Perſons, the Circumſtances of the time and place in which they were deliver'd; but after that age is over, they are made uſe of for new Treaties.[2]

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[1] On the uses of the calumet, see *Jesuit Relations*, index. The red stone is known as "catlinite," from the artist George Catlin, who was the first to explore and describe the quarries at Pipestone, Minnesota. — Ed.

[2] These "collars" (so called by the French; the English entitled them "belts") were made of wampum, of which Lahontan has here described the primitive type in the form of shells. Later they were made of beads. See *Jesuit Relations*, viii, note 70; also Hale, "Indian Wampum Records" in *Popular Science Monthly*, February, 1897. Belts of wampum were always used in the negotiation of Indian treaties; they were sent with envoys as credentials, preserved by a chief as the ensign of his authority, employed in ransom and atonement for crime, and also as ornament and in place of money. The English term was "wampum"; that of the French, "porcelain." — Ed.

[37] *Mr.* de la Barre's *Harangue, was to this purpoſe.*

'The King, my Maſter, being inform'd that the five 'Iroqueſe Nations have for a long time made infractions 'upon the meaſures of Peace, order'd me to come hither with 'a Guard, and to ſend *Akoueſſan* to the Canton of the *Onno-* 'tagues, in order to an Interview with their principal Leaders, 'in the Neighbourhood of my Camp. This great Monarch 'means, that you and I ſhould ſmoak together in the great 'Calumet of Peace, with the Proviſo, that you ingage in the 'name of the *Tſonnontouans*, *Goyoguans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoyoutes*, 'and *Agnies*, to make reparation to his Subjects, and to be 'guilty of nothing for the future, that may occaſion a fatal 'rupture.

'The *Tſonnontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoyoutes* and 'Agnies, have ſtrip'd, rob'd, and abus'd all the Foreſt-Rangers, 'that travel'd in the way of Trade to the Country of the 'Illineſe, of the *Oumamis*, and of ſeveral other Nations, who 'are my Maſter's Children.[1] Now this uſage being in high 'violation of the Treaties of Peace concluded with my Prede- 'ceſſor, I am commanded to demand Reparation, and at the

[1] According to Parkman, La Barre had brought this about by giving leave to the Iroquois to plunder La Salle's canoes. The Indians had taken advantage of this permission to seize several canoes and employés of the governor himself. See Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 86, 87.

The Illinois Indians, of Algonquian stock, were encountered by the French in the state to which they have given their name. La Salle had founded his colony among them, only to have it raided by the Iroquois. See Hennepin, *New Discovery* (Thwaites's ed.), pp. 337–342. The Miami (Oumamis) were first encountered by white men in Wisconsin. On their migrations see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 41, 99, 117, 285, 361, 398. — Ed.

'ſame time to declare, that in caſe of their refuſal to comply 'with my demands, or of relapſing into the like Robberies, 'War is poſitively proclaim'd.

This Colier *makes my words good.*

'The Warriours of theſe five Nations have introduc'd the '*Engliſh* to the *Lakes*, belonging to the King my Maſter, and 'into the Country of thoſe Nations to whom my Maſter is a 'Father: This they have done with a deſign to ruine the 'Commerce of his Subjects, and to oblige theſe Nations to 'depart from their due Allegiance; notwithſtanding the Re-'monſtrances of the late Governor [38] of New-*York*, who ſaw 'thro the danger that both they and the *Engliſh* expos'd them-'ſelves to. At preſent I am willing to forget thoſe Actions; 'but if ever you be guilty of the like for the future, I have 'expreſs orders to declare War.

This Colier *warrants my Words.*

'The ſame Warriours have made ſeveral barbarous Incur-'ſions upon the Country of the *Illineſe*, and the *Oumamis*. 'They have maſſacred Men, Women, and Children; they 'have took, bound, and carried off an infinite number of the 'Natives of thoſe Countries, who thought themſelves ſecure 'in their Villages in a time of Peace. Theſe People are my 'Maſter's Children, and therefore muſt hereafter ceaſe to be 'your Slaves. I charge you to reſtore 'em to their Liberty, 'and to ſend 'em home without delay; for if the five Nations

'refuſe to comply with this demand, I have expreſs orders to 'declare War.

This Colier *makes my words good.*

'This is all I had to ſay to the *Grangula*, whom I deſire to 'report to the five Nations, this Declaration, that my Maſter 'commanded me to make. He wiſhes they had not oblig'd 'him to ſend a potent Army to the Fort of **Cat-* 'araconuy, in order to carry on a War that will 'prove fatal to them: And he will be very much 'troubled, if it ſo falls out, that this Fort which is a work of 'Peace, muſt be imploy'd for a Priſon to your Militia. Theſe 'miſchiefs ought to be prevented by mutual endeavours: The '*French* who are the Brethren and Friends of the five Nations, 'will never diſturb their Repoſe; provided they make the ſatis- 'faction I now demand, and prove religious obſervers of their 'Treaties. I wiſh my words [39] may produce the deſir'd 'effect; for if they do not, I am oblig'd to joyn the Governor 'of New-*York*, who has orders from the King his Maſter, to 'aſſiſt me to burn the five Villages, and cut you off.

**The* French *call it Fort* Frontenac.

This Colier *confirms my word.*

'While Mr. *de la Barre*'s Interpreter pronounc'd this Harangue, the *Grangula* did nothing but look'd upon the end of his Pipe: After the Speech was finiſh'd he roſe, and having took five or ſix turns in the Ring that the *French* and the Savages made, he return'd to his place, and ſtanding upright

ſpoke after the following manner to the General, who ſat in his Chair of State.

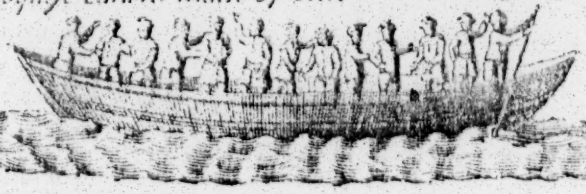
'* *Onnontio*, I honour you, and all the 'Warriors that accompany me do the ſame: 'Your Interpreter has made an end of his 'Diſcourſe, and now I come to begin mine. 'My Voice glides to your Ear, pray liſten to my words.

* *This Title they give to the Governor-General of* Canada.

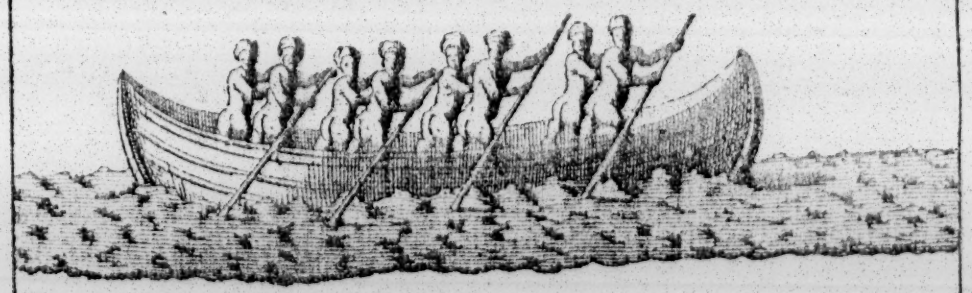
'*Onnontio*, in ſetting out from *Quebec*, you muſt needs have 'fancy'd that the ſcorching Beams of the Sun had burnt down 'the Foreſts which render our Country unacceſſible to the '*French*; or elſe that the Inundations of the Lake had ſur-'rounded our Cottages, and confin'd us as Priſoners. This 'certainly was your thought; and it could be nothing elſe but 'the curioſity of ſeeing a burnt or drown'd Country, that 'mov'd you to undertake a Journey hither. But now you 'have an opportunity of being undeceiv'd, for I and my war-'like Retinue come to aſſure you, that the *Tſonontouans*, *Goyogo-'uans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoyoutes* and *Agnies*, are not yet deſtroy'd. 'I return you thanks in their name, for bringing into their 'Country the *Calumet* of Peace, that your Predeceſſor receiv'd 'from their hands. At the ſame time I congratulate your [40] 'Happineſs, in having left under Ground '* the bloody Axe, that has been ſo often 'dy'd with the blood of the *French*. I muſt 'tell you, *Onnontio*, I am not aſleep, my Eyes are open; and 'the Sun that vouchſafes the light, gives me a clear view of a 'great Captain at the head of a Troop of Soldiers, who ſpeaks 'as if he were aſleep. He pretends that he do's not approach

* *Burying the Axe ſignifies Peace.*

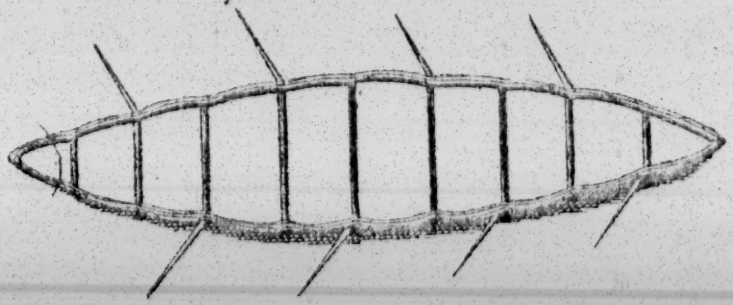
An Iroquese Canow made of Elm



Savages rowing in a great Canow and standing upright



A canow of birch bark with 8 Seats.



An Oar

'to this Lake with any other view, than to ſmoak with the 'Onnotagues in the great *Calumet;* but the *Grangula* knows 'better things, he ſees plainly that the *Onnontio* mean'd to 'knock 'em on the Head, if the *French* Arms had not been ſo 'much weaken'd.

'I perceive that the *Onnontio* raves in a Camp of ſick 'People, whoſe lives the great Spirit has ſav'd by viſiting 'them with Infirmities. Do you hear, *Onnontio*, our Women 'had took up their Clubbs; and the Children and the old 'Men, had viſited your Camp with their Bows and Arrows, 'if our Warlike Men had not ſtop'd and diſarm'd 'em, when '*Akoueſſan* your Ambaſſadour appear'd before my Village. 'But I have done, I'll talk no more of that.

'You muſt know, *Onnontio*, we have robb'd no *French-Men*, 'but thoſe who ſupply'd the *Illineſe* and the *Oumamis* (our 'Enemies) with Fuſees, with Powder, and with Ball: Theſe 'indeed we took care of, becauſe ſuch Arms might have coſt 'us our life. Our Conduct in that point is of a piece with 'that of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the barrels of Brandy that 'are brought to our Cantons, leſt the People getting drunk 'ſhould knock them in the Head. Our Warriours have no 'Beavers to give in exchange for all the Arms they take from 'the *French;* and as for the old ſuperannuated People, they 'do not think of bearing Arms.

[41] *This* Colier *comprehends my word.*

'We have conducted the *Engliſh* to our 'Lakes; in order to traffick with the *Outaouas*, 'and the *Hurons;* juſt as the *Algonkins* con-

* *They pretend to the property of the Lakes.*

'ducted the *French* to our five Cantons, in order to carry on a 'Commerce that the *Engliſh* lay claim to as their Right. We 'are born Freemen, and have no dependance either upon the 'Onnontio or the † *Corlar*.[1] We have a power to 'go where we pleaſe, to conduct who we will 'to the places we reſort to, and to buy and ſell 'where we think fit. If your Allies are your 'Slaves or Children, you may e'en treat 'em as ſuch, and rob 'em of the liberty of entertaining any other Nation but your 'own.

† Corlar *is the Title of the Governor of New*-York.

This Colier *contains my word.*

'We fell upon the *Illineſe* and the *Oumamis*, becauſe they 'cut down the trees of Peace that ſerv'd for limits or bound-'aries to our Frontiers. They came to hunt Beavers upon 'our Lands; and contrary to the cuſtom of all the Savages, 'have carried off whole Stocks, ‖both Male and 'Female. They have ingag'd the *Chaouanons* 'in their intereſt, and entertain'd 'em in their 'Country.[2] They ſupply'd 'em with Fire-Arms, 'after the concerting of ill deſigns againſt us. 'We have done leſs than the *Engliſh* and the

‖ *Among the Savages, 'tis a capital Crime to deſtroy all the Beavers of a Setlement.*

[1] The significance of the word Onontio, by which the Iroquois designated the governor of Canada, was said to be "great" or "beautiful mountain," and to have been a translation of the name of the second governor, Montmagny. Corlaer, the Indian name for the governor of New York, was derived from Van Curler, an early Dutch trader who had much influence among the Mohawk.—Ed.

[2] The Shawnee (French Chaouanon) were an Algonquian tribe, concerning whose migrations and relations there has been considerable controversy. La Salle found them in the Ohio country, where in the eighteenth century they were a terror to the Western settlers of the United States. See *Jesuit Relations*, xlvii, p. 316; lxi, p. 249; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 48, 364; xvii, index.—Ed.

'*French*, who without any right, have uſurp'd the Grounds 'they are now poſſeſs'd of; and of which they have diſlodg'd 'ſeveral Nations, in order to make way for their building of 'Cities, Villages, and Forts.

[42] *This* Colier *contains my word.*

'I give you to know, *Onnontio*, that my Voice is the Voice 'of the five *Iroqueſe* Cantons. This is their Anſwer, pray 'incline your Ear, and liſten to what they repreſent.

'The *Tſonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoyoutes*, and '*Agnies* declare, that they interr'd * the 'Axe at *Cataracouy*, in the preſence of your 'Precedeſſor, in the very center of the Fort; 'and planted the Tree of Peace in the ſame 'place, that it might be carefully preſerv'd; 'that 'twas then ſtipulated, that the Fort ſhould be us'd as a 'place of retreat for Merchants, and not a refuge for Soldiers; 'and that inſtead of Arms and Ammunition, it ſhould be made 'a Receptacle of only Beaver-Skins, and Merchandize Goods. 'Be it known to you, *Onnontio*, that for the future you ought 'to take care, that ſo great a number of Martial-Men as I now 'ſee, being ſhut up in ſo ſmall a Fort, do not ſtifle and choak 'the Tree of Peace. Since it took Root ſo eaſily, it muſt 'needs be of pernicious conſequence to ſtop its growth, and 'hinder it to ſhade both your Country and ours with its 'Leaves. I do aſſure you, in the name of the five Nations, 'that our Warriors ſhall dance the *Calumet* Dance under its

* *Interring the Axe, ſignifies the making of a Peace; and the digging of it up imports a Declaration of War.*

† *This Phraſe ſignifies keeping the Peace.*

'branches; that they ſhall reſt in Tran-
'quility upon their † Matts, and will never
'dig up the Axe to cut down the Tree of
'Peace; till ſuch time as the *Onnontio* and the *Corlar*, do either
'joyntly or ſeparately offer to invade the Country, that the
'great Spirit has diſpos'd of in the favour of our Anceſtors.

[43] *This* Colier *contains my word; and the other comprehends the power granted to me by the five Nations.*

Then the *Grangula* addreſs'd himſelf to Mr. *le Moine*, and ſpoke to this purpoſe.

'*Akoueſſan*, take Heart, you are a Man of Senſe; ſpeak and
'explain my meaning; be ſure you forget nothing, but declare
'all that thy Brethren and thy Friends repreſent to thy chief
'*Onnontio*, by the voice of the *Grangula*, who pays you all
'Honour and Reſpect, and invites you to accept of this Pre-
'ſent of Beavers, and to aſſiſt at his Feaſt immediately.

'This other Preſent of Beavers is ſent by the five Nations
'to the *Onnontio*.

As ſoon as the *Grangula* had done, Mr. *le Moine* and the Jeſuits that were preſent, explain'd his anſwer to Mr. *de la Barre*,[1] who thereupon retir'd to his Tent and ſtorm'd and bluſter'd, till ſome body came and repreſented to him, that, *Iroca Progenies neſcit habere modos*, i. e. *The* Iroqueſe *are always upon extreams.* The *Grangula* danc'd after the *Iroqueſe* manner,

[1] Father Jacques Bruyas was interpreter upon this occasion. See *ante*, p. 56, note 1.—Ed.

by way of prelude to his Entertainment; after which he regal'd ſeveral of the *French*. Two days after he and his Martial-Retinue return'd to their own Country, and our Army ſet out for *Monreal*. As ſoon as the General was on board, together with the few healthy Men that remain'd, the Canows were diſpers'd, for the Militia ſtraggled here and there, and every one made the beſt of his way home. Our three Companies indeed kept together, becauſe all of us, both Officers and Soldiers, were carried in flat-bottom'd Boats, made of Deal on purpoſe for our uſe. However, I could have wiſh'd to have run down the falls and Cataracts [44] in the ſame Canow that brought me up, for every body thought we ſhould have been caſt away at theſe Paſſes, which are full of Eddy's and Rocks; and 'twas never heard before, that ſuch Precipices were paſs'd with Deal Boats either upwards or downwards. But we were forc'd to run all hazards, and had certainly been ſwallow'd up in thoſe Mountains of Water, if we had not oblig'd ſeveral Canows to ſhoot the Cataracts at the head of our Boats, in order to ſhew us the way; at the ſame time we had prepar'd our Soldiers for rowing, and ſhieving upon occaſion. Do but conſider, Sir, that the Currents run as faſt as a Cannon Ball; and that one falſe ſtroak of the Oar, would have run us unavoidably upon the Rocks; for we are oblig'd to ſteer a Zig-zag courſe purſuant to the thread of the Stream, which has fifty windings. The Boats which are loaded are ſometimes loſt in thoſe places. But after all, tho' the riſque we run be very great, yet by way of Com-

penſation, one has the ſatisfaction of running a great way in a little time; for we run from *Galete* to this Town in two days time, notwithſtanding that we croſs'd the two ſtagnating Lakes I took notice of before.

As ſoon as we landed, we receiv'd advice that the *Chevalier de Callieres* was come to ſupply the room of Mr. *Perrot*, the Governor of this place.[1] Mr. *Perrot* has had ſeveral ſcuffles with Mr. *de Frontenac*, and Mr. *de la Barre*; of which you may expect a farther account, when I am better inform'd. All the World blames our General for his bad Succeſs: 'Tis talk'd publickly, that his only deſign was to cover the ſending of ſeveral Canows to traffick with the Savages in thoſe Lakes for Beaver-Skins. The People here are very buſie in wafting over to Court a thouſand Calumnies againſt him; both the Clergy and the Gentlemen of the long Robe, write to his diſadvantage. Tho' after all, the whole charge is [45] falſe; for the poor Man could do no more than he did.[2] Juſt now, I was inform'd that Mr. *Hainaut*, Mr. *Montortier*, and Mr. *Durivau*, three Captains of Ships, are arriv'd at *Quebec*, with a deſign to paſs the Winter there, and to aſſiſt him as Counſellors; and that the

[1] Louis Hector, sieur de Callières-Bonnevue was born in 1646 or 1647, and early adopted the profession of arms. Coming to Canada in 1684 as governor of Montreal, he soon proved himself an important factor in the defense of the colony. He ably seconded the measures of Frontenac, and upon his death (1698) was appointed his successor. He brought Frontenac's war with the Iroquois to a successful issue, and made a peace (1701) with this redoubtable foe. His death occurred in 1703.— Ed.

[2] For La Barre's own account of the expedition, see N. Y. *Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 239-243. The account of his detractors, headed by the intendant Meules, follows, pp. 244-248.— Ed.

laſt of theſe three has brought with him an Independent Company, to be commanded by himſelf.[1]

I ſhall have no opportunity of writing again before the next Spring; for the laſt Ships that are to return for *France* this year, are now ready to ſail.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

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[1] These officers, whose names are given, Desnots, Montortié, and Du Rivau Huet, came out in charge of reinforcements in the autumn of 1684, but were permitted to return the following year. See N. Y. *Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 250; *Canadian Archives*, supplement 1899, pp. 269, 270.—Ed.

Le Mre Chr. de Calliere 9. 9bre 1684.
Gouverneur a Montreal 10. avril 1684.

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Monseigneur

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— Lapreinfait avec les Hurons pour les faire repasser en
Canada dans le Lac H et D N — Les prisonniers
Iroquois allaient les Hurons qui voulaient les posseder —
Estat — Habitation de Quebec de la Cadie des Iroquois —
Iroquois — de l'Isle de Montreal — Fortifications pour la conser-
par 20 années de Navire

Mon premier devoir en arrivant en ce Gouvernement que je tiens de Vous en devoir en faire mes tres humbles remerciemens. Agreez donc S'il vous plaist, Monseigneur que j'y satisfasse par cette lettre, puisque je n'ay pas eté assez heureux pour le pouvoir faire de vive voix avant mon depart de France qui fut durant le temps que vous estiez si glorieusement occupé devant Gennes pour le service du Roy.

J'ay esté parfaitement bien receu icy, Monseigneur sous vos auspices, et avec de grandes demonstrations de joye de tous les habitans, particulierement de Mrs du Seminaire et de Mr Dolier leur Superieur qui est un homme d'un grand merite, et d'une vertu exemplaire aussy que tous les autres Ecclesiastiques de ce Seminaire, avec lesquels j'espere de vivre en une parfaite union, et de satisfaire tous les habitans de l'Isle en y faisant executer ponctuellement les ordres du Roy.

J'ay trouué les troubles du Canada assoupis par l'accommodement que M.r De la Barre a fait auec les Onontagues qui sont une partie des Iroquois Sur la promesse qu'ils ont faite d'obliger les Sonontoüans, autres peuples les principaux, et les plus braues de la nation Iroquoise, de reparer le dommage que ces derniers ont fait aux francois, par le pillage de Sept Canots chargés de Marchandises, mais comme les Sonontoüans ne sont pas entrez dans ce traitté, et que les Onontagué ont declaré a M.r de la Barre que toute la nation Iroquoise se reservoit la faculté de faire la guerre aux Illinois tant qu'il en resteroit un Seul Sur la terre, et que les Illinois sont Sous l'obeissance de S.M. depuis la decouverte de M.r De la Salle, et la construction du fort S.t Louys q.l a basty chez eux, les plus Intelligens de ce pays cy croyent cette paix entre nous et les Iroquois peu assuré, Jusques a ce que qu'on les ait obligez a laisser les Illinois en repos.

On dit icy que les Iroquois sont deja partis pour aller en guerre contre les Illinois et tascher a les exterminer auant l'arriuée de M.r De la Salle qu'ils ont appris qui reuenoit a leur Secours par la grande riuiere, ce qui Seroit une perte considerable pour nous Si ils reussissoient dans leur dessein. les Illinois estant les meilleurs allié que nous ayons parmy les Sauuages, et qui Sur l'auis de la guerre entre nous et les Iroquois, reuoient nostre Secours auec mille guerriers choisis des plus braues d'entre eux: M.r De Tonty qui les Commandoit en l'absence de M.r De la Salle estant reuenu en ce pays par ordre de M.r De la Barre estoit repartÿ depuis pour retourner au fort S.t Louys, mais les glaces l'ont obligé de reuenir, et d'attendre icy le Printemps.

Outre cette mauuaise disposition des Iroquois, Il y a encore a appreheder qu'ils ne Soit fomentée par les Anglois qui temoignent les vouloir proteger comme Sujets estoient dependans de leurs Colonies. Cependant il n'est pas douteux qu'ils ont toujours esté Soumis a la france, depuis les premieres decouuertes de leurs Pays faites par le S.r de Champlain et autres Capitaines francois qui en ont pris possession au nom de nos Roys laquelle n'a jamais esté troublée ny contestée jusqu'icy par les Anglois.

Ces considerations, Monseigneur nous obligent a nous tenir Sur nos gardes, et me font prendre la liberté de vous representer qu'en cas de guerre il Sera necessaire de donner a quelqu'un dans ce pays, la commission d'y commander les troupes et les milices Sous les ordres de Monsieur le Gouuerneur General qui ne peut pas estre partout dans une estenduë de Pays aussy grande qu'est celle de la Nouuelle france, et que

fromeaux icy a la teste des Colonies françoises frontieres des Iroquois et des Anglois de la nouvelle Angleterre et dela nouvelle Yorck qui sont les seuls Ennemis a craindre. Je crois qu'est de mon devoir de vous offrir mes tres humbles Services en cette occasion et de vous supplier de m'employer m'employer en cette guerre, en me faisant l'honneur de m'accorder quelque titre pour y commander les troupes et les milices sous les ordres de M^r le Gouverneur General hors l'estendüe de mon Gouvernement dont le Major suffira pr la garde de l'Isle pendant que nous serons en Campagne vous supplians de croire que je tacheray de vous rendre bon compte de cette guerre et de ce qui sera confié a ma conduitte. Les Services que J'ay rendus depuis 20 ans sans discontinuation durant les glorieuses campagnes de S. M. ayant deu m'acquerir quelque experience ala guerre, plus grande que celle des Officiers de ce pays cy qui ne l'ont pratiquée depuis longtemps

J'apprends, Monseigneur, par une lettre que je recois de M. De la Barre l'arrivée du secours que vous luy avez envoyé avec des Capitaines de Vaisseaux pr les commander. Mais comme ces M^rs ne sont pas apparamment destinez pr sejourner longtemps en ce Pays leur employ les rendant plus propres a servir sur mer que sur terre. Sans parler de la depense qu'ils y feroient a S. M. cela ne m'empeschera pas d'esperer que vous aurez la bonté de me considerer dans cette occasion comme estant l'une de vos creatures la plus devoüée et qui ne souhaitte rien avec plus de passion que de se signaler sous vos ordres pour meriter l'honneur que vous m'avez fait de me choisir. Je me remets a mon frere a vous faire un plus ample detail de ce que se luy mande des affaires de ce pays, et Je Suis avec tout le Zele, le Respect et la reconnoissance que se vous dois

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A Monseigneur

A Montreal en Canada
ce 9e Novemb. 1684

Vostre tres humble, tres obeissant
et tres obligé Serviteur
le Ch^r de Calliere

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

My first duty on arriving in this government, which I derive from you, is to tender you my most humble thanks for it. Please, My Lord, to permit that I make satisfaction therein by this letter, since I was not sufficiently fortunate to be able to do so *vivâ voce* before my departure from France, which occurred whilst you were so gloriously occupied in the King's service before Genoa.

I have been perfectly well received here, My Lord, under your auspices, and with great demonstration of joy by all the inhabitants, particularly by the gentlemen of the Seminary, and by M. Dollier, their Superior, who is a man of great merit and exemplary virtue, as are all the other Clergy of that Seminary, with whom I hope to live in perfect union, and to satisfy all the inhabitants of the Island by causing the King's orders to he punctually executed.

I found the troubles of Canada appeased by the arrangement which M. de la Barre entered into with the Onnontagués, who form a part of the Iroquois, on their promise to oblige the Senecas (another tribe, the principal and bravest of the Iroquois nation) to repair the damage they had done the French by the pillage of seven canoes, freighted with merchandise. But as the said Senecas have not been a party to this treaty, and the Onnontagués have declared to M. de la Barre that the entire Iroquois nation reserved unto itself the power of waging war against the Illinois as long as a single one of them would remain on earth; and inasmuch as the Illinois are under his Majesty's dominion since M. de la Salle's discovery and the construction of Fort Saint Louis, which he built in their country; the most intelligent in these parts believe this peace between us and the Iroquois uncertain, until they be obliged to leave the Illinois undisturbed.

It is reported here that these Iroquois have already departed to attack the Illinois, and to endeavor to exterminate them before the arrival of M. de la Salle, who, they learned, was on his way to their relief by the Grand River. It would be a serious loss to us should they succeed in this design, as the best allies we have among the Indians are the Illinois, who, on hearing of the war between us and the Iroquois, were coming to our aid with a thousand picked Warriors, the bravest that they had. Monsr. de Tonty, who commanded them in M. de la Salle's absence, having returned to this country by M. de la Barre's orders, had started on his way to Fort Saint Louis, but the ice forced him to come back and wait until the spring.

In addition to this bad disposition of the Iroquois, we have further to apprehend that it is fomented by the English, who evince a willingness to protect them as if dependants on their Colonies. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted that they have always been subject to France since the first discoveries made by Sieur de Champlain and other French Captains, who took possession thereof in the name of our Kings, which has never been disturbed or contested up to this time by the English.

These considerations, My Lord, oblige us to be on the alert, and cause me to take the liberty of representing to you that, in case of war, it will be necessary to give some one in the country a commission to command the troops and militia here, under the orders of the Governor General, who cannot be every where in so vast an extent of country as that of New France; and that, finding myself here on the frontiers of the French Colonies bordering on the Iroquois, and of the English of New England and New York, who are the only enemies to be feared, I consider it my duty to offer you my most humble services on this occasion, and to request you

to employ me in this War, by doing me the honor of granting me some title to command the troops and militia, under the Governor General's orders, beyond the limits of my government, as the Major will suffice for the guard of the Island whilst we shall be in the field; beseeching you to believe that I shall endeavor to give you a good account of this War, and of what shall be intrusted to me. The services I have rendered for 20 years, without intermission, in his Majesty's glorious campaigns, entitle me to some experience in war superior to that of the officers of this country, who have not been employed for a long time.

I learn, My Lord, by a letter I received from M. de la Barre, the arrival of the reinforcements you sent him, with some Naval Captains to command them; but as these gentlemen are not apparently destined to remain long in this country, their profession qualifying them rather for sea than for land service, without mentioning the expense they will thereby entail on his Majesty, I am not prevented hoping that you will have the goodness to consider me on this occasion as being one of your most devoted creatures, and one who desires nothing, with greater passion, than to signalize himself under your orders, so as to deserve the honor you have conferred on me by selecting me. I leave to my brother to communicate to you a fuller detail of what I write to him of the affairs of this country, and am, with all due zeal and gratitude,

My lord,

Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged Servant,
The Chev^{r} De Callieres.

Montreal, in Canada,
this 9th Novemb^{r}, 1684.

Memoire au Roy

en reponse de sa depesche du dix.

avril dernier.

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Repondant a la depesche de Votre Majesté du 10e. Avril, je luy diray que la difference du prix des monnoyes de Canada a celles de France, a fait a mon dens la difference de l'estimation des portions Congruës des Curez qu'il a causé la surprise

qu'elle me temoigne, 400 tt monnoye du pays n'en
vallent que 300. monnoye de france, et la grande
Estenduë de terre de chaque Cure obligeant le Curé
pour en faire le service d'avoir un valet et un
Canot d'Ecorce pour pouvoir marcher le long des Riuier
ou led.t Service se doit rendre, a fait que je n'ay pas
crû qu'un Curé pût viure a moins de 400 tt monnoy
de france par an, attendu que la Barique de Vin
vaut icy aumoins par an 75 tt et la toille et Estoffe
le double de ce qu'elle Coute en france, outre que
les terres diminuant de produit tous les jours et le bled
de valeur (qui est le Seul reuenu des Curez) les d.ts Cures
changent chaque annee de prix. Par Exemple
l'année derniere la recolte fut abondante, le bled
valoit cinq f. Sols le minot; Cette année elle a
diminué de plus du Tiers, et le bled ne vaut que 45
le Minot encore n'en trouue-t'on pas le debit. Cela
a fait former a Mons.r Nostre Eues que les difficultez
sur le prix qu'il Souhaitte mettre au prix fixe
des Cures pour les quelles il a demandé les Suplemens
que j'ay Cottez dans mon memoire comme vne
chose fixe et Assurée; laissant le produit des
dixmes comme beaucoup plus incertain. Si Mon
de Meulles Intendant a fait reflexion sur ce Chapitre

auec reay, Nous l'eussions porté encore a quelque diminutio
es j'aurois fait en sorte que les 4000: que V: M[a]:
accorde presentement auroient suffits pour tous les
suplements que lon leur a demandés. J'ay dit que
les terres diminuoient, Cela est si vray que celles qui
ont esté Les premieres defrichées, Sont presque toutes
a present abandonnées, 20. ans de production ayant
usé les terres, Ce qui arriue journellement aux autres,
qui la plus part, Sont ou Sablonneuses ou pleines de
pierres.

Il est vray que Monsr l'Euesque a beaucoup grand attachem
a former les Curez de son seminaire, et peut jnclinat
a se seruir de Religieux pour les Cures, et sur tout
des Recolets, qui de leur Costé n'ont pas la complaisanc
que de bons Religieux Mendians deuroient auoir
pour leur Euesque; Comme par Exemple leur opiniastr
a maintenir le Clocher que V. M. me temoigne
ne pas approuuer, qui est vne miserable bagatelle
et a preferer l'jnterdiction presque generale
de tous ceux de leur ordre en ce pays, a la demolition
de ce miserable ouurage qui ne vaut pas dix Ecus,
dont ils ont preferé la Conseruation a leur retablissem
en toutes leurs fonctions, et a recouurer les bonnes grac
de leur Euesque et a retablir la paix entiere dans

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le Spirituel du pays, auquy il me semble que les
sentimens de Mons.r l'Intendant leurs ont donné coeur
tout a fait contraires aux miens; Mais comme ces choses
ne sont ny de ma fonction ny de mon action Je me
contente d'exhorter tes uns et les autres a la soumission
et au pardon pour les accommoder ensemble, a quoy
j'ay jusques apresent assés mal reussy, ce qui a este
prejudiciable au bien des peuples comme le marque V: M:
qui recevra la reponse des d.ts Recolets par Ecrit que
j'ay souhaittés qu'ils me donnassent aux propres
termes de votre Depesche que je leur ay fait
Signiffier.

Ayant connu dans l'Esprit des Recolets et sur tout du
Pere Exupere a present leur Superieur une grande
repugnance a auoir aucun Egard a ce que je leur ay
leu de la Depesche de V: M: et nulle inclination
a faire la moindre soumission a leur Evesque
je leur ay Envoyé l'extrait de sa depesche afin qu'ils
y missent leurs reponses positives que V: M: trouvera
bon que je luy Envoye, ne voulant pas estre accusé
par ces Peres qui ne paroissent dans un grand
Emportement, et au contraire M.r l'Evesque m'a
promis que moyennant un peu de soumission et
d'obeissance de leur part, il les retabliroit dans

l'Exercice de toutes leurs fonctions, les Employeroit
a toutes les Oeuvres de leurs Ministeres, et les
remettroit absolument dans ses bonnes graces; aquoy
les Recolets ne m'ayant paru aucunem.t disposez
Je Supplie V: o M: de decider une affaire
qui est scandaleuse en soy et prive d'un grand
bien toute la Colonie.

Comme je n'ay encore eu aucunes Nouvelles de
M.rs les Interessez en la peche sedentaire
de l'Acadie, je ne Sçay point quels sont les
sentimens de M.r l'Evesque a cet Egard, il m'a dit
Depuis peu de jours qu'il Enuoyeroit tous les pouvoirs
que le Religieux Picpus que les S.rs Bergier y a
mené luy a demandé, et je ne reconnois aucune
repugnance en luy a ce sujet

Mons.r l'Intendant a refusé positivement de
donner les 3000 tt monnoye de france que V: o M.te
appliquoit pour la dot de deux Religieuses de
l'hopital, disant qu'il n'auoit receu aucun ordre de
sa part, et que ces fonds estant entre ses mains,
il n'en sortiroit pas sans on bien exprés; J'Ecris
mesme ce que dessus de son Consentement que je
luy en ay demandé. Il me paroist qu'il n'est pas
Content, de ce qu'en Consequence de sa lettre je

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Luy parle du fond que V: M: a la bonté de faire
pour les mariages du pays, s'il se doit payer en monoye
de france ou monoye de Canada, comme il a
toujours fait; C'est sur quoy elle sera sçavoir sa
volonté a laquelle je me soumettray avec la
plus Exacte obeissance; je voy bien qu'il ne
souhaitte pas que j'entre en aucune Connoissance
de cause sur les Etats quelle a envoyé dans le pays
je n'en feray que ce qu'il Luy plaira m'en
Exactement ordonner.

J'avois deja eu l'honneur de mander a V: M:
que le feu ayant entierement Consommé tout le
Vieux Magazin avec la meilleure partie de la
Basseville, il restoit entierem: inutile a son service
a quoy je remedios par la Concession que j'avois fait
seul parce que M.r l'Intendant a refusé a M.r
de Mezerets grand Vicaire de M.r l'Evesque
de la Vouloir signer, disant que ce pouvoir mesme
adressé a moy seul par mes Instructions dont je
Luy avois donné la Communication; et ainsy
j'ay fait seul cette Concession a M.r l'Evesque
duquel j'ay retiré pour V: M: Le Terrain qui
servoit a la Batterie qu'il a fallu oster pour n'estre
pas si prés de l'Eglise qu'on va bastir, et ay

menagés de cette terre les fonds d'une Nouuelle batterie sur le bord de l'Eau, en Concedant le reste de lad.e terre des l'anneé derniere aus.r Pachot lun des trois marchands de la Basse Ville, je l'ay obligé a bastir un Magazin par bas pour V: M: pour y retir.er toutes les armes et autres choses a Elle apparten.t hors les poudres pour les quelles j'ay fait accommoder un petit endroit dans l'enceinte du fort ou elles sont a present en seureté. Toutes choses s'executeront quand il luy plaira donner son agrem.t hors la Terrasse de dans le bord de l'Eau qui est en Etat de veccuoir des pieces, si nous auions des affus.

V: M: aura veu par les Depesches que je Luy ay Enuoyées par la barque Exprés le Cinq: Juin ce qui m'a necessité d'entreprendre Contre les Jesuites et de marcher pour ce Lieu, a quoy a beaucoup Contribué la Clameur generale de tous les peuples du pays tant grands que petits, elle Connoistra par le proceZ verbal cy joint que je n'ay point voulu engager les choses qu'a coup seur, Lesquelles voyant la declaration que faisoient les Anglois, tant par les Depesches que par les Enuoyés du Colonel Dongan Gouuerneur de la Nouuelle yorK, je me suis seruy de l'aduantage de ma marcher pour faire une

paix que je Croy qui sera de quelque durée Ce
peuples estant desabusez de la Creance qu'ils auoient
prise que les francois ne pouuoient marcher a eux
dans les pays du Sud a cause de la grande distance
et du grand nombre de portages qu'il faut passer
pour y aller, Cela a dans Cette despense qui me
paroist assez Considerable a V: M: Mais qui
a mon sens en Sauuera bien d'autres al'aduenir
Ce Luy fait Connoistre qu'il faut que le Roy
d'Angleterre Enuoye des ordres precis a ses Gouuerneurs
de la Nouuelle yorck, ou bien qu'elle ordonne qu'on
porte La guerre dans Son pays, Sans quoy il est
presentement jmpossible de reduire les Iroquois qui
auront Cette porte ouuerte pour Leur retraitte dans
Le pays occupé par les Anglois, et Cet secours de
Leurs troupes presque chez eux, au lieu qu'il nous
faudra faire 200 Lieües pour les aller pousser;
J'ay Connu cette guerre Si difficile, Surtout pour
Le transport des viures, armes, et Munitions de guerre
que je ne Comprens pas Comment tous les habitans
du pays ont temoigné La souhaitter auec tant d'impa
tience puisque la guerre qui Se Commencera auec eux
ne peut Se terminer Si promptement, et que l'on ne
peut les reduire qu'en plusieurs années ayant Cet

Retraitte auxy proche que celle qu'ils ont chez les Anglois;
Et que cela ne se peut faire qu'avec un tres grand
corps de troupes et de sauvages et non de milice, et
qu'il est certain que l'on s'Expozera a des
jnvasions journalieres qui troubleront entierement
la seureté du payz.

Les Troupes que V: M: a bien voulu Envoyer
Arrivées et non les Munitions, dont Mr. Arnoul qui
en avoit eu l'adresse ne m'a Envoyé aucun memoire,
Et au lieu des 740 Mousquets que je luy renvoyay
l'année derniere, m'a Envoyé que quelques fusils a
Mr. de Meules Intendant pour les Vendre aux
habitans et en place d'argent comptant qu'il a
tiré des mains du Tresorier de la Marine, Ce qui
fait icy une grande Confusion, dont Mr. l'Intendant
Ecrira plus Amplem.t a V: M: Nous n'avons
aussy receu aucuns affus de Canon a la place de
ceux qu'on ne pût Nous Envoyer l'année derniere,
Et si l'Execution des ordres que V: M: a la bonté
de donner n'est plus Exacte, Nous Courons grand
risques de manquer de toutes choses.

Lors que j'ay fait les presents aux Iroquois
desquels Mr. l'Intendant a veu faire Vachapt, et lesquel
il a Veû donner en sa presence, je n'ay pas crû

ny qúil fallut changer l'vsage ancien, ny qúil doe
en daust Ecrire comme il a fait La Chose s'estant
Entierement faite de Concert auec luy qui en a
bien voulu signer et arrester les Etats qui ne
Consistent pas tous en presents, Mais en despenses
faites qúil m'a fallu rembourcer en mon nom,
et qúil auroit pû facilement acquitter s'il l'auroit eu
agreable; Je me Conformeray entierement aux
sentimens de V: M:, quoy qúil soit impossible
quand pas quelques presents pres lesquels il faut
ramener les Sauuages, que je puisse Conferer
auec M.r L'Intendant qui sera a 200 lieües
de moy, comme il a esté tout Eté. La pratique
ordinaire est que celuy qui passe pour Chef
dans le pays fasse manuellement ces presents aux
Sauuages, C'est pour quoy il faut qúils sortent
de ma main: Du reste je ne desire que de
me Soumettre al'aueugle obeïssance a vos
ordres; C'est sur quoy V: M: peut absolument
Compter.

Mons.r De Callieres est arriué pour Commander
au Montreal, et j'Espere que V: M: sera tres
Contente de luy, ayant beaucoup d'Experience de
prudence, de sagesse, il vous mandera sa
sentim.t

Sentiments sur la Conduite du Sr. Bizard, qu'une Sale
yurongnerie auec des gens du Commun a fort gasté.
Mais peut-estre se Corrigera-t-il par les bons exemples
et le Soin que la resolue d'en prendre M.r de Callieres.

Je m'ingereray peu de donner des ordres au Sr
Serrot pour l'Acadie si c'est en cas de guerre auec
les Anglois; Il a peu d'inclination d'y aller quoy que
je le croye fort neces.re dans l'Etat ou sont des affaires
C'est sur quoy je rendray Compte a V.M: a la fin
de cette depesche.

L'on se Conformera a ce que V.M. daigne ordonner au sujet des
gratifications qu'elle Continue a ses officiers de guerre
je luy feray Connoistre mon Egard en ceux que je croiray
Capables de Servir, Sans aucune faueur ny affectation.
J'auois Escrit a V.M. Majesté qu'il y en auoit vn de mort
et peu de temps apres mes depesches il en mourut encore
vn autre. a l'Egard du s.r Le S.r de Sorel, il a laissé Sa
Veuue Sur vne grande habitation qu'elle fait fort
bien valoir, et ce Seroit vne grande Charité si V.M.
auoit agreable d'ordonner que les fonds des 1683: & 1684
pour feu Son Mary luy fussent payés. J'auois aussy des
Lettres de Survivance pour le Sr. le Magne Capne de Montreal dont
Les Services ont encore esté Signalés et Si Advantageux

cette année pour le pays, que j'ay honte de ne pouvoir
de Votre part en temoigner aucune reconnoissance.
Je renouvelle donc mes instances prés de V: M:
pour quelle fasse mettre le nom dud.t S.r le moyne
a la place de celuy dud.t S.r de Jorel: Et Comme
il est important que le Corps des ces gens Entretenu
dans le service. & maintienne dans ce pays, Je le
Supplie de faire mettre dans ce Nomb.re le Sieur
de Beccancourt Villebon cy devant Cap.ne de dragon
pour vre. Service, qui en a rendu de trez grands
cette année, qui est brave Soldat, entend bien le
metier pour remplir celle dud.t Carion mort en
jan.er der.r V: M: aura cy joint l'Etat de ceux
quelle a fait payer, ou j'adjoutray l'Etat de leur
personne, Leur Age, et leur Capacité au Metier.
Le moyen de me donner plus d'autorité parmy eux
est quelle leur fasse Connoistre quelle a quelque
Consideration pour mes prieres.

V: M: Sçaura s'il luy plaist pour passer cette année
d'un Magazin a Montreal qui est l'entrepot de
toutes la teste du pays. et ou il est bien plus neces
qu'a Quebec, Je croy que Mr. de Maulles ayant
changé d'avis Luy fera Sçavoir, et que Mons.r de
Callieres Luy en marquera le besoin. Le Loüage

n.ry

rien de pas fort considerable, puis qu'il n'en est que de cinq. Cette
monnoye de France pas an. Il devroit necessre d'auoir un Corps
de garde a l'ancienne, ou la meilleure partie des troupes que
V. M. nomma en cet pays y sera toujours residente, qu'il est bon
d'exercer a la guerre et d'accoustumer aux gardes et
fatigues afin de les former et mettre en Etat de rendre
un bon Service.

Les 4 Comp.ies qu'il a plu a S.M. nous Envoyer sont tres
bien armées et Dun beaucoup meilleur Etat que celles
de l'année der.re On unira les deux Cadets de Concert
pour Leur Entretien et payement ainsy qu'elle prescrit
Mais il est a craindre que M.r a present Intendant de
Rochefort ne soit entré dans le detail de l'Envoy de
l'argent que S.M. auoit ordonné au Treso.r de la
Marine de faire toucher en Espece icy; nous ayant
Envoyé des papiers tres Marchandises, au lieu de
Deniers, sans auoir armé aucun des Soldats des
4 Comp.ies ce fait seulem.t pour les fusils propres
pour les Enfans pour deux Compagnies: Mais
comme les Choses regardent plus le Ministere de
M.r l'Intendant que tout autre, je me reuets a ce qu'il
aura Lhonneur de vous escrire, marquant seulement
a V. M. qu'il ne faut plus Envoyer de Soldats en
Nature pour les troupes, celles de ce pays estant moitié

meilleur marché que celui de France, en estant bien plus
Commode de faire nourrir les Soldats de celle qui croit
en ces quartiers que d'estre obligé d'en faire voiturer
cy pres et auoir vn Boulanger attaché en chacun des
lieux ou les Troupes sont logées. Le besoin ou estoit
d'argent Comptant Mons. L'Intendant a l'arrivée
de celles qui nous sont venuës de votre part, l'a
obligé de les vendre a des Vaisseaux qui s'en alloient
aux Isles, ou nous en Enuoyerons dorenauant vne
plus grande quantité d'icy, il a bien voulu prendre
mon droit sur les Sujets

J'espere executer ce que V. M. m'ordonne
sur le Sujet de la Preuosté des Mareschaux
Et quand Le Preuost ne pourra se transporter
a Montreal, j'y feray marcher le Lieutenant
qui pourra y subsister par le doubler de ses gages
d'un archer qui est la somme de 400 tt
Mesmoyes de ce payer par an quelle a la bonté
de luy accorder, ce qui luy plaira luy Continuer
sur l'Etat des Charges Indispensables

J'espere que l'année prochaine lorsque les
flottes que nous apportées du payes des Iroquois
qui Contribuent fort a les nourrir ne seront
personnes encore Cessés, Le Recouvrement
sera

sera augmenté par le Nombre des Enfans dont la plus part des familles sont bien pourveuës icy, et qui me fait preuoir une grande augmentation dans la suitte a cette Colonie.

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F. Le desordre qui s'estoit glissé dans les temps passez chez les Outaouäx et autres peuples pour les quels on donne des Congez de Träitte, m'auoit obligé d'y Enuoyer Mons.r de la Durantaye comm.e vn homme sage pour y faire observer les Ordres qui sont donnés par V.e M.té: hors cela, tous les Congez de Traitte que j'ay donnés ont esté visez par Mons.r de Meulles Vre. Intendant, à l'Exception de quelques petits ordres qui ont esté donnés en Consideration de la Guerre, pour porter ou des ordres importans, ou de munitions de guerre dans le besoin; Mais ceux qui s'en sont trouvés porteurs n'ont eu qu'une permission de traitte Extremement limittés de peu de marchandises pour ne les pas rendre Communes dans le pays, et pouuoir seulement rembourcer leurs dépenses, attendu que je n'ay aucun fonds pour faire faire de pareils Voyages auxquels on est bien necessité quand il faut donner des ordres prompts sur les lieux dans des temps de Guerre ou en cas qu'il y suruienne quelque desordre comme il est arriué ce printemps dont Vo.re pourez voir la verité par l'Extrait de la lettre, cy joinct. Lors que j'ay

Congez de traittes; puis qu'ils n'audient point lieu d'en faire,
et en tres petitte quantité pour fournir a leurs Depenses;
et c'est ceux-la sur les quels on a pris plaisir de Commenter
et leur donner de fausses Explications; Mais comme la
paix est faite, ces occasions Cesseront, et les Congez seront
reduits suivant l'intention de V: M: que j'ay donné a m.r de Callieres
qui sera Connoistre
sur cela combien j'y feray regulier.

Celle que V: M: a eu la bonté de faire Expedier
dans la forme Conuenable pour Empescher la desertion
des françois a orange auoit eu son Effet par sa
depesche du 5.e aoust de l'année der.re delaquelle ayant
fait connoistre et publier a Montreal, l'article
qu'elle auoit eu la bonté de m'en Ecrire, Elle a fait
vn tel Effet qu'il n'en a deserté aucun cette année,
ainsy j'espere qu'auec vn peu d'applications et d'attention
on Empeschera a l'aduenir absolument

C'est vne Estrange hardiesse que la fausseté
que le sieur de la Salle a eue de debiter a V: M: que
je l'auois depoüillé de son fort frontenac et que j'y
auois tout ruyné et destruit, puis qu'elle Connoistra
par le placet Ecrit et signé de sa main que j'enuoye
a V: M: que c'est a son instante priere que j'y ay
Enuoyé Le s.r Berter premier Cergent de la garnison

de vostre Chateau de Quebec qui y est entré apres en auoir fait vn bon Inuentaire, et y a tenû toutes choses en bon Etat ; Que le fort estant tout ouuert lors qu'il y est entré, il le rend au Sr de la Forest Major d'icelui bien Clos du Costé du Leuant de deux redoutes de pierres que l'on y a fait bastir, et de trois Courtines de tres grands pieux a quoy il a esté employé plus de 2000. journées d'hommes ; Que l'on y a dejouté vne grande boulangerie et vn four tres grand ; Qu'a l'Egard de la Riuiere et du Lac, on y a fait faire deux barques neuues qui vallent au moins dix mil liures les deux ; Jy ay laissé les bestiaux en tres bon Etat et en tres grand Nombre, et j'espere le iustifier par le procez verbal de Reception dud. Sr de la Forest qui y est allé, que je croy receuoir auant le depart des Vaisseaux. Je serois bien malheureux si j'estois Capable de Commettre de choses pareilles a cette accusation, et je resterois inconsolable si V. M. n'auoit bien voulu me temoigner qu'elle ne la pû Croire. Sa Pauureté luy doit faire Connoistre que tout ce que mes Ennemis ont Iniurieusement debité Contre moy est de mesme qualité, Et qu'il est Bien Cruel qu'ils soient Ecoutez sans aucunes preuues.

Ce qui se passa au mois d'Aoust de l'année derniere

Montreal dans le grand Conseil tenu avec les Iroquois dans
l'Eglise Neuve dud.t lieu a este Rpublié, et Rt autentique
estant Escrit de la main du R.d P. Brias Jesuitte Superieur
de la mission du Saulx, que tout le pays est temoin que je
n'ay jamais parlé de declarer led.t S.r de la Salle Ennemy
de la patrie, ny jmité les Iroquois a le Considerer comme
tel, Lesquels m'en ayant fait de grandes plaintes,
Je leur ay dit que le Roy aprés le temps de sa Decouverte
Expiré Le vouloit revoir en France; que j'y Envoyois
vn Gentilhomme de ma part, et que je Leur donnois
vn Collier de pourcelaine pour ne faire plus aucun
mal a tous les françois quels qu'ils puissent estre;
Revoquant par ce present Ordre que leur avois donné
Mons.r Le Comte de Frontenac mon predecesseur
de piller tous les françois qui ne seroient pas porteurs
de son Cachet; Ne Croyant pas qu'il soit Neces.re
de plus grandes preuves a V.re M.té de cette Verité
Constante; Je ne luy Envoye pas cet Acte qui est
tres Long, et dont l'Original est entre les mains des
R.R. P.P. Jesuittes pour ma Seureté.

Comme j'Envoye Exprés a V.re M.té le S.r Dorvilliers
mon Cap.ne des Gardes pour luy rendre Compte de ce
qui s'est passé a nostre pretendue Expedition de
Guerre, et de la qualité du pays des Saimontanans

qu'il auoit esté Expres Reconnoistre des le petit print
Il l'Informera aussy de la Conduitte du Colonel
Dongan Gouuerneur de la Nouuelle york) à nostre Egard
et de la Difference qu'il y a eu entre ses paroles
et Sa Conduitte a l'Egard des Iroquois, et sur tout
des Sonnontouäns, ausquels il a Enuoyé offrir 400
cheuaux et autant de fantassins de Secours, aumes
temps qu'il a fait planter les armes du Duc D'york
dans Leurs Bourgs, et que dans le moment il a
depesché Lepr. arnault son Enuoyé aux Onnontagues
Oneiouts, et Diogoins pour leur faire Deffenses
Expresses d'entrer en aucun traitté ny Conference
auec moy Sans Ses ordres précis Comme Sujets du
Duc D'yorK dependans de luy et de Son Gouuernem
Ce qui ayant fait vn tres grand bruit parmy les d.
Sauuages, les auroit hastez de venir Conclure
Leur traitté auec moy, ainsy que V. M. pourra
Voir par mon procez Verbal et par la Lettre
du R. P. des Lanberuille du 29e. aoust dernier.
Desorte qu'il ne me reste plus qu'a attendre sa
decision comme j'endois agir auec led. Colonel,
Surquoy il luy plaira de m'Enuoyer ses ordres Sans
lesquels je Souffriray tout, et auec lesquels je pourr
Sans grander depenses ny risques faire parler en
autre

autre Lange a ce Colonel

La permission que j'ay donnée au S.r Dulhut n'estant point Exclusive ne fera tort a aucun françois qui au contraire trouveront plus facilement a traiter leurs Marchandises dans le Lac d'alemeniigon quand ils y auront un azile Et que les Sauvages y seront arrestez, que quand il leur sera libre de descendre a la baye d'hudson. Je n'ay rien fait a cet Egard qu'en Consequence de la lettre de V.re M.te du 5.e aoust 1683. Par laquelle elle me marque. Je vous recommande d'Empescher autant qu'il vous sera possible que les Anglois ne s'Establissent dans la baye d'hudson, dont on a pris possession en mon nom il y a plusieurs années. Elle Connoistra l'année prochaine Si cette pensée qu'elle a eu agreable d'approuver sera utile au bien de la Colonie ou non. Ceux qui ont Ecrit a V.re M.te sur ce Sujet, Comme ils ne l'ont fait que contre la Verité et par chagrin, M'auront garde cette année de luy faire Sçauoir qu'il n'est venu de pelleteries au Montreal que soixante et dix Canots que j'ay fait destourner du Chemin des Anglois de la baye d'hudson par le Lac des Tabitibis par les S.rs de Saint Germain et Argenteuil par la Riviere

de la Riuiere de Matanoüan dont j'Enuoye vne Carte a Mons.r le Marquis de Seignelay qui la peravoit a V. M.té

J'Ecriuis l'annee derniere a V. M.té l'Entreprise que la Comp.e qui s'est formée icy pour la riuiere de Nelson faisoit, et Comme elle se disposoit d'y Enuoyer vn petit Nauire et vne Barque, Ce qui a esté fait dez le mois de juin. J'ay mesme Enuoyé par terre a l'habitatation qu'elle y a faite par les 57 degrez dont je pourrois auoir response cette annee; Mais comme j'ay appris que les anglois ayant debauché Radisson de Votre Seruice L'y ont Enuoyé auec deux Nauires et des forces Considerab. Je croy que l'affaire se terminera par les armes, et que si les Vaiss.x anglois y arriuent auant eux la Colonie Françoise est destruite. Comme je n'ay aucun Commerce auec les gens qui Commandent dans cette Baye dont l'heureux Succés des années dernieres dans la traitte a esté Considerable et aura bien augmenté la pesche, il me seroit difficile de leur faire des propositions a Leur

suj.t

Sujets, outre que la saison est trop auancée pour
songer a y Enuoyer
On m'impose peine a V. M. Lorsque l'on
luy dit que je vendois des ord.ces Contraires a la
perception de ses droits. Je n'ignore point que ce
ne soit La fonction de Mons.r L'Intendant de
Juger et Ordonner de la Leuée de ceux Etablis:
La Question ne roule entre les Commis de ce
Premier et moy, que de sçauoir si leurs maitres
en pouuoient Etablir de Nouueaux, de Nouueaux
Commis et Bureaux sans ses ordres, sur quoy ils ont
encore des procez contre plusieurs de ses sujets
aqui ils n'obmettent aucune Vexation a faire
pardeuant M.r L'Intendant qui s'est déterminé
a ma priere de les en tiberer par son ordonnance
finale et decisiue. Je n'ay pas a Appel de Connoiss.ce
de ce qui est deub a la Charge d'Intendant que
j'ay eu l'honneur d'Exercer autre fois po.r le seruice
de V. M. en diuerses prouinces de son Royaume
pendant dix ans, que je Veuille agir contre mon
Experience; s'il m'en Luy Changeant le fait
L'on me rend Coupable de ce crime quoy je n'ay point
manqué; Toute la question se terminant a voir
a Etablir sans vos ordres, au lieu que l'on veut luy

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Sire. Croire que c'est Contre les droits Etablis
que j'ay ordonné
Ces sortes de plaintes Sont venuës de la part des
Commis des ancien fermiers d'icy, lesquels m'ont traitté
avec tant de mépris et d'indignité, que cela a
osté' une partie de l'autorité du Gouvernement
Ils ont affecté de ne me rien demander, et toute
les ordres qu'il a plû a V. M. m'adresser, Leur
ont fait publier sans m'en donner aduis, ny aucun
m'on attaché dans les lieux ou ils sçavoient que je
devois passer au retour de mon Expedition de
guerre; Mais je souffre jusques a ses ordres
précis.

J'ay fait assembler les principaux du payis
Sur les trois questions que V. M. m'a ordonné
d'agiter avec eux; dont ont esté' d'avis
Communs decidés sans contredit.

La premiere que dans la pauureté' ou est le payis
dans la diminution journaliere des biens de fonds
des Terres, il estoit impossible d'Etablir La ferme
de V. M. sur autre chose que sur ce, sur quoy
elle l'a esté', qui est le droit sur les Castors et origineaux
d'Entrée des vins, Eaudevies, et Tabac en prisans
Subsister pour quelque pan de cela de la Traitte

De

de Tadoussac qui s'en va ruinée par la grande mortalité des Sauvages de ces quartiers, et parce que les pays du Nord où elles se font sont presque absolument dépeuplez d'Originaux et de Castors.

La raison la plus forte qui a rendu cet advis universel est qu'il faut que le bien Liquide du pays en porte les Charges; que les Seules pelleteries peuvent estre Estimées Liquides, puis que les Immeubles y sont de Nulle Valeur.

Sur la seconde, il s'est trouvé assez de gens qui ont crû avoir la force de soutenir le payement du prix de la ferme; Mais comme ils ont jugé qu'il falloit pourvoir en mesme temps à la seureté des Lettres de Change qui seroient données pour le payement des Castors icy; ils ont resolus de deputer deux d'entr'eux vers V. M: pour recevoir d'Elle les dernieres resolutions, en prenant quelque ayde et Concert avec quelques Negocians de Paris, leurs amis et Correspondans, Establir, tant la seureté des Cautions qu'elle desire d'eux, que celle du montant des Lettres de Change qu'on pourra tirer le prix de la vente des Castors de chaque année; Et ont deputé pour ces Effets les Sieurs de Comporté Vôtre Prevost des Mareschaux de ce

payé homme de bien et d'approbation dans le publ
et de homme l'un des leurs bons Negocians qu'ils
ont chargez de leurs pouvoirs et procurations
aus quels j'ay donné passeport pour se rendre a
votre suitte.

Ce seroit un grand bien pour le payé et la
Colonie, si V: M: pouvoit trouver les adventages
a remettre la ferme entre les mains de gens du
payé qui en feroient la levée avec bien moins
de frais que les Estrangers, et qui y trouveroient la
douceur d'Employer ceux de leurs familles a la
perception des droits a laquelle il faut que des
gens de france viennent travailler avec beaucoup d
durete, et de chagrin pour ceux du payis.

La difficulté sur les bornes de la Traitte de Tadoussa
cesseroit, et chacun travailleroit avec etablissem
des peches de saumon, Mouruë, et loup marin
sur leurs habitations en toute liberté des quelles
dep end fort celuy du payé, au moins celuy dub
de la Riviere, et l'on s'efforceroit a pousser du Co
du sud le Commerce avec les sauvages de Gaspé
de la Riviere S.t jean et de Lentagouët, qui
transfereroient volontiers leurs domiciles sur le
bords du fleuve de S.t Laurent, ou ils sont tous
lie

l'été D'l'automne les d.s peschés dont ils subsistent.

Et quant a la d.re, persone n'a sceu asseurer a Conclure que la trop grande pauureté du pays en l'Etat present doit faire fermer les yeux a toute Consideration qui pourroit Causer l'augmention du prix des Castors, n'estant ny prudent ny Conuenable a la raison de s'Exposer a une perte presque Certaine pour l'Esperance d'un bien tres jncertain: ainsy l'aduis general a esté; que quoy que La Liberté fut a souhaitter, il n'estoit pas juste de Courir Le risque de son Succés pour perdre l'assurance de ses deniers, et se repaistre de la seule Esperance de voir Croistre Le prix des Castors; Et qu'ainsy, ils auoient a souhaitter de la Continuation de sa Ste qu'elle Continuât toujours L'Establissement fait du payem.t des Castors en lettres de Change en ce payis sur france, jusques a ce qu'elle eut agreable de repondre aux propositions des Deputez qu'ils luy Enuoyent cette annee sur le sujet de la ferme; Outre que si un Changem.t de cette Consequence estoit a Establir, il seroit dans l'année d'une bonne

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ex ample Traitte, Et non dans une miserable
Comme celle-cy, ou elle n'a pas esté au tiers
des années precedentes.

Le manque de Bastimens propres pour
porter M.r Perrot a l'Acadie cette année, Et les
Nouvelles que Nous en auons eües que les S.rs Bergier
s'y estoit Brouillés avec les Anglois, l'ont determiné
de repasser en France pour prendre les ordres
de V: M: pour sa Conduitte, Sur laquelle je
Suis persuadé comme luy qu'il est bon qu'il
s'explique en personne avec Elle, Et qu'il Luy
fasse Connoistre la difference qu'il y a entre ce
que fait Led.t S.r Bergier Sur les Lieux, Et ce
qu'il a promis de faire en partant de france
Dequoy V: M: trouvera bon que je me remette
a luy, mieux instruit que moy de ce petit d'Etat
Et Sur lequel il se pourra encore Eclaircir par
a l'isle percée.

Nous auons depuis dix jours eu Nouvelle de l'arrivée
del'Emerillon a 8 lieües d'icy S.r de la Clocheterie
qui le monte ne l'ayant jamais voulu amener devant
cette ville quoy que j'aye pû.t Et que je luy aye
Envoyé les plus habiles Cap.nes Et pilotes qui soient dans
le payse qui se sont trouvés en rade. Il a debarqué

m.rs

Mrs. de Montortié, des nos et du Rivau, [illegible] les trois Cmp
qu'il auoit dans son bord, dont il est mort quelques
soldats faute de bon traittemt. De qui n'est point arriué
dans les Nauires marchands; pour toutes les depescher
Mr Arnoult en ayant Chargé Le Capne de la Barque
que j'auois Enuoyée, nous n'en auons aucune Nouuelle
plus que de Thirondelle.

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Depuis ce que dessus Ecrit, les Recolets ayant
Solidemt. Songé a ce a quoy ils s'Exposoient de se brouiller
entieremt. auec Mr. l'Euesque sur le Sujet de ce mizerable
Clocher au préjudice des Ordres de V.M.: me sont
Venus trouuer, m'assurant qu'ils en feroient un
Sacrifice d'Obeissce a ce que desireroit led.S. Euesque,
qui de son Costé les ayant tres-bien receus, l'on a
reciproquemt. trauaillé a un accommodement gnal
qui les remet en Etat d'assister le payse de tout le
Secours Spirituel qu'ils sont Capables de luy donner;
Ainsy nous aurons la joye de voir la paix dans
l'Eglise, Et que l'obeissance estant restablie chacun
trauaille a Secourir son prochain.

Il me reste a demander a S.M. ses ordres al'Egard des
anglois, tant pour Ceux de la Nouuelle yorck, que ceux
Establis a la baye d'Hudson, je Crainte qu'ils n'ayent
attaqué les françois postez l'année dernre au Golphe

de Melon, Et que Raison que j'apprens estre a
leur teste n'ayent opposés la force & la violence
a la justice de leur Cause, dont V:. M:. sera
Informée, Si je dois opposer la force a la force,
Et par la terre Entreprendre contre Ceux qui
auroient fait quelqu'outrage a vos Sujets par
Lamer, C'est sur quoy elle aura agreable de
me donner des ordres précis et decisifs Sur
les quels je Conformeray ma Conduitte en mes
actions.

Le Chevr de la Barre

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Quebec le 13e Novembre 1684

Extract of the Summary of Letters from Canada.

M. de la Barre. 13 and 14 9ber

Sends a statement of what occurred in the voyage against the Iroquois.

Did not wish to compromise matters except on a certainty.

Took advantage of his march to conclude a peace which he considers permanent.

It is impossible to reduce the Iroquois unless the King of England send specific orders to his Governors of New York not to succor nor receive them; or unless the King order the war to be carried into his country.

This war cannot terminate for several years, the English having a very large force of regulars and Indians and not of militia.[1]

The English Governor offered the Senecas 400 horses and 400 infantry.

Has had the Duke of York's arms raised in the Villages.

Has forbidden the entering into any conference with him, La Barre.

That tended to make the Indians negotiate.

Pretends, also, that the entire country South West of the River Saint Lawrence belongs to his master.

Includes thereby the entire Iroquois country, that of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan.

The Colony has need of repose to get out the furs detained among the Outawas by the war.

To undertake the war, considerable supplies will be required at Fort Frontenac, and a great deal of time to convey them thither.

Does not imagine that it can be thought of for the year 1685. Has resolved to go up this spring to the said fort, to proceed by Lake Ontario to reconnoitre the Iroquois and to arrange every thing for the execution of the orders which the King will send.

In order to prosecute the war with success, what regards the English must be decided, and good soldiers and experienced officers sent.

Regarding the Iroquois presents: They have been purchased and distributed in presence of the Intendant, and therein he followed the custom, which is, that he who passes for Chief give these presents with his own hands.

Is but little satisfied with the levies made at Rochefort.

II. Fort Frontenac.

Did not despoil de la Salle of Fort Frontenac. By his permission, and at his request he put there a sergeant of the garrison of Quebec, who took an inventory of every thing.

Said Fort was then all open and was restored to la Forêt in good order, with two redoubts faced and three curtains, two barks which cost 12^{m} ll, and a large number of cattle.

Sends, as proof, a certificate written by a Jesuit of the Sault Mission.

Should La Salle's discovery succeed, Canada and the customs from the beaver will be ruined before three years.

Chevalier de Baugy bravely defended Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois;[2] is to give it up to Tonty, and return to Quebec without trading.

The Iroquois have raised the siege after having lost a great many men.

[1] This is a literal translation of the text, from which something is evidently omitted, as the above is contrary to the passage in Mr. de la Barre's despatch, of 13th November, 1684, of which it pretends to convey the substance. See *supra*, p. 251. — Ed.

[2] Peoria, Ill. — no. On the Rock

Sup.

A Monseigneur:

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Cependant a celle que vo. m'aucz fait lhonneur de m'ecrire
du dix Auril der. vous voulez bien que je vous dise que
je m'estime tres malheureux que vo. ayez donné Creance aux faux rapports que l'on vous a fait contre
moy dont il me sera facile de prouuer la Supposition
apres quoy je vo. Suray supplié de vous faire Lire
L'Instraction de sa Ma.te que vo. m'aucz donnée en
partant de France, et la lettre de sad. M.te du Cinq.
aoust de l'année der.e afin qu'il vo. plaise establir
les vrays fixes a ma Conduitte et que je puisse
prendre des mesures certaines de mes actions par
les quelles je ne puisse jamais vous deplaire, n'ayant
d'autre but que celuy-la; En sorte qu'apres que

vous aurez reglé la maniere dont je dois agir, vous puissiez estre persuadé que je ne m'en Escarteray en aucune sorte, et que lors que l'on m'accusera du contraire, vous ayez la bonté d'en demander la preuue par Ecrit auant que de les Croire.

Le plus part des choses dont j'ay esté accusé sont decidées dans les difficultez qu'il vous a plu faire repondre au Roy auec autant d'Equité et de justice qu'il se puisse faire.

Je n'auois pas merité la Colere et le Chagrin de Mons.r de Meulles Nostre Intendant pour me l'attirer sur les bras jusques a vous Ecrire contre moy, et il l'a si bien reconnu auec le temps, que je croy son Chagrin entierement passé; au moins me le fait il esperer, Et si cela n'estoit pas, je prendrois plustost le party de demander La permission au Roy de me retirer, que de m'amuser a Combattre contre un Homme que je sçay que vous Considerez.

Les Fermiers de ce pays se sont laissez preuenir par diuers rapports tous remplis de fausseté, et poussez a cela par des Gens qui les sont icy de Je me suis déja plaint au Roy.

Je n'ay point rendu aucune des ordonnances que

vous me marquez, et je sçay trop bien que c'est du fait de l'Intendant d'estre juge de tous les droits Establis et des Contrauentions, pour me mesler de rien ordonner sur ce sujet; Le different n'a esté que sur ce que les Commis de ce pays, ont pretendu que les fermiers estoient les maitres sans aucuns ordres de Sa Ma.té de faire Establir tels droits, tels bureaux et Commis qu'il leur plairoit, J'ay soûtenu le Contraire, et la decision en a esté si nette que je ne parleray plus de cet article.

J'ignore absolument ce dont vous me parlez du nommé le Borgne de l'Acadie, et n'ay jamais signé aucunes ordonnances pour ce pays, que Mons.r l'Intendant ne me les ay e Envoyées dressées et signées de luy par son secretaire.

Je suis d'accord de ne rendre aucunes ordonnances pour le fait de la police que conjointement avec Mons.r l'Intendant, ou d'y pour[illegible] aucun mon aduis au Con.el Souuerain.

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Il n'y a que pour le fait des yuresses d'eau de vie a Montreal pour lesquelles j'ay esté obligé de rendre plusieurs Ordonnances de peines militaires ayant esté necessité de le faire a cause des troupes et des differends peuples Sauuages qui s'y sont

rencontrez ensemble; J'en ay donné une derniere
a M.r de Callieres, et j'estimois que nous la
devions signer Mons.r l'Intendant et moy dont
il n'a pas esté d'avis: Vous me manderez s'il
vous plaist ce que je dois faire sur cette matie
dans les suittes, n'y ayant agy que de Concert
avec M.rs du Seminaire de saint Sulpice [Mons.r
l'Intendant fort Esloigné,] Et pour me maintenir
en Union comme je suis avec M.r l'Evesque

Ce que j'ay fait a l'Egard de celuy que vous
nommez habitant de Montreal qui a esté
pendu en Effigie, est conforme mot a mot a
l'ordonnance du Roy a l'Egard des Desertteurs.
C'estoit un vagabond sans domicile, et dont le
procez Instruit par le major, a esté jugé
dans le Con.cl de Guerre assemblé au nombre
de douze; Il est vray que M.r l'Intendant n'y
estoit pas; estant a plus de Cent lieuës de moy
Et Cet Exemple qui n'a coutté la vie a personne
a esté d'un effet, qu'il n'en a plus desertté aucun
depuis; Les Evasions frequentes des prisonniers
font Connoistre comme il faut mener ces affai
avec diligence quand on peut se saisir des
Coupables

le

Lorsque l'on vous a marqué que je voulois
prendre la qualité d'admiral en Canada, c'est
un nom dont on s'est servy pour rendre odieuse
la prétention que j'ay eue et dont j'ay joüy dans
les Isles, et de laquelle ont aussy joüis tous ceux
qui m'ont precedé icy dans le Gouvernement,
et qu'en qualité de Gouverneur, les Capitaines
des Navires qui moüillent en rade, m'Envoyent
dire d'ou ils viennent; ce qu'ils apportent en gros,
et prennent mes Congés pour partir; Je croy
meme que je pourrois obliger les Commis des
fermiers a me donner les noms des gardes qu'ils
veulent Envoyer sur leurs bords, ce que je n'ay
pas fait.

Jen'ay jamais Empesché le Prevost des mareschaux
et ses archers d'executer tous les ordres qu'il a plû a m.r
l'Intendant leur donner, Mais il se presente une petite
difficulté qu'il seroit bon que vous voulussiez regler avant
qu'elle soit Emuë. Il pretend que ces officier, son
lieutenant et archers sont exemptés de la dependance
où que tous les sujets puissent estre, en sorte qu'il peut
Commander les uns et les autres comme bon luy semble, disant
qu'il n'entend reconnoistre que le Gouverneur qui ordonne
qu'il ou ses archers doivent faire en pareil cas.

Sentay qu'une fois m'plus au fus de M. Lhuillier
dans le depart des Vaiss.x signé des acquits a Rou
en Conſequence d'un arrest du Con.l qui me
Commettoit par le Nom de Gouverneur ou Intend.t
es j'en Ecrivis S.r Sertin.t aux premiers gnaux
de France, qu'ils ont fait Commettre cette ann.e
a ces effets un des Commis de Ceux de Canada
L'affaire dont Nommé Guillain anglois ne
roa.e apas esté Expliquée, et il faut de neccessité
que je la passe: pour que vous decidiez ce
qu'il me Conviendroit faire en une pareille
rencontre.

Ce fut le 18.e octob.r 1693 qu'il vint mouiller un
petit Navire devant cette ville que je Connû de
fabrique Anglaise qui n'y qu'avec pavillon blanc,
il descendit a terre deux matelots, entre les q.s
estoient Matelots des grosses allures portoient de
Commission de pescher et de negocier le long de la
Coste de la Nouvelle Escosse Comme de Pentenac pour
deux barques, je leur demanday si ce Vaisseau
Interlopoit pour Anglois ou Hollandois qu'ils me s'en
estoient Empparez; ils me firent la longue
histoire que je leur fis Interroger par un de mes Matelots
Hollandois qui leur dirent qu'ils devoient dan
vn

vne heure le Cap.ne anglois, en effet il vint me trouver
me fit plainte de la violence que l'on luy avoit faite
en l'amenant icy sans aucune Cause, et qu'il ne
croyoit pas que je voulusse souffrir que les Sujets
de Sa Ma.té Britanique fussent ainsy traittez par
les françois, me representa son passeport signé
pour la peschе vers le Nord signé du secretaire du
Con.l de Baston, et sa plainte fut suivie de celle
d'un autre anglois soy disant Commis de la Comp.ie
Royalle du Nord a Londres, disant qu'on l'avoit
amené comme par force, Ratisson au contraire dit
qu'il luy avoit vendu vne des barques françoises
qu'il avoit au port Nelson pour remener ses gens
aux Establissemens Anglois de la baye d'Hudson
et que lors qu'ils y furent embarquez auant que
led.t Commis y eust pû entrer, ils furent separez
d'un Coup de Vent qui les obligea de prendre le
Large et de quitter la barque que n.s croyons
auoir regagné l'habitation angloise; il ne me
paroissoit pas que Ratisson eust aucun droit pour la
prise de ces Navires, qui de son Costé n'estoit
pas en Etat sans l'Equipage dud.t Ratisson de
Vingt huit hommes de revenir du fond du Golphe
d'Hudson; ainsy sans parler de justice ny de

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de formalitez, Je cachay de les accommoder
en faisant dedommager le Capne Guillam
de la somme de mil livres pour le detour de
l'Entrée de la Riviere icy, ne croyant pas que
Sa M.té eut trouvé bon que j'eusse commencé
la Guerre en ce pays avec les Anglois. Quant
à la prise de Raisson est arrivé le 1.er au
port de Nelson, elle est incontestable, parce
que le petit vaisseau dans lequel ils sont venus
n'y a jamais esté (de la Conqueste des anglois)
Je Vous demande, Monseigneur dans une pareille
occasion, Si c'est a Mr. L'Intendant ou au Co
Souverain a declarer la paix ou la Guerre
avec les Amis de Sa M.té ou si c'est ma fonction
de faire ce que j'ay fait

P.S. La Commission que j'ay donnée au S. du Lhut
pour le Lac Atemipigon n'a rien d'Exclusif et
au contraire, C'est une porte ouverte aux habit
de deça pour pouvoir aller traitter la pelleterie
chez les Sauvages qu'ils n'auroient jamais veus
comme je le marque dans le memoire que j'envo
pour Sa M.té

Les Srs Doruilliers mon Capne des gardes que
j'envoye en france pour rendre Compte au Ro

ez avoüe de ce que j'ay fait en cette Campagne,
vous rendra une Carte Exacte que j'ay fait
faire, tant de la baye d'Hudson que des Environs
par laquelle vo.e Connoistrez la pensée que j'auois eue
de Couper le Commerce aux Anglois des Castors
par les Terres en Consequence des ordres du Roy
du Cinq.e aoust 1683: Vous me manderez apres
Mauoir veuë ouje m'en dois tenir.

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Je ne vous parles point du s.r de la Durantaye
vn des anciens Capne du pays que j'auois Envoyé
pour tenir l'ordre parmy ceux qui sont portez
des Congez comme auoit fait en 1681. M.r Le
Comte de Frontenac le s.r de la Valterie, parce
que ce pauure Gentilhomme est revenu avec l'arme
du sud dans le Lac Ontario, si pauure & si gueux,
qu'il fait plus de pitié que d'Envie dans ce pays
presentement; ny du Chevalier de Baugy, parce
qu'apres auoir bien defendu le fort de s.t Louis
des Illinois, il le va remettre suivant mes ordres
au s.r de Tonty Nommé pour Gouverneur d'iceluy
par le s.r de la Salle, puis s'en reviendra icy sans
s'amuser a Traiter.

Quand les Habitans de Canada se sont plaints
de ce qui s'estoit passé au sujet des Rivieres du Bicq

Conuerte du nom d'Entreprise ; les Interessez
en l'ord.ce qu'il a plû au Roy rendre a ces Egard-
qui touche plus d'vingt des meilleurs habit.
du pays au lieu d'un, vous presenteront leur
Req.te en apposition aud.t arrest, et en jnstruiron
aussy M.r Morel. J'ay fait la visitte de
ces deux Riuieres ce printemps auec le sieur
du Tast dela quelle je vous Enuoye le
proces Verbal Contenant la pure verité
Lors que les d.ts fermiers se sont plaints
des grands Nombres de Congez que j'auois
donnez, ils ont Confondus des permissions
sans traitte Et autres Cuirs pour la Guerre
auec les Congez de Traitte ; Car bien loin
d'en auoir donné le Nombre qu'ils ont dit
il n'en a este donné qu'un seul cette annee
et ils le reconnoissent si bien, (au moins leurs
Commis icy) qu'il n'en est reuenu tant de
Caux de 1694 que de 95 que deux cette
annee ; Ils Connoissent par le pau de Castor
qu'ils recouurent par le retour des Vaiss.x si ce n'
pas les seuls Congez qui leur en fournissent
plus de la moitié ; Cependant on s'attachera

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dorenauant à l'Execution des ordres du Roy et de
Vostres. Ils doivent Sr. auoir dit, que depuis que
j'estois arriué en ce pays l'ordre que j'auois donné
cy deuant Ez. qu'il a plû a Sa M.te approuuer en
rendant son ord.ce du dix.e auril dev.e pour la
defense du Transport des Castors d'Canatte
et Orange, que Nous n'auions pas eu de
plaintes qu'il y en fut passé vn seul Canot depuis
ce temps; Mais Ce seroit trop en demander a
des gens qui se sont declarez mes Ennemis
sans sçauoir pour quoy; ny s'ils s'en estre plaints
amoy; et qui ont donné des ordres si extraord.es
a leurs Commis qu'ils en ont ce payé, que
fait publier trois des ord.ces de sa M.te en mon
absence d'icy qui m'estoient adressées sans qu'ils
m'ayent veus ny parlé sur ce sujet ny sur
aucunes des affaires de cette Colonie, disant
publiquem.t que mon ministere leur est en toutes
choses inutile. Ce manque de respect et de
Consideration des gens d'un fort petit Caractere
fait tort a celuy de Gouverneur, C'est pourquoy il
me plaira de leur faire donner de la
matiere dauantage de respect et de deference qu'ils
m'ont fait jusques a present.

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M.r Perot estant arriué icy n'y a point trouué de bastiment pour le pouuoir porter a l'Acadie, ou les Bergier est arriué dés le mois de juillet, et y a deja eu du bruit auec les Anglois dont il a pris deux Caiches sans le sauoir fait auparauant les deffenses de sa Majesté de venir trafiquer et sans auoir aussy rien apporté de france pour la subsistance des habitans du port royal, qui est neanmoins ce qu'il faut faire auant que de faire publier lesd.es deffenses. Comme mons.r Perot passe en france, vous luy donnerez les Ordres qui seront jugez Necessaires a ces Egard, observant toujours que pour faire bien Obeir le Roy il faut pouruoir a la subsistance du payis, qui la tire toute entiere jusques a present de Baston.

Il sera important que le Roy m'explique la maniere qu'il desire que j'agisse auec le Baron Bongan qui est remply de pretentions Chimeriq.s Et que tout le payis qui s'estend de la Riuiere de Saint Laurent au sud, et sud.t Oüest appartie.t au Roy d'Angleterre, en quoy est Compris tout le payis des Iroquois, et toutes les Vastes Estenduës de Terres qu'ils ont despeuplées le long des Lacs Ontario, Erié, Huron, Michigané jusqu'aux

Illustrissime, tout le reste paist le Colonel ne connoist
pas encore en aucune Carte. Il sera absolument
necessaire que le Roy en Escrive vn Escluy d'Agnier afin de
luy faire changer les d. pensées, ou que la Mre me
permette de me seruir de la force que i'ay, et
que ie pense sans beaucoup de peines ny de despenses.

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Ie tiens de recevoir vne lettre d'Onontague chez
les Iroquois du 27e 7bre que ie croy que vous
serez bien aise de voir, puis que i'envoye
beaucoup d'autres actes de la mesme personne
qui est tres habile homme et Tres Zele, I'en
attens encore vne autre que i'espere recevoir
assez tost pour luy faire prendre le mesme chemin
Ces actes, dont la verité ne peut estre soupçonnée
vo. feront mieux connoistre l'Etat du pays que
toutes autres choses.

Comme vo. me pressés homme de me marquer
dans la despesche du Cinq. aoust 1683 que ie
pouuois faire acheuer le Restablissement du
fort et en prendre le fonds sur les 20000 tt. Envoyés
l'année dev. pour les Despenses de la Guerre, Ie les
ay fait acheuer auant la Reception de la vre.
dite. auis, et auant ma marche vers les
Iroquois Ie vo. en Envoye le Toisé qui passera

tt

Les 1500 : que vo. auez Lordonné sur Les Effets
d'Enuiron pareilles Sommes ; et L'angle du Nord-Est
qui estoit entierem. tombé ayant Coute beaucoup
a restablir, l'ayant fait refaire de grosserie
taillée pour nestre Sujet a la gelée.

J'ay fait refaire aussi des prez dans la Cour
dont je vo. ay Enuoyé le plan, vn Bastiment
tombé en ruyne qui nous donne vne belle salle
vne petitte antisalle, dont on pourroit faire
La sceance du Con.el et y adjouter auec vne
Depense de trois ou 4 cent tt deux autres petittes pieces
Lune pour le parquet du procureur gral, et lautre
pour les huissiers et les parties ; si le Roy desire
quil soit Employé a Cela, il aura agreable
de men rembourcer de la somme de mil liures
Monnoye de france quil ma Coute.

Vo. aurie Le este satisfait de ce que je vous
aurois dit cette année de l'Etat et interest de
ce pays, si le Roy auoit approuué que j'eusse este
faire vn tour en France ; Mais puis quil ne le
Desire pas, j'obeis sans replique, vo. priant de
me faire La grace de vous Souuenir que feu
Mgr. Colbert mauoit promis en partant de
me mesnager vne retraitte honorable, prés de vo

après cinq années de service. Le climat de ce
pays est tres mal sain pour un homme de 62. ans
commencez. Voy. ce qui me fait vo. supplier
d'en vouloir prendre la peine & de souffrir que
mes amis vous en parlent pour y avoir égard.

12.

La mort de la Mere du S. de la Noirie Lieuten.
de M. le Chevalier Arbéry m'ayant obligé de luy
accorder son Congé pour aller faire un tour en France
et led. S. Chelico m'ayant demandé de pouvoir
d'un autre officier en la place, j'y ay commis
pendant son absence le S. de la Porte de Louigny
cy devant Lieut. dans le Regiment de Navarre
pour en faire le service & en recevoir la paye en
l'absence dud. S. de la Noirie, j'ay crû que vo. le
trouveriez bon, pour les raisons portées dans la req.
dud. S. Chelico cy jointe.

Les Capnes entretenus par le Roy qui en reçoivent tous
les ans la gratification, m'ont prié de vo. Ecrire que
s'il arrivoit des vacances aux Compagnies qui sont
dans le pays, vo. eussiez agreable de jetter les yeux
sur eux pour les nommer pour successeurs a ceux qui se
retireroient ou qui pourroient mourir, je ne puis me
dispenser de vo. assurer de leur inclination à vous

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obeir, et vo. dire qu'ils [illegible] quatre ou
habils et forts en Etat de seruir, sçauoir, Le
Sr de saint ours, de Durantaye, d'Valtrie
Repentigny, et Dupuy estant tous encor a la fleur
de leur age

L'Etat que vo. Enuoyez Mr. Lintendant de
ce qui a Resté dans le fort frontenac
d'armes, Vaisseaux, Munitions de Bouche, dont
parlé, Le fleuue de la Belle se trouue debiteur,
vo. Sera bien Raisonable, Et bien ont esté
faux tous les Discours qu'il a fait au Roy du
traitement que je luy auois voulu faire: Je
n'ay aucune Esperance de sa descouuerte,
Le Temps en Eclaircira la verité Mais si
elle reussissoit, auant trois années le Canada
et la ferme du Castor sont Entierement
ruynez.

Comme j'ay trouué Mons. L'Intendant tracable
d'affaires, Je vous Enuoye l'Etat signé de celuy
qui estoit Commis des affaires du Roy au fort
frontenac; Et Comme j'ay veu qu'il vous parloit
Simplement de ce qu'il m'auoit fait fournir de
deniers pour les Reparations du Chateau de saint
Louis de quebec, je vous en Enuoye led. toisé
comme

063

comme j'ay dejà mandé quelquefois, auquel j'ay adjoutté deux pièces de pièces de bois pour le taillage des pièces dont les angles ont esté refaits, ce pour les journées pour mettre les pièces en état, ensorte que Mr. l'Intendant aura payé les 2000 ll. de fonds de 1683. et 2 sols pour livre de 2122 ll. dont le Roy aura agréable de le faire rembourcer.

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Depuis ce que dessus Escrit, le Navire l'Emerillon est arrivé à bon lieu dix Commandé par Mr. de la Clocheterie avec Mr. de Montortié, desnos, le du Rivau, et trois des six Compagnies qu'il a plu au Roy m'Envoyer.

J'avois resolu de vous Eclaircir autant qu'il me seroit possible des despenses de la Guerre, mais deux des Commis que Mons. l'Intendant avoit employés ayant esté attaqués de nos fievres et n'ayant pû jusques a present en guerir; Il m'a prié de remettre cela pour l'année prochaine; Je ne trouve qu'un seul Embarras dont il est le Maitre et non pas moy, qui est de faire rembourcer en monnoye de France ce que le Commis des Fermiers n'a acquitté icy qu'en monnoye de Canada qui est un tiers moins, la raison de cela est

lorsque les Commis n'ayant payé en derniers Comptans
Mais s'est chargé d'acquitter et a fait sa dette
a ceux qui auront avancé les choses; En sorte
que si les Commis du Trésor de la Marine eus-
sent soldé les derniers Comptans que vous avez
ordonné des le mois d'Avril, vous auriez épargné
au Roy cette dépense
Celle que nous avons faite quoyquelle
paroisse grosse n'est pas telle en Effet, ayant
trouvé 45 Milliers de farine de celle qui
avoit esté achettée dans les Magazins de
Montreal et la Chine; qui a servy depuis et
sert encore a nourrir les trois prem.res Compagnies
Tous les fusils qui ont esté distribuez aux habitans
devant estre remboursez en bled pour la
Nourriture des trouppes; ainsy que M.r l'Intendant
l'a ordonné; Tous les outils et ferremens estant
en Nature, soit au fort frontenac, soit a Montreal
et la Chine; Les batteaux sont tous en Etat. Il
s'est rompu assez grand Nombre de Canots dans
les rapides et portages; L'argent le plus Clair
s'est dépensé en Vachapt desd.s Canots, aux frais
de Charoy des Vivres, munitions &.a de Montreal
a la Chine et au fret de leur Conduitte de la

Chine au fort frontenac qui l'on m'oblige de
payer a neuf ces dits pour le Cnt, Et je ne
Croy pas que ce qui est en nature de dett, Elle
puist monter a plus de 2000th ramoyés de
Canada; Voyla Sire ce que j'ay l'honneur
de Vous dire Les Reflexions que vos jugeres
Convenables, Et quelques ordres qu'il vous
plaise m'Envoyer, je m'attacheray ponctuellem
a les executer, Sans me vouloir mesler d'autre
Chose que de ce que vous m'ordonnerez.

Comme Le Sr de la Clocheterie est arrivé depuis
douze jours Seul avec L'Emerillon a 8 Lieues d'icy
Sans avoir voulu venir mouiller devant cette Ville
quelques ordres et Secours que je luy aye pu
Envoyer, et qu'il n'est parti d'aucune de ces
depeches de Sa Mté: Monseigneur, j'aurois
esté obligé de vous depescher Exprés le Sr Dorvillier
mon Cap.ne des Gardes, quand je ne l'aurois par
resolu des auparavant pour vous instruire de
tout ce que vos desirerez Sçavoir, Et avoir
une reponse precise du Roy Sur la fait du
Colonel Dongan et des Anglois de la Nouvelle
yorck, Et Sur ce que je dois faire a l'Egard
des Iroquois; Le meilleur Ordre que vos ayez

agreable de le depescher de bonne heure, afin
qu'arrivant dans le Commencem. du printemps
on puisse pendant icelluy se disposer a entrepren
les choses que sa Mté desirera estre faites;
et paye a bien besoin de respirer l'année
prochaine, pour donner temps aux Marchands
et Negocians de retirer les pelleteries qui sont
faites chez les outaouais que la guerre a
empesché de transporter; Et il faut de si
grands preparatifs de vivres, et tant de temps
pour les conduire par les portages et rapides
au fort Frontenac, que je ne croy pas que nous
puissions songer a entreprendre la guerre
l'année prochaine, sur quoy l'on suivra
ponctuellem. les ordres de Sa Mté ayant inform
Mrs. Denonville de ce d'Etail, il vous en pourra
rendre Compte plus exactem. que ne feroit
une depesche.

Nous n'avons point eu cette année de nouvel
de la Baye d'Hudson dont tesmoigne
que les Negocians du payes Enuoyent sur les
propositions qu'il a plu au Roy me faire pour
la ferme du payes, je vous rendra Compte des droits
du Roy sur cette Baye, le dit temps qu'il y a que les
fran

françois en ont este prendre possession.

Le Retard des Recolets a la soumission qu'ils doivent a leur Prelat, met la paix dans l'Eglise de ce pays, et donne lieu a Mre Cusque d'aller chercher des Remedes a Sarie contre Une sorte d'Indisposition dont il est attaqué. J'ay beaucoup de joye que cette Guerre Domestique ait fini, quoy que tard, Mais neanmoins d'une bonne grace.

J'eprens La Liberte de vous faire Sauvir quelques propositions par Mgr. le Duc de Beuvron, afin que sans bruit, je puisse prevoir tout ce qui peut Causer des difficultes pour, qu'en ayant Connoissance, Vous puissiez les prevenir auant qu'elles soient nées. Et Comme je n'ay de passion que de suivre et me Conformer Entierement a vos sentimens Je puisse en estre Informé de bonne heure et regler mon actions sur ceux.

Du 10e Nouembre.

Comme nous n'esperons plus ny l'arrivée de l'Entrepremant, ny des trois Comps. de trouppes qui y sont Embarquées, et des armes et munitions de bouche qu'il nous apportoit, ainsy que des

2

Lettres et ordres que vo. auiez agreab. de
m. Denayeu de la part de Sa Mta: par la barque
Nous ne pouuons cette annee songer en
aucune façon a la Guerre, puis qu'auant huit
jours La Nauigation de la Riuiere Va estre
fermee par les glaces; Quoy que je n'aye point
de Nouuelles asseurees de la solidite de nostre paix
auec les Sonnontouäns, autre que celle du S.
de Lamberuille du 9.e du passé que je vo. Enuoye
nous n'auons pas laissé de Conferer o M.r de
Montorte, Denos, et moy Sur ce qui se pouuoit
faire, et nous Sommes resolus de le petit printe
de monter au haut de la Riuiere au fort fronten
ou nous seruant des barques qui y sont en Etat
Nous irons par le Lac Ontario reconnoistre
Les Iroquois, et disposer toutes choses a l'Execuc
des ordres qu'il vous plaira nous enuoyer promp
par Le S.r Dorueilliers qui y montera et nous vien
joindre si tost qu'il sera arriué. Si le Roy
panchoit a la guerre apres la Despense qu'il a
faite, il ne faut plus l'entreprendre que l'on n'
vienne absolum.t about; Et pour cela deux Choses sont
neces.res: La pre.re est de prendre une decision Sur
ce qui regarde les anglois de la Nouuelle yorck

a fin

afin, au qu'ils Ausent dedonner protection et
retraitte aux Iroquois, ou que nous les Considerions
comme Ennemis et Commençant la guerre
par eux; Et l'autre est que vous ayez agreab
Considerer qu'en dix Comp.ies Troupes
qui sont arrivées icy, nous nous trouvons fort
Soldats, ny presque d'officiers Experimentez
pour les Commander, Et qu'ainsy s'il plaisoit au
Roy nous renvoyer les trois Comp.ies que nous
Croyons relachées (en cas qu'il veüille faire
La guerre, il faudroit qu'elles fussent Composées
de bons Soldats ou des ports ou des Classes
pour faire les testes des Compag.ies venuës ces
Eté et l'année der.re et d'autres officiers pour
remplacer les Subalternes des d. Sept Comp.ies
Les 4. de ce printemps, et les trois de l'an passé
que M.r Arnoult a remplis de Soldats qui n'estoient
point sur vôtre Etat, et tels qu'ils se sont
presentez a luy; En sorte que ny je ne les voy
Disposez pour la plus part, ny a faire le
Service, ny a prendre le soin des Comp.ies.

Il y a encore un autre Embarras, qui est que ces
M.rs de Rochefort, donnent des ordres de venir
a l'isle percée, Tadoussac, ou Quebec, comme

si celuy-cy estoit praticable, et que soulant la
Navigation de l'isle percée icy ne coutât pas
plus de temps, que de France a l'isle percée,
ne sçachant pas que tadaussac fut un lieu
inaccessible ou les Vaisx ne peuvent tenir a l'ancre
qu'il y a aucun Chemin par terre de ce lieu
en cette ville; C'est ce qui a este cause que
le Sr de la Clocheterie a cru pouvoir se dispenser
d'Executer mes ordres d'amener son vaisseau icy
Ce qui a Causé la mort a quelques Soldats. Il
sera neces. s'il vous plaist de donner des ordres
absolus, vous assurant que je ne voudrois pas
qu'un Vaisseau du Roy courut risque en un lieu
ou je luy aurois ordonné demouiller; Tous ceux
qui ne tireront pas plus de 15 pieds d'Eau
peuvent passer La Trauerse a 4 brasses de
tiers de flot, Le fond estant partout de sable
deslié, et sur lequel tous ceux qui ont Echoüé
faute de bons pilotes, n'ont jamais couru
de risques. Comme j'ay monté autre fois
l'Emerillon en garde Costes pendant un an, j'ai
decidé fort hardiment au Sr de la Clocheterie qui
pouvoit venir icy, et qu'il n'a pas eu agreable
de faire.

je

Je Soupçonne pour les Considerations que vous m'avez
fait l'honneur de me marquer dans votre lettre, que
Monsieur n'ait oublié sur mer, si le Roy desiroit
employer quelqu'un de ses moyens navires icy, il est
avec bon homme de mer pour bien conduire
et trouverait on la Rochelle des pilotes habiles pour
cette navigation; C'est une grace que je croirois
obtenir de votre bonté, et que je vous demande
si elle se peut

J'ay trouvé en retournant icy de la guerre M.
l'Intendant dans un fort grand Embarras d'affaires,
Le Conseil (ne Consistant qu'au nomb. de 7. Con.rs
et M.r l'Evesque) avoit rendu en son absence un
arrest par lequel il avoit fixé le prix des Vins
et Eaux de Vie qui viennent de France, Les
Commis des fermiers et les marchands se plaignoient
de cette Entreprise inusitée; Il fist assembler le
Con.l deux fois, luy parla de la Consequence de l'affaire
et la representa, qu'il seroit au moins necess.re d'attendre
mon arrivée pour sur quoy mon sentiment sur une
matiere de cette importance, afin que tous ensemb.
nous pussions peser toutes les raisons de part et
d'autre et prendre une meure resolution sur ce
sujet; Tout ce qu'il a pus representer n'a mis point

les Deputez, et ne luy voulurent point accorder
Surseance de quinzaine a l'Execution de leur arre
Ce qui l'engagea de rendre reponse ord.e a ces Dep.
Sur laquelle en ayant Consulté a mon arrivée
je luy ay dit que j'avois toujours trouvé l'esprit
de Mgr. Colbert fort appuyé a ces sortes de
taxes, ayant toujours soutenu que la liberté
Causoit l'abondance et l'abondance le bon
marché, et que j'estimois la matiere
d'assez grande Consequence pour vous estre
referée et en avoir vos ordres, auant que de
souffrir qu'il fut innové quelque Chose a l'ess
passé.

Le S.r de Villemarc cadet vient icy Enseigne sous M.r de
Clocheterie m'a témoigné auoir bien de la passion
de seruir dans le pays, et Comme il a esté longtem
Mousquetaire du Roy, il seroit bien plus propre
a y Commander une des Comp.ies d'Infanterie
que beaucoup d'off.ers qui meurent d'impatience
de s'en retourner en france; comme entr'autres
M.r Le Chelier aubéry qui attend tous les
jours son Congé.

Je vous demande, Monseigneur, auec la
Continuation de l'honneur de votre protection

que

que vous ayez agreable de me faire connoitre
nettement vos intentions, afin que je my
puisse absolument conformer et les suivre
avec l'attachement et le respect connenable

MARINE ET COLONIES
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Votre Tres humble et tres-obeissant
serviteur.
Le Bourdelubar

Quebec ce 14. nouemb. 1684.

not go to the Governor of Canada when he ordered them to come.[1] That his Honor is displeased with the other three nations since they made a peace without his Honor's consent, after they had submitted themselves to this government and had promised that they would not do anything without his Honor's advice, he, who has been to so much trouble and labor to keep the English from making war on them, who would be a worse enemy than the French. And his Honor is sad that they are saying that the weapons of the Duke of York would not be able to keep the French back. They are very mistaken, for it is not the peace they made nor anything else they have done, but those same weapons which have rendered it impossible for the French to go on.

His Honor will not say much more to those nations but to order them to call their young Indians back home and forbid them to go to Virginia and Maryland. His Honor presents his service to the Maquase and the Senecas and assures them that they will not regret that they were so true to this government. His Honor thinks to visit them next year.

Albany, October 2, 1684

By the order of his Honor the
Governor General
Robert Livingston

Pray be exact and sure to write down the Indians' answer
Firstly, instructions of my Lord, as well as above-mentioned proposals, and then that apart.

Propositions made by some messengers sent from ye Maquase Sachims in ye Toune house of albany ye 3d. day of February 1684/5.

Brethren

1. Wee come here in our Prefixed house where wee are wont to

[1] De La Barre was determined to create divisions within the Five Nations. On September 3, 1684, he had succeeded in coming to terms with all the Nations but the Mohawks and Seneca, the latter "not daring to come in order not to displease Colonel Dongan." De La Barre's Report, October 1, 1684. O'Callaghan, 9: 239-243.

On the third sun he came to a place where there were many round jointed rushes growing. He cut these into small lengths, thus making beads. He said that if he found a person bowed with grief like his, he would try to comfort him by use of the strings of beads. The strings would become words to lift the clouds from his heart.

come, Pray take care of us. doe give a Belt of wampum

2. Take care thatt wee may live in Peace & quietnesse in our Country. doe give a fad: of *Z:*

3. Doe your Endevour, & take graet care that no harm befal us —doe give a faddom of wampum

4. Doe give a Belt of wampum 11 deep, and desyre to know some news

5. Desyre that ye Chain of Peace & frindship may Remain firm, & that none Pull out yr hand out of ye chain, & Pointing to Mary-Land & Virginy sayd, that by all means they might keep the Covenant. did give faddome of wampum.

6ly. They Desyre again Informacon if there be any design to kill them; whether now by this Snow, or in ye Spring or 6 months hence when ye Indian Corn is thus high, did give a Belt of wampum 12 deep.

Were answered

As for news that ye Brethren seem to be Soo Inquisitive after, wee know of none, but on ye Contrary can assure ye Brethren that wee have Recd. a Lettr. from ye govr. Genl. that you need not to be affrayd, but freely-goe out a hunting, for ye Reports you hear are false, & therefore you must by no means be Surprized att Such Storyes wee shal send doune your Propos: to ye govr Genl. by ye first occasion, was given back again wampum & bread to ye value of 12 S.

This is a true Copy Translatd
*p*r me Rot Liv.

Present
Majr Gert Baxter
Pr Shuyler
J: Wendel
Wm Teller
kajarawaago Speaker

Propositions made by four Sinnekes To ye Commandr & Justices of Peace in ye Court house of albany ye 29 June 1685

1. There is news Brougt us in our Country by 4 Indians of a nation called kighquakis Roene our frinds wt Presents & they tell us that ye Govr. of Canida is Intended to Destroy us, which Tideings is gone throw to ye maquase Castles, Broyr Corlaer wee come to acquaint you herewith, & desyre that you wil take care that no mischieff befall us, this is ye DeSyre of ye old men & doe give 2 beer.

2. The govr of Canida's design is kept verry Secret, & as itt were Smotherd in a Pott that is coverd, but neverthelesse tis broak out as far as our Country & wee are acquainted wt itt, Now Corlaer It is your Goverment and wee are your Subjects; & therefore wee DeSyre that you would be Pleased to order that our Young Souldiers doe not goe out a fighting; but Stay at home to Defend there Country; if it should happen that ye french should Come & fall upon our Country, for wee are Informed that he Design to be ther about 3 months hence. doe give 2 Bevrs.

Answer to ye forsd. Propositions-

Wee have heard your Propositions and Perceive that you are fearfull of ye french which you ought not to be, nor give any Creditt to Such Stories, for your haveing Submitted your Selfs under this govermt. and obeyeing ye govr. Last year in not makeing a Peace wt ye french without his Consent and approbacon You need not doubt but ye govr will take all fitting care to PreServe you and your Country; in ye mean Time you must Tell your young men from ye govr. That they are not to goe out a fighting against there Indian Enemies but stay at home till ye time of ye Bevr hunting approaches, wh. will be in the fall, and then you are to Pursue & follow your hunting as formerly, & Bring your Bevr hither where you finde you are Civily Treated, and have all Sorts of goods verry cheap.

were Presented wt 30 gildrs. white Strung *Z*

To ye Interpreter 12 s.

Present
Majr Ger: Baxter
P. Shuyler
Dav. Shuyler
Joh: wendel
M. gerritse
Wm: Teller
kil v: Renselaer

Propositions made by the north Indians that are come from Canida being about 56 in number besides: 100: women & Children there Sachim is called Sadochquis accompanyed with the Indians of Schaghkook in ye Court house of albany ye 1st: of July 1685

Brother Corlaer

1. Wee were here in this house last year & Spoke wt the govr. who deSyred us to come here & wee did then Promise his honr

On the tenth sun he made a fire outside a village, and over a tripod pole hung his wampum strings. He repeated his words that, if he found a person bowed with grief, he would take the strings and they would become words of comfort. A scout overheard and reported to his chief.

to come and live in this govermt. & wee are now come: doe give 4 Bevr.

2. Wee have formerly been Sick even to death but you have Planted a great Tree for us under which Shadowe we shall live in Peace dou give 4 Bevr

3. When Sadochquis our Sachim came t Canida to live ther The govr. of Canida did Embrace them as his Children never the lesse our thoughts & Inclinations when we Rose in ye morning were always to come hither & to live at Skachkook doe give 3 Bevr.

4. Br: you See Sadochquis and his People sit here your Christian have much wisdom as come from ye heavens above have a good heart & Courage and support us that are mean in knowledge & understanding, doe give 3 ps. Bevr.

Br:

5. Wee are Somewhat affrayd for there is a govr. att Canida & he will look up and ask where are they gone & will may be come here to look for us butt there is a governr here likewise lett ye Path be Shutt that he doe not come here for you have great understanding, doe give 3 ps. Bevr.

6. You: have always well treated wamsachko ye Sachim of Skachkook wee are now come & are one body wt him & itt is always Said that ye Christians & ye maquase are in a good union & Covenant chaen be soo Small as your litle finger butt Verry thick & Strong. doe give 3 Bevr.

7. his honr: hath been Pleased to order that Skachkook Shall be the Place of our habitacon for which wee are Verry Thankfull & if any of our Indians Should absent themselfs doe not think where is he gone? for wee are fully Resolvd to live and dye att Skachkook & there to be buryed. doe give 4 Bevr.

8. DeSyre yt the Christians may ont evilly tratt them butt be kinde to them & Shew: to them all Civility. doe give 3 Bevr.

9. Wee are ashemed & have butt few Bevers the kills & Creeke from whence wee come being very bare of Peltry our Creditors say wee have Bevr & wee have none lett nott: them force us wee Shall make amens for ye future. doe give 3 Bevr:

Answer to the Sd. Propositions
2 July 1685

Wee are very glad to see you here & that you have so Readily obeyd the governours Commands and therefore in his Behalf wee

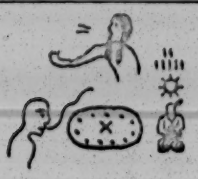
doe bidd you hertily wellkom to this Place and the govr haveing orderd Skachkook for ye Place of your abode amongst the Rest of your nation you may freely goe and live there and your Children after you: in Peace and quietnesse and never fear off any Persuit of ye french for ye govr will take Such care to Secure & Protect you that you may wholly Rely upon itt and Sleep att quiet as your Broyr Sachim wamsachko and his People have hitherto done therefore desyre you to acquaint the Rest of your nation that are Still at Conida of ye good Entertainment you have here and send them this Belt of wampum as a lettr from ye govr who Promises them all favor and Protection and you are to use all means to Perswade them to live at Skachkook for there yr is land Eneugh and it shall be for you & them and Posterity after you & you need not to doubt but a firm and Strong Covenant chain Shall be kept unviolable on our Parts between us and all oyr of your nation that shall come & live under this government So long as they behave themselfs well and as for your Credrs. you: nead not fear them In ye least for there shall be all Care taken to Prevent any of them from molesting & troubleing you

was given them	4 fatts Rom	£: 1:16
	4 half fatts Beer	£: 1:10
	4 Rolls tobacco	£: –: 8
	[200 loaves] Bread fer	£: 1:10
This is a true Copy	white Zewt to ye value	£: 6: 6
Translated & Compared	Belt wampum	£: –:16
pr: Robt. Livingston		£ 12:16
	To ye Interpreter -	12

In Presence of
Major Baxster
mr David Schuyler
dito Johanes Wendle
& Wm. Teller
& Garet Banker
& Mar: Gerrisen
& K: V: Renseller

Albany 3:Augst. 1685 Propositions made by the Sakemaks of the Sinekes[1]

[1] This document exists in both a Dutch and an English version. The former contains only nine propositions with a list of numbers from ten



The chief sent the scout to invite Hiawatha to the village. He was asked to sit at council. For seven suns Hiawatha sat at council, listening to debates, but during all that time, although he was a chief, his opinion was not asked.

1. Brother Curler wee have past through all the Indian Castells to this place and have renued ower peace with them in Love & frindship. wee had order from Curler not to goe by the English plantations in Virginia & Meryland but to goe round about, which ordr. wee have Observed where upon prsent 4 peeces of Beavrs.
2. Brother: last year Aeskis Cornelisen was in ower Cuntrey and delivered a Lettr: to us from Curler to deliver to Governr: Labarr: and to no bodey Else but to him Selfes & Since ye Sd. govr. came no further then Unnadagoe Wee not being there had no accation to deliver it, and have now brought it with us. & deliver it now to You: and prsent: 3: peeces Beavr:

3. Brothr Curler: This is the Useall house where wee all wayes make ower propositions (there younder) mening New Yo ke is the house of Curler alsoe. But this is the house of propositions which must be Kept Clene: & neat that no foulenes grow in it. Our hart & minde is as our mouth Speakes & we know certainly yt his honr. hart & mouth is one, for wee are his people & he hath done good to our nation, & Preservd our Country & give 3 peeces Beavr.

4. Brother: I said Just now that this Covenant house should be Kept Cleane and Neat: Curlers fire is ower ffire whereby wee warme our Selves in peace. and give 3 peeces Beavr.

5. Brother Just now I Spoake of the ffire That is so acceptable a fire. I did not Speake alone off ourself but our whole Country to past from our Castles hither which is ower Useall Custom: in Speakeing about this Covenant, and doe give 3 peeces Beavr.

6. Brother doe not thinke that wee have any thoughts in ower harts that wee should turne from Curler to the Governr of Canida: & give 3: peeces: Beavr:

7. Brothr Last Yeare wee tould you, that wee should come downe through all the Cuntrey to this place with prsents as wee doe: & give 3 peeces Beavr.

8. Brothr Curler: here is Curler prsent mening him that Reprsents his parson there are foure armes which wee lock together in a Covenant Chaine. That is ower whole Cuntrey. my Lord howard

through sixteen, while the latter contains the sixteen given here. Whether the last seven propositions were noted elsewhere in Dutch or were translated immediately into English cannot be stated with any certainty.

Governr of Virginia, and my Lord Baltemore govr of Meriland Let the Chaine be Kept Cleane & bright as Silver that the great tree that is can not break it a peeces if it should fall upon itt. & give 4 ps. Beavrs.

9. Brother; wee sit under a Cloath of frendshipp: where wee are all Covered in peace. & give 4: ps. Beavrs.

10. Brothr. wee psant againe a great Tree off wellfare so Hey that it may be seene in ower Cuntrey; ye Roots whereoff grow under ground, as far as our nation, lest no weeds grow near It yt wee may live in Peace under itts Shadowe, & yt itt may grow So thick yt itt cannot be moved, doe give 4 Bev. Skins

11. Wee doe give you a Potion to Purge your hearts of all evill humors, if you should have any evill thoghts of us, doe give 3 ps bevr Skins

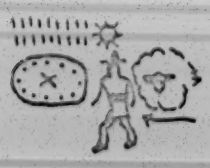
12. Brethren lett ye Lovely Sonne Shine upon us & you, on yr Children & our Children, & no dark cloud Prevent or hinder itt, doe give 4 Bevr. Skins.

13. Wee doe come & make our Propositions here; lett us see you kome throu ye. maquase Country, oneyde, onnondage Cajouge & Sinnondowanne, yt our children may hear & see what is Said & Spoke, doe give 3 bev Skins

14. Wee Said but now of your comeing to see all our nations, itt would be to hard a journey for you, but you have horses & can Ride, wee doe Rubb or greese yr Leggs; doe give 3 ps bev. Skins

15. Brethren: Lett yr Shipps be Strong & well fitted yt they may come Safe over, yt our People may Rejoyce att yr arriveall. doe give 3 Bevr.

16. Brethren, ye Mahikandars yt are Come from Canida to live in your Government, Receive ym. in yr Protection for they are worthy & they are our frinds frinds to witt ye maquase frinds. Lett your Ey be upon ym for good, doe give 3 ps Bevr



On the eighteenth sun a runner came from the south, telling of a great man who had come from the north and was now in a Mohawk village at the Lower Falls. He told of a vision that another great man was to meet him at Ka-nin-ke-a-ka, Flint Land Village. There the two men were to meet and together establish a Great Peace.

Present
Majr Baxter
Capt wendel
Wm Teller
gert Banker
kelian van Ranselaer

Propositions made by the River Indians that live at Skachkook, in ye Court hŏuse of Albany ye 4th of august 1685

Brethren

There hes been some of our Indians at Pinnekook in N: England to whom ye Sachims of those Indians said, that they heard yt Wamsachkoo and his People liv'd verry well & Peaceably att Skachkook, & yt ye governr was inclined to draw ye Indians to this government, & whereas ye north Indians that were att Canida for whom a Belt of wampum was given us to Send for ym. hither, are come to Pinekook by there brethren & frinds; we sent ye Belt of wampum thither to Pinekook, to invite ym unanimously to come and live wt us, & they will Probably Resolve to come, Butt Since you are Christians and can doe more then wee wee desyre Earnestly that may bring itt to Passe that they may come & live at Schachkook, for wee are verry deSyreous yt yy come and live amongst us—doe give 4 Bevr

Answer To ye Sd. Propositions

Since you Inform us that ye north Indians that wee sent ye belt of wampum too, are come from Canida and gone to Pinnekook in new England, Probably to Visite there frinds & Relacons, being of ye Same nation, you are again to acquaint them, yt ye govr desyres them to come and live wt you at Scachkook in this governmt where they shall be Protected, & Civilly used, & have Land Eneugh to Plant upon; & if any of yr frinds or acquaintance are minded to come along wt them, they shal have ye Same kindenesse Shown ym as you have, ye Path being open for all Indians yt are willing to come and live Peaceably under this government: was given a Belt of wampum of 25: gild
& in white Strung wampum 24:
14 wheat loaves 4:18

f 53:18

This is a true Copy Examined p me
Robt. Livingston

Proposities made by three mariland Indians to ye Commandr & Commissaries of albany ye 7th day of aug: 1685[1]
The names of ye 3 Indians aforsd. being Piscatwa Indians: kanhia
Pasinsiak
Achsaminnis

1. Wee are come here from maryLand To ye house of Corlaer where usually Propositions are made, & where ye Covenant fyre burns, to Speak wt al ye Indians westward about ye Covenant, doe give a Belt of 10 deep.
2. Wee are come to Stay here in Corlaers house till ye Indians as far as onnondage come here to Speak wt us about ye Covenant, and desyre yt arnout ye Interpreter may goe & fetch ym. doe give 4 faddom of wampum to greese his horses leggs.

Proposals made to the Sachems of the nations of Indians to the west who have been in New York at the Honorable Governor General's by the Mayor and Aldermen in Albany, the 8th of September 1685[2]

We have asked the brethren to come here to welcome them after the trip to New York where, we heard, they have been received most cordially by his Excellency, the Governor, who has sent up information about the proposal he has made the brethren, of which the most important is to send their prisoners, the Indians from far away, back to their home again with 28 of our people, who, to this end, will go there with his Excellency's authority, of which group Johannes Rooseboom will be Captain to convoy them. This we recommend most cordially to the brethren not only to send the before-mentioned prisoners home, but also to send along with our people two or more sachems of each nation and of the Senecas to the far-away nations to bring their prisoners home, and also to bring two of their chiefs along here to Corlaer's house where his Excellency will be present and will then bury the hatchet and

[1] These Piscataway, or Conoy Indians from Maryland, first presented themselves to the Governor and Council in New York City on August 1. *Cal. N. Y. Coun. Min.*, 43.
[2] Translated from the Dutch.

Hiawatha determined to go to the Mohawk village. Five skillful scouts were chosen to guide and protect him on his journey.

make a durable peace and covenant between them and the brethren. With that Corlaer's wish will be fulfilled and the brethren will show themselves to be obedient children. Those of the far-away Indians who will be united with us in our agreement will also be protected by the branches of the great tree of welfare and there will then be an opening for the new brethren to come here and to renew yearly their covenant as the brethren do now.

Answer of the Senecas

We came on Corlaer's orders and have been to New York and come here now on Corlaer's demand and understand that your proposal is also to return the prisoners. As if it was an unimportant matter to us! No, to us it is a very important matter. Four years ago they killed one of our best sachems. But we answer here as in New York and nothing else: that we trust that all will be well, but the matter will have to be decided upon by the sachems in the country.

I should let you know also that I have a sister's child among those distant Indians called the Dionnondadoes and, therefore, you should also take care that she comes away with you, for you are all Corlaer's people. Just call my name, then she will hear it, and then the prisoners will know. My name is Adonderarseesha.

Present
David Schuyler Esqr.
Johannes wendel Esqr.
ger^t. Banker Esqr.
Marte gerritse Esqr.
kilian van Rensclaer Esqr.
Magistrates of albany
Interpreted by
arnout Cornelise Vicle

Propositions made by the hon^ble. Col. William Byrd, one of ye Councill and agent from his maj^s. Dominion of Virginia, assisted by Edmund Jennings Esqr. his maj^s. atturney Gen^ll. being authorized by his Excellency, Francis Lord howard of Effingham, his maj^s. Lieft. and governr gen^ll. and ye Councill of State off Virginia, to ye Maquase, oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges, and sinnekes, in ye Toune hall of albany on y^e. 15th day of Septembr 1685

It is Somewhat more than a Twelvemonth Since the Lord howard of Effingham his Majs Governr. Genll. off Virginia (being justly Provoaked by the Repeated injuries, both Virginia and Maryland had Received from you) came to New York to your Governr genl. to desyre him, (as being all one kings Subjects) to assist in warring against you, to Revenge ye blood you had Shed, and force you to have made Satisfaction, for ye Injuries you had done us, But by the medeacon of your governr (to whom you have always been Verry much obliged) my Lord howard was Perswaded to come to Albanie, and Renew the Covenant chain, you had so

frequently broaken, both with the English and Indians of Virginia & maryLand, Upon which when my Lord howard in Company wt your noble governr came hither, he made you severall Propositions, for keeping ye Covenant chain of Peace, more firm & bright, both with Virginia and MaryLand, and all ye Indians of both Countryes below ye mountains; to which you readily Submitted, & caused hatchets to be buried, yt all injuries might be for ever forgotten and Buried in ye Pitt of oblivion.

You also did then Promise, not to come nearer our Plantacons, then the foot of ye mountains, all ye Land between; belonging to our frinde Indians, & not to you, being Left for them to hunt on, by the said articles; NotwithStanding which, Some Parties of your Indians have fallen downe, into ye foresaid Lands, belonging to our Indians, and have killed some of ym, Particularly one Nottaway on ye South Side of James River, and carryed away one Nanziatico from Toppahannock River,

Also this Last Spring a great Party of your Indians (quite Contrary to ye Covenant chain, you have so lately Renewed) fell on ye Sapone Indians, & fyred Severall gunns, wounded Some of ye men, & took one Prisoner which said Indians are (as all the Rest below ye mountains) our kings Subjects, & our governr. will Protect them.

Farther I have this to Tax you with, a Small Party of your Indians came about Two months Since, to an English mans house near Appamatock River falls, & there seized, and Carried away one Indian girle (Servant to ye Said Englishman) as she was washing of Linning at ye Door, & att ye Same Place, when your Indians Last year fell on ye appamatocks, you carried away three Indian Boys, Servants to ye said English family, whom I hear are now att oneyde.

All which being so Contrary to ye Covenant chain you Promised to keep So Bright, might justly Provoke us to make warr on you, Butt wee are not willing to beleive, that any of your great men, that Lately made ye Covenant were knowing of itt; we Rather

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Twenty-three suns had passed since Hiawatha left his own village at Onondaga, when, after a five days journey, they reached the Flint Country. Hiawatha and his party built a fire outside the village, that their smoke might tell of their approach.

think, some of your young fellows have done this Contrary to your Consent or orders.

I therefore demand, that you shall Deliver up all Christian, Indian, or negro Servants, or Slaves, that are amongst you, & have fled or bein Caried away, from any of yr English masters, being Inhabitants of Virginia or MaryLand: and that you forthwith (if you have any men either in Virginia or maryland send to Recall them, and hence fordward take Care, that none ever approach nearer then ye mountains, according to your articles, with my Lord howard; which if you will Strickly observe, I am now Sent with this gentleman to Ratify and Confirm: & in order thereunto according to yr. aggreement made Last year by my Lord howard I have brought with me, some of our Indian Sachims, who in ye name of all our Indians are come to make a firm & Strong Covenant chain with you that may be Everlasting.

The Distance of ye. way being so great & ye Inconvenience of Passage by sea is ye Reason why so few of our Indians are come, but here is the cheif of ym., who in ye. name of all our Indians will Ratify & Confirm ye Peace, for all ye Indians both of virginia & maryLand are our kings Subjects, & if you will warr on ym. the great king of England will take it Verry ill, & all ye. English of virginia and maryLand will joyn against you, & you must not Expect any assistance from any of his majs. Subjects in america.

But now you again Confirming your Covenant chain, and Planting ye tree of Peace, I hope you will be more Carefull, to keep itt bright and clear, fresh and green, always united, always florishing, and if any of your young fellows doe Contrare to these articles, come within ye. mountains, and doe any Injury, to any English or Indian of Virginia or maryLand, You must certainly Expect that our People will kill and Destroy them, and therefore doe warne you from comeing there for ye future, upon any Pretence whatever.

Was given to each of ye 5 nations
15 yds. of Duffells
40 gilders wampum
1 fatt of Rom
60 Twist of Tobacco
40 Loaves of Bread
& a bullock divided amongst them

/S/ Wm: Byrd.

Present:
David Schuyler, Esq.
Johannes Wendell, Esq.
Gerrit Banker, Esq.
Marte Gerritse, Esq.
Kilian Van Rensselaer, Esq.
Magistrates of Albany
Translated by
Arnout Cornel. Viele

Answer of the Maquase, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas on the proposals made by the Honorable Colonel William Byrd of the Council and Agent of His Majesty's Dominion of Virginia, assisted by Edward Jennings, Esq., his Majesty's Receiver General, authorized by his Excellency, Francis Lord Howard, His Majesty's Leftenant and Governor General and the Council of the Colony of Virginia; in the townhall of Albany on this 15th day of September 1685.[1]

The Onnondages answer through their Speaker Carachkondic

Brethren of Virginia

We agree to observe that which you told us, and not only we, the old men, but our young warriors will obey us by following this punctually and not coming within the mountains. Give hereon four beavers.

Concerning the heathen girl who it was supposed was taken from an Englishman's house when she was washing linen in front of the door, we do not know about this. It could have happened, but our troops have not come home as yet. Concerning the other three heathen boys who were taken the last year, we confess that they are in our country, but last year has been discussed and decided when Milord Howard was here—that the evil the troops who were then out might commit would not be held against them as they did not know then about the peace which was then made. And as they have been already accepted among the Indians as friends, it will be difficult to get them back. But if the girl will be brought back by our people who are now out, we will give her back.

The Sachem of the Senecas speaks:

Brethren: we have steadily kept the agreement made with the Governor of the Virginias as Corlaer commanded and have not gone to the English plantations, but have passed around the mountains.

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

A Mohawk messenger invited the party into the village. Deganawidah greeted Hiawatha. He saw that Hiawatha was suffering from some deep grief which caused him to wander far from his own people. Then Hiawatha told Deganawidah his sorrow.

If any evil has been committed, the four nations who sit here must have done it. We say so right in their faces (which the four nations did not deny), and we will keep to your orders steadfastly. We are glad to see that the tree of peace and friendship, which we will always keep green and flowering, will be planted again. Give three beavers.

The Cayugas speak and asked Taggojerhos, an Oneida, to be their interpreter:

You spoke of the three boys who are in our country. It is true, there are two in the Oneida and one in the Maquase Country, and we have understood what has been said on this matter and will keep it in mind, but we do not know a thing as yet about the girl. Give two beavers.

The Oneidas speak for themselves and say:

Brethren: we speak to you three: to Corlaer, the Governor of Virginia, and the Indians of Virginia. We will come in the spring and repay what has been charged to us now. In the meantime, we will make a place for the boys, this being in the way of a preparation to handing them back. You should know that a great deal of trouble is connected with this, to free them from those houses to which they have been given. Give two fathoms of wampum.

The Maquase speaker called Canondondawe began as follows:

That which we have been commanded by Corlaer and the Governor of Virginia we have followed. We declare for ourselves that we have had no part in what happened to the Virginians. But you, Cayugas, and Oneidas, I have to tell you and punish you, for you are slow in hearing, and therefore I will sing to you, to admonish you to follow your duty better. You Cayugas, you think that you cleared yourselves thoroughly by laying down the beavers, but we have to say to you, you did not do your duty.

Oh Brethren, Corlaer and Governor of the Virginia, where will I look for the peace covenant, where else will I find it but on our path, and but where will this path lead to but to this house, which is a house of peace and welfare, and started a song and sang completely the covenant song, and admonished first his own Indians and then the Indians of the Virginias to keep the covenant and charged his Indians not to exceed it as they have done until now.

Let us observe and keep to what has been commanded so sharply to us. Let me drive it into you with a song. Open now your ears, and he sang a song of admonishment, and gave one belt of wampum to the Governor and one belt to the Governor of Virginia, concluding all the proposals with a song and said that they were done for this time.

Collected by me, R[obert] L[ivingston]

Govr Dongans Prop: to ye Indians westwd alby 15 Sepr 1685

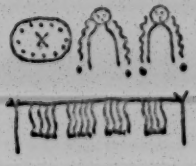
purport of what the Governor desires to be communicated to the Indians

Brethren

I am sorry to find that our Brethren are headstrong people; & will do things that are not for their Interest, & not follow ye advice of those who have kindness for them.

The ffrench declard warr agt you, & by the Governrs means they wer afterwards willing to be at peac with you; you made peac with them without acquainting the Governor who would have made better conditions for you, then you your selfs have been able. The ffrench dar not meddle wth the King of England's subjects, & as such we esteem the Brethren, for he who was proprietor of this place, formerly his Rll. Highness, is at present or King, & able to protect them.

last year the great man of Virginia came hither with a resolution to have satisfaction from the Brethren for all the Injuries they have done to Virginia, but the Governor prevailed so far with him as to meet the Brethren at Albany, the peace was then made, the Ax buried, but the Brethern have not performed their parts, as they may see by the complaints of the Gentlemen who are com hither with som Indians of Virginia; according to the Agreement made last year wth you it is therefore the Governors desire that none of you Everafter go nearer to Virginia than the ffoot of the mountains, according to an Article agreed on the last sumer with you; if you do the great King of England will take it very ill, &



At the Mohawk council, Deganawidah told of Hiawatha's sorrow and mourned with him. He strung eight more strands of wampum. These he handed to Hiawatha, one after each part of his address.

the Governor not be able to assist you. Whatsoever is agreed upon now, let the Covenant be kept, & your words not broken, & be sure that the servants taken from the English in Virginia be restored.

For Mr peter Schuyler.

Present:
David Schuyler, Esq.
Johannes Wendel, Esq.
Gerrit Banker, Esq.
Marte Gerritse, Esq.
Kilian Van Rensselaer, Esq.
Magistrates of Albany
Translated by Arnout Corn. Viele

The Maquase, Oncidas, Onondages, Cayugas, and Senecas answer to the proposals made to them in the name of the Governor General, Colonel Thomas Dongan, in the townhall of Albany, this 15th of September 1685[1]

Carachkondie, speaker of the Onondaga, says:

Brother Corlaer

We understand that you are dissatisfied that we have been disobedient because of the peace making with the French without letting the Governor General know, of which we are ashamed and sad, but will observe his orders strictly from now on.

We understand also that the Governor of Canada is not so great a man as our King who lives across the great sea. Now we regret that we have given him so many beautiful belts when we made proposals with him. The evil that the young Indians of our nations have done in Virginia in violation of the covenant hurts us much and was done against our will and consent, but we will take good care from now on to keep them completely from those coasts and inculcate obedience in them. And we promise that no more harm will be done there again. Give one beaver.

The Cayugas speak and use Tagesherhos, an Oneida, as their speaker:

We have understood all the proposals, how everything has been repaired and again renewed, and agree to observe everything as it has been told to us as well by Corlaer as by the agents of the Governor of Virginia. Give one beaver.

The Maquase, after they had professed their innocence to the Indians of the Virginias and had renewed the peace with them, said through their spokesman, Canondondawe:

Oh Brother Corlaer and Governor of the Virginias, where will I look for the peace covenant, where else will I find it but on our

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

path, and where will this path lead but to this house, which is a house of peace and welfare, and began a song and sang the song of the covenant, and admonished first his own Indians and then the Indians of Virginia to keep the covenant and charged his Indians not to exceed it as they have done until now. Let us observe and keep to what has now been commanded so sharply to us. Let me drive it into you with a song. Open now your ears, and sang a song of admonishment, and gave one belt of wampum to the Governor and one belt to the Governor of Virginia, concluding all the proposals with a song, and said that they were done for this time.

The Oneidas said for themselves:

Brethren, we speak to you three, to Corlaer, the Governor of Virginia, and the Indians of Virginia and Maryland. We will come in the spring and repair what has been charged to us now. In the meantime we will clear a place for the boys, this being in the way of a preparation to handing them back. You should know that a great deal of trouble is connected with this, to free them from those houses to which they have been given. Give 2 fathoms of wampum.

The Maquas & Cayouges answer to arnout ye Interpreter, after he had Deliverd ye governour message to them [*Albany, October 14, 1685*]

Said

Wee thank Corlaer for his Care and Prudence, wee are nott Inclined to warr wt. any Christians, neither to ye. north nor to ye South neither are our Children ye oneydes, or our Brethren ye. onnondages that way Inclined; & wee shall take Care to Pacify ye Sinnekes & Putt yr mindes in quiet, nay yy must be att Peace, for ye Cayouges are most of ym. outt & Pairt of ye onnondages a fighting against a far nation of Indians, & ye. onneydes & ye Maquas are all out a Bevr hunting, ye maquause gave a Belt 12 deep.

The words that he spoke to Hiawatha were eight of the thirteen condolences. Deganawidah said that in future wampum strings should be held in the hand to remind the speaker of each part of his address; and, as each part is finished, a string should be given to the mourning chief on the opposite side of the fire, who will hand them back one by one.

The Sinnekes answer

That 24 days hence they will come wt ye 3 oyr nations to witt onneydes, onnondages & Cayouges and give there answer.

The maquase as soon as ye Interpreter had deliverd ye message, gave Presents to ye Sinnekes in arnouts Presence & Perswaded ye Sinnekes to obey ye govr. order & have no more Thoughts of warring wt ye french—, which ye Sinnekes Recd.

Memorandum of what ye Govr. of Canida Proposed to ye Sinnekes by ye Commandr of Cadarachqui at Cadarachqui

1. That they were att ye Liberty to warr wt what nation of Indians ye listed. gave 5 bleu Coats.

2. That they were not to beleive false Reports of any Indians. gave 5 bleu Coats

3. Recommended ym. to keep ye Covenant Chain, but withall acquainted ym. he was for what ye Pleased Peace or warr, doe give 5 bleu Coats.

This is ye Substance of ye Propos: which ye Generall of ye Sinnekes told arnout who was himself Present

Albany ye
14 of octobr
1685.

R. Livingston Cl.

Proposition made by anneride an Cayouger Sachim in ye behalf of ye Cayouges & oneydes in albany ye 28th day of octobr 1685.

I am sent by ye Cayouges & oneydes Sachim to acquaint ye governr that wee have Recd. ye Belts he Sent us by arnout ye Interpreter together wt ye message, & according to our Promise I am come to tell our answer wh. is yt. wee are no ways inclined to warr with any Christians, our hearts being att Rest & quiet, for most all our Indians are out a Bever hunting, few being att home, we have Likewise Recommended ye Sinnekes to be att Peace, who have taken our advise & obeyd ye Govr. order, all being well & att quiet there, they together wt ye Onnondages, will come downe & bring there answer Verry Speedily: did give a faddom of wampum.

Present
Wm Teller
arnt Corn: Interpr.

Answer

You have done Verry well in bringing your answer according to Promise which wt ye first Conveniency Shall be Sent downe to ye Govr. genl. who will be well Pleased your men are all gone out a hunting;

We doe acquaint you from ye govr. that there are Some frenchmen gone up ye Susquehanne River to trade, which you are to Stopp, and all Christians that shall Come there to trade above ye falls of Susquehanna River, and to take all from ym. what they have, & to bring them here to Albany, & you shall be well Rewarded (Excepting Such as have a Pass under Corlaers hand & Seale) who will goe from hence & not ye oyr way; This you are to tell all ye nations as you goe home, was given 2 duffells Coats one for ye oneydes & ye oyr for ye Cayouges.

Rt. Livingston Cl.

Present
David Schuyler
Wm Teller
Sachims names
Annogogari
Sagodderastie

Propositions made by Two onnondages Sachims in ye Court house of albany ye 5th day of Novembr 1685

Wee have Recd. ye belt of wampum wh. arnout brought to our Country, by a Cayouger Indian, he not being able to bring itt any further by Reason of ye high water, as also ye Govrs message, wh. we have obeyd in Perswading ye Sinnekes to Peace, who have hearkned unto us; we are also off opinion yt. it is farr ye best to be in Peace, & not to warr wt any Christians, But Corlaer must likewise take Care that they be in Peace over ye Great water, yt Soe wee may all live in Peace & Tranquillity together, doe give a Belt of wampum.

Broyr Corlaer

Wee toe acquaint you yt. our young Souldiers shall goe no more towards Virginia or maryland, nor doe any harm there, butt in

After the eight ceremonial addresses had been made by Deganawidah, the mind of Hiawatha was made clear and the sun shone in his heart.

Pursuance to yr Commands keep ye Covenant chain wt ye Cornells of Virginia fast & Inviolable, doe give a Belt of wampum.

Present
David Schuyler
Wm. Teller

Propositions made by the Two Sinnekes Sachims calld Thonerogi & awanasse in ye Court house of albany ye 5th day of novemb 1685

Broyr Corlaer

Wee have Recd. your Belt of wampum, & understood your will & Pleasure, & have Consulted a long time about itt, finally we are Resolvd to make no warr upon ye french, nor any Christians, Since wee understand you would not be well Pleasd at itt, wee have throwne ye axe quite away in a deep water not in a Standing water, but where a great Current runns wh. Carries itt Immediatlly away. doe give a Belt off wampum 12 deep.

2. Wee doe now Renew ye Covenant not only wt Corlaer, but wt ye Govr. of Virginy & maryland, & shall keep ye Same Inviolable, wee wish yt wee may hear yt it is So likewise over ye great water, take Courage and Cause all ye Commotions there to cease, doe give 2 bevers.

3. Lett ye great king over ye great water know, yt we have So firm a Covenant on wt anoyr. both wth Corlaer, ym of Virginia & maryland, and oyr Christian Neigbours & therefore ye Christian Sachims yt live over ye great water, ought also to live in Peace wt on anoyr. yt ye Ships may come Safely, & ye goods bee good cheap, doe give 2 Bevr.

Answer to ye Sd. Indians

Wee shall forthwith Send doune yr. answer to ye govr. genl. who will be wel Pleased to hear yt. you are all in Peace & quietnesse; & yt you follow his advise nott to warr wt ye french wt out a Cause; & also yt you keep ye Covenant chain wt. ym. of virginia & maryLand, as for ye troubles over ye great water wh. you Speak off are all over, and all in Peace & quietnesse so yt yu need not fear but goods will Come as Plenty & cheap As Ever, & therefor you must Incourage your young Indians to goe out a hunting & bring yr Bevr. & Peltry no where but here wher you have always found Civil Entertainmt; neither are you to suffer any Christians yt Shall come to yr Country to trade wt you wtout ye Do have Corlaers Passe for we doe acquaint you from ye govr. yt yr are some french wt a Burch Canoe gonn up ye Susquehanne River to

trade whom you are to Stop & all Christians thet shal Come there to trade above ye falls of said River & to take all from ym what they have, & to bring ym here to alby., & you Shal be wel Rewarded (Excepting Such as have a Pass undr ye govr hand & Seale) who are to go by ys toune; was given to each nation a Coat of duffells.

Robt: Livingston Cl.

Present
pr Shuyler
J. Janse Bleeker
Robt Sander
Livinus van Shayk
kiliaen Van Renselier
In this Propos:
Sachquahan was
Speaker

Propositions made by the Rever Indians that Live at Sckaghkook to ye magistrates of albanie in ye Court house the 21 day of Decembr 1685

Wee doe live fir ye Present in ye dark our Sachim is dead & wee come here to acquent you with it doe give six deer Skinns & 1 bvr Skinn.

2. Corlaer hath accepted us for his Children & ordained this house to be ye Place of Propositions wee are gladd yt it is still open. doe give four dear Skins.

3. All ye Indianes upon ye north River are dead & ye Indians yt Live upon this River are but few in number & therefore wee desyre yt Corlaer may keep a good watch over us yt we may live together without fear doe give 8 dear Skins

4. Wee are much greevd ye Sachim Wamsachko is almost dead & he Sends his Broyr now to Corlaers house in his Room who is to be Sachim after him & we are come to acquaint wt it. doe give 4 deer Skinns.

5. Broyr Corlaer his done much good & strenthend ye Covenant chain which wee have found. wee Pray that itt may Reman firm & Strong. doe give 3 deer Skinns & 2 Beer Skinns

6ly Wee have under stood what Corlaer said yt we Should nott be north Indians any longer butt all River Indians & therefore we will keep our Residence att Skachkook & endevor to Increase our number & behave our selfs like River indians & not depart. doe give 4 deer skins & one Beer Skinn.

Hiawatha and Deganawidah now composed the Peace Song. It had power, if sung without any error, to straighten the crooked mind of Adodarho.

7. It is now Ten years agoe Since Corlaer made a firm Covenant wt us wee doe lay hold of ye same & not throw it aside & desyre yt Corlaer may keep ye Same Inviolable doe give 5 deer Skins.
8. Wee doe thank ye Brethren for all kindeness we Receive. You know yt our Sachim WamSachko is Verry Sick which hath much occasiond our Stay at home & have hunted bett litle and therefore ye Present wee bring is but Small neverthelesse wee hope ye Brethren will accept of itt. doe give 5 deer Skins & 5 sides of Vonneson wt a head.

The 39 dear Skins being weighd in ye Presence of ye magistrates doe weigh 152 lb. Eng

Answer to ye Propositions

You doe well to come to this house whir fir yt Purpose ordaind by Corlaer to Renew ye Covenant have good Couradge & be Strong for the governr hath Received you as Children you need not fear but his fatherly care will Continue so long as you behave yourselfs as Children Concerning that your Sachim is dead wee are Sorry for itt but you know yt is a debt thatt all People must Pay therefore be Carefull and Deligent that you choose a good Sober Indian in his Room to witt for yt Sachim tht is dead as you have done for him yt is Still alive & yt your People may keep together att Skachkook where you have a good habitain & therefore you must Pursue your Bever hunting without any fear

is given then Back again 2 Runletts of Rom hold each 2 gal is wt ye Cask £ 1 : 1

1 Runlet wine for ye sick Sachim	10 : 6
20 lb Tobacco	7 : 6
20 loaves	3
	22

This is a true Copy
Translated *p* me
Robt. Livingston Cl.

Wee the Grand Jurors for the Towne & County of Albany doe himbly represent to the Considcracon of thir honble these followeing inconveniencyes in order to their being redrest in such manner as to yor honrs. shall seeme equall & convenient

1. Wee doe finde that the greate liberty now taken on pretence

of hunteing Licenses & the like to trade with the Indians without ye town is the occasion of the greate decay of trade here & will if continued tend to the utter ruin of this place.

2. Wee doe find that altho' there are many acts & ordrs. against Such tradeing without the Towne, yett in regard of the dificulty of proveing it by Christian Evidence those acts come farr short of a Sufficient remedy—Therefor wee would humbly recomend it it to yor honrs care as a thing very convenient that some provision may bee made that for the future yt upon the testimony of an Indian in the afirmative the party accused so to have transgressed may bee oblidged to purge himselfe by an oath otherwise the accusacon taken *P* Confesso.

3. Wee doe finde that great Debauchery happens amongst the youth by goeing to trade with the Indians in their houses.

4. Wee doe finde very greate inconveniencyes not onely to our selves but strangers by the generall neglect there is of high wayes in some places quite Stopt up in others changed much to the disadvantage and allmost all wanteing repayre by cleareing or the like.

5. Wee doe likewise finde that the giveing of gifts to the Indians by particular persons thereby to oblige them to traffique with them is a great wrong not onely to the neighbour but to the publique also by occasioneing the Indians to Sett the greater vallue upon their Comodityes seing such contention who shall have them.

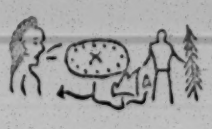
Corn van dyck voorm

The Cort Recomend the above Agreviances to his honor the Governors Consideracon *p* Cur: John Tuder D. Cl: [1686]

To the Right Honorbl Coll Tho: Dongan Lieutenant & Govr Generall under his Majtie of N yorke & its dependencyes The Humble Petition of the Magistrates of Albany in behalf of them selves & ye rest of the Inhabitants of his Majestys Burgh of Albany [c. 1686]

Sheweth

That the scituation of this his Majty Town being on a barren soile and Confined to verry narou limitts the [(*torn*)] Collony[1] haveing Apropriatd all the adjacent Land to the town that is fitt for



The two men then told the Mohawk council of their plan for a Peace Confederation and the building of a Longhouse of brotherhood. The Mohawk speaker replied that his people would firmly grasp the Tree of Peace.

Southerly Crown y Falls on both sides of y Creek as
far as to y Land of Machetohank to gether with all
Right Title and Intrest in all y Woods Lands Pas
tures, Medows, marches, Creeks, Falls, Rivulets, Trees, Fish
& all oth Commodities Emoluments and Hereditaments
thereunto, appertaining, and belonging, to have and
to hold y Said Tract and Parcell of Land and Premi-
ses to them y Said Lucas Santin John Spragge
Dirk Wessels and Cornelis Vandyck their heirs and
assigns for Ever, and in y Said Tract and Parcell of Land and
Premises them y Said Lucas Santin John
Spragge Dirk Wessels & Cornelis Van Dyck their
heirs and assigns for ever freely by these
In wittness whereof we have hereunto Put our
marks & Seals in y Towne of Dr. Schuyler
David Schuyler Justices of y Peace and Interpre-
ted by Arnout Corn: Viele sworn Interpreter in
Albany y fourth day of February in y
Seventh & thirtieth year of his Majesties Reign
Anno Dom 1685

Remark of Quatsinit a
Sachem of Machkadasat
Wittness

Mark of Maratanout
Wittness

Sealed & Delivered
in the Presence of
Peter Schuyler
Robert Sanders
Wessels
Jacob Hogeboom

Remark of Cavanpack
Remark of Canaquack
Wittness

Recorded the 26th of June 1685

Louis XIV. to Monsieur de la Barre.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

Monsr De la Barre,

Having been informed that your years do not permit you to support the fatigues inseparable from the duties of your office of Governor and Lieutenant-General in Canada, I send you this letter to advise you that I have selected Sieur de Denonville to serve in your place; and my intention is that on his arrival, and on your having resigned to him the Command and Instructions of all that concerns it, you embark for the purpose of returning to France. Whereupon, &c.

Louis XIV. to M. de Meulles.

Extract of a letter from the King to M. de Meules, Intendant, &c.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

* * * * * I have reason to be dissatisfied with the treaty concluded between Sieur de la Barre and the Iroquois. His abandonment of the Illinois has seriously displeased me, and has determined me to recall him. I have chosen, as his successor, Sieur de Denonville, who will, of himself, understand the state of affairs; and I have empowered him to continue the peace, or to declare war, according as he shall consider it necessary for my service and the good of the country.

You are to make it your principal study to inform him thoroughly of what may be of use, and of all the views you may entertain for the benefit of the colony, and the correction of the disorders which have crept into it.

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M. de Seignelay to Mr. Barillon.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

Sir,

The King has been given to understand that the Governor of New-York, instead of keeping up good correspondence with Sieur de la Barre, Governor of Canada, agreeably to the orders of the late King of England, has done all in his power to prevent the Iroquois treating with him — that he has offered them troops to act against the French, and has had flags *(etendarts)* hoisted in their villages, notwithstanding those Nations have always been subject to France, since their country was discovered by the French, without any objection on the part of the English, His Majesty desires you to complain of it to the King of England, and to demand from him precise orders obliging that governor to confine himself within the limits of his government, and to observe a different line of conduct toward Sieur de Dennoville, whom his Majesty has chosen to succeed said Sieur de la Barre.

Pastures, meadows, marshes, Lakes, Creeks, Hills,
Riverets, Trees, Timber, & all other Commodities
Emolements, & Conveniencies thereunto ap-
pertaining and belonging to have and to
Hold the said Tract and Parcell of Land
and Premises to them & said Lucas Jan-
sen Esq: John Spragg Esq: Dirk Wessels
& Cornelis van Dyk, their heirs & assigns
for ever and enjoy quiet, full and Peace-
able Possession of y said Tract and Parcell
of Land and Premises they the said Lucas
Jansen John Spragg, Dirk Wessels & Cornelis
van Dyck their heirs and assigns to keep
& maintain and bind my self & heirs
& assigns for ever, firmly by these Presents
In witness whereof I have hereunto Put
my mark & seals in the Presence of
Peter Schuyler & David Schuyler Justices
Signed & Sealed in Albany y 25 day of
March in y 32d year of his Majesty Reign
Anno Dom:
1692

Peter Schuyler
Signed & Sealed in
Presence of

Know all men by these Presents that I Machanack Indian
owner & native Proprietor of Part of ye Land Lyding upon
ye west Side of Kindethook Creek, for and in Consideration of
these following goods in hand paid, to with five fadom
wampam Two Kags Powder three fadom Duffils three
shirts one Lilld^o Two axes, four Barrs of Lead, ye Recit
whereof I doe owne & acknowledge and of ye Payment doe
fully discharge, have Bargained Sold, aliened and Transport-
ted, and by these Presents doe Bargain, Sell, alien and
Transport, all my Right Title and Interest unto M^r.
Dirk Wouvells (who had Leave of ye Late Govr Edmund
andros to Purchase this Land lying on Kinderhook
Creek, and I ye Said owner being then but a Lunting could
not dispose of ye Same as ye Rest did) in a Certain
Tract or Small Parcell of Land, situated lyding and Be-
ing on ye west Side of Kinderhook Creek, consisting in Two sma
Flatts or Plains the one Containding about ten acres
more or less about thirty acres, which said Land together w.
ye Wood Land adjoyning is bounded on ye South Side by
ye Land formerly Purchased by the Said Dirk Wouvells
of an Indian called Wieshagheart & on y^e north
a small Creek that comes out of y^e Hills into y^e
Creek called Pasanthkack, together w^t all my
Title & Interest in y^e Premises, to have and to hold
y^e Two Small flatts or Plains w^t y^e wood Land a
=ning thereunto, to him y^e Said Dirk Wouvells his he
and assigns for ever, & in y^e quiet full & peaceab
Possession of y^e Said Tract & Parcell of Land &
mises, from y^e Said Dirk Wouvells his heirs and
to keep and mentain, I bynde my Self my he
assigns for ever firmly by these Presents. In
whereof I have hereunto Put my mark & Seal
Schuyler Justice in Said Peace, in
day of March 1685

At a Councill held at the Ridge alias Towne of St Maries
Coll Thomas Taylor this 10th day of April in the Twelfe yeare of the
Right Dominion Anno Dom 1685

Present

Coll Thomas Taylor
Coll Henry Darnall
Majr Nicholas Sewall
Coll Wm Burges

Councellors

Then produced & read ye following Lett from Coll Wolsey viz

May it please your Honrs

The occasion of this trouble to your Honrs is This day Capt Johnson Came to a Sinnico and a Pascattaway Indian y formerly lived with Coll Burges and known by ye Name of Isaack and Acquainted me that the Sinnico Chief Capt and Chief Comanders were Come downe to renew their League with ye Christians and Pascattaways, and much urged me to send to your Honours to Acquaint you that they would stay upon Susquehannah River to waite an Answer and that they desired speedily to speake with the Pascattaway great men and to conferme a peace with them, and that ye said Isaack should returne with ye Pascattawains and live with them, and that ye Sinnicoes would be as Brethren, this ye is urged to me as a matter of great consequence relateing to ye Peace and Safety of this Province Therefore offer it to your Honrs Consideration and humble request it may with speed be Communicated to ye rest of ye Honble Councell of this Province, that with speed something may be done before they are marcht [illegible] Hunting and so gone

This ye with ye Compts and my humble Service to your Honrs & ye rest of ye Honble Councell is all from

Your Honrs Humble Servt

April ye 9th 1685

George Wells

The Indians much urges for an Answer in Seaven dayes for by that time all their great men will be come together as they say.

To ye Honble Coll Thomas Taylor & Coll Wm Burges Esqrs These

Post haste haste for ye Lords and Countreys Service

George Wells

Ordered that Majr Nicholas Sewall give notice to the Pascattaway Indians that they send their great Men to meete with Coll Thomas Taylor & Coll Henry Darnall on Munday next being ye 13th of this Instant at Coll George Wells his house in Baltimore County

Henry Coursey Clk Councill

Memorand the Honble Coll Thomas Taylor Coll Henry Darnall together with Coll Henry Coursey Esqr according accordingly mett with and had Conference with ye Sinnico Indians The following Articles were Concluded on and Ordered to be recorded in Councill Book Viz

Maryland ss

At a Conference held the 10th day of April 1685 between the Honble Coll Thomas Taylor & Coll Henry Darnall Councellors of State for his Lordship of the one part and Capt Sackanexon Capt Packanoe Capt Wissican Capt Ahoyon Capt Wapatomico Capt Tayac Capt Iohonoraw Capt Patawomeck Capt Mamanahunt Capt Tohoga Capt Wighcocomoco Capt Sekacawone Capt Acquintanqua Capt Ochotomoco Capt Mattapanient Capt Pamacocack Capt Nacotchtanke Capt Mattawoman Capt Pamacocack Capt Pascatoway Capt Mattapanient Capt Nanjemoy Capt Potapaco Capt Chapticoe Capt Wicocomoco Capt Yoacomoco Capt Kittamaquund Capt Patuxent Capt Mattapanient

Nation of Shawnees Indians called Wachocumaghe living at Conejohela in Baltimore County at the head of this Bay on the 16th day of April in the Tenth year of the Dominion of the Rt Honble Charles Lord Baron Dun 1685 in order to renew and confirm the Articles of peace last made with them by the Honble Coll Henry Coursey and Coll Peter man Lloyd thereunto by Commissions from the Rt Honble the Lord Proprty Especially Authorised and Appointed.

The Honble { Coll Thomas Talbot / Coll Henry Darnall / Coll Henry Coursey } Present

The Indians by their said Speaker delivered themselves as follows (viz.)

Shawnee Indians to their League

That Tis true they have frequently commanded by their Elders & great men to take up Arms against other Nations either for war or Peace they are to unskilled in the Particularity (as they did Conceive) before their Honr as the Head & Chief of these Provinces and the English and Indians Inhabitants all about these Parts to renew & Establish their League a peace formerly made and accordingly were ready to discourse of that matter and to confirme what they did by these presents (viz.)

Articles

1 And first they presented a Belt of Peake which they laid down in Testimony of the Pascattoway Indians whom they called Gonions were Slaine with whom they had had great Troubles but thereby they did Assure them of their true renovation of Peace and future Sincerity towards them

2 They presented two Beaver Skins as a Seal & Confirmation of Peace with all other Indian Nations of these Parts

3 They Presented a Belt of Peake to clear and remove all difficulties or Obstacles and to proclaime & declare a firm peace betwixt them and these parts and all the Indians thereof

4 They presented two Beavers to Testifie that now was now Established betwixt their Honr for these parts and themselves for their severall Nations of Indians as they did Confidently believe their Honr would Right entertain & think gainfully them, but Look on them as friends and not altogether as Indians rude & unpolite in their Discourse, but hoped they would excuse all Friendly and Sincere

5 They presented a Belt of Peake desiring that upon this Confirmation of Peace they might be no more esteemed as Enemys, but Friends and have the liberty and freedome as such to pass and repass & Courtney unmolested

6 They Presented two Beavers to Signifie that there was in them noe rancor nor Malice nor Venome but their Brest were filled with Comfort, and they had taken a Medicine for wholesome that it had purged them of all Venome whatsoever

7 They Presented a Belt of Peake Signifying that whereas much blood had been Spilt between them and the Pascattoway Indians with great Trouble Labour & Toile, they said Pascattoway Indians might now remaine decreed of peace, rangie without Molestation in their own Territorys

8 They Presented a Belt of Peake thereby to renew confirme & Establish what they had Clair in reference to the Pascattoway Indians and all other Indians of these parts

9 They Presented two Beavers to their Honr for & Property of this Province and all Indians of these parts immediately from their great Nation called of Long Knife to Confirme a League & Peace with English, and all the Indians of these parts

10 They Presented a Belt of Peake to Compliat all peace between them and all the Indian Nations of these Parts

11 They presented two Beavers in Testimony, that whereas they had been kept upon the Walk & formerly Alarmed and put into many Frights they would [illegible] to be confident they were now at rest and peace [illegible]

12 They Presented a Belt of Peake in Testimony y^t all Indians whatsoever Parts might goe for about their Occasions without Trouble or Molestation for y^e
and that they Signed a firme Peace with them all

13 They Presented a Belt of Peake as from their own Proper Nation called the
-chechinaghate Nation not only in relation to a peace for their own Nation, but all
Nations about them with their Hon^rs whome they looked upon as the representa
-tives of ye English and Indians of these Parts

14 They Presented a Belt of Peake in Confirmation & Establishm
of firme and Staple peace, saying they hoped they might kindle a fire on any part of
Land for their Necessary uses without Offence

15 They hoped they had by all these Presents reestablished all Peace for their Ma
& their Indians with their Hon^rs and all English and Indians of these parts and
that their Hon^rs would see Esteem it

16 They made a Present of an Indian Boy

Maryland ss April ye 16th 1685 At a house of Coll George Wells

English answer to Proposalls } The Answer of Coll Thomas Taylor Henry Darnall & Coll Henry Coursey to the Chappa cayenoys Speaker with three more great men Elected & Chosen by ye Great men of all the Nations of Indians to whome Coll Henry Coursey & Guilemon Loyd had made & Concluded Peace at ffort Albany

Wee are glad to see you here and you doe very well come to us ye Great men of this Country who doe meet [illegible] Speake to you in Behalf of all the English and all ye Indians in Virginia and Maryland being all subjects under one great King

We are glad to see [illegible] and that Accordingly to [illegible] great me[illegible]
Nations have been for a time [illegible] with them
Sent you to us in order to ye ratifying and confirming that Peace that may remain
Hand for ever clear and pure towards all the En[illegible] and Indians both in Virg
and Maryland wch Accordingly wee shall not be wanting on our parts to keep the
-tained

Wee take Notice you have in your several Speeches layd downe a praeter
Each Speech in Testimony of your Sincere desire and willingness to passe by all i
-ceed from the Causes or Passe[illegible]ages and although there hath been great trou
Labour and Pains and a great deal of Blood shed between you all is forgotten
you and past by and buried Deepe never to be remembred any more

Wee like it well, and it is a Testimony of your Desire to Continue peace an
friendship with them and as we Shall Acquaint them with it that they be as Carefu
to keepe ye Covenant Chain unspotted on their Parts towards you as you have b
& have soe freely Declared towards them

We do Assure you wee shall not look upon you angrely or Contemptibly
dispise you, neither have wee since we were at Amity with you but as our ffr
& Brethren, & shall soe doe for ye future

And for your desire that you may passe and repasse and make fire on a
your Parts as you may have Occasion to travell about your Lawfull Occasion
cont Wateh or fear as formerly, According to ye Peace formerly made at Alba
ratifye and Confirme the same to you

And now we take Notice that you declare your readiness in ye beh
all your Nations that sent you hither to Confirme and renew ye Peace formerly
with you all for and in ye behalf of all ye English in Virginia and Maryland
all the Indians under ye Protection of your great King we think well of you and
You declare your Loyalty & Fidelity to you that you have been for many

mindfull to come to us: and that ye Chain of ye Covenant may be handled and look
ed over on both Parts that if there should be any rust upon any link we may see
whose it is, that by them it be rubbed and made bright, and ye whole Chain kept strong
and as we hope it will be your care soe wee Assure you it shall be ours and we shall
Signifie to all English and Indians within the League & Covenant confirmed this
day that ye Covenant be kept Bright and Cleane never to Rust or decay but may remain
firme while the Sunn and Moone endures —

And now wee hope wee have done to ye Great Satisfaction of you and that
when you returne to your Severall greate Men they will be well pleased and receive
you with Joy, and Satisfaction as good Messengers in Testimony of our good liking
wee take now your Severall Presents and now Present you with —

And also for your Paines & travell wee give to every one of you that have
so willingly and truly behaved your Selves in this great worke a Matchcoate and
some Powder and Shott to kill Meate on your Journey and Come to Satisfy your
Hunger in your Travells, that you may be Encouraged to come to us again at the time
Appointed by ye Articles agreed on And now the Conclusion of all is, wee do conclude
you to be our ffriends and Brothers —

And now Last of all Haveing soe often Handled ye Chaine of Covenant
we doe find three Spotts of Rust upon one Link which we desire you will use your
Endeavour to see made bright and Cleane, that not one link may decay and that
is a Link ye Onnoydes have Neglected to keep Cleane for after ye Covenant made at ffort
Albany, Some of their Indians took and Carried away about fifty Indians from y
Eastern Shore belonging to Ababco and that in a Hostile Manner and have
returned but part of them again wee desire that ye remainder may be noe longer
detayned & Send home and that we must be Satisfied why they have bin
soe long —

ye Speaker Sachagaeagonoh's Reply

He doe Promise though we Cannott Command the Onnoydes to Deliver them
at our returne home wee will treate them, and by Presents induce them to return
them to their own Country —

Was Presented to them Eight Matchcoats upon that Answer —

The Indians desire Dennis de Bleiy may be Continued in this Province they un
derstand him well, & find Present advantage of Peace —

[illegible]

April 1833

Treaty with the Indians

Council.

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all our Right Title & Interest in a Certain Tract or Parcell of Land, Situate Lying & Being on the North Side of a Certain Creek Called Onitsquethad to the Westward of Albany; being Behind the Normans Creek about Sixteen Miles into the Woods Which Said Land to Witt the Arable Land is Marked on the East & West ~~Sides~~ With the Wolf Bear & Turtle being the Marks of the three Kaces of the Maquaes Together With the Wood Land Adjoining by the Arable Land as far as the Indian Right goes ~~the Quantity of four Hundred Acres~~ as also the Creek Call'd Onitsquethad, as far as their Land Kanns & allow Right &c.

The above is the Bounds of Indian Deed to Tennis Slingerland & Joh. Apple dated 8th May 1685.

N. B. This is not a deed, but the bounds of the deed hereto attached. I do not know where the original may be, but it is either in the Albany County Clerk's Office or MS. Division of State Library.

Bounds of Indian Deed
to Tennis Slingerlandt
& Johs Apple 8th May
1685.

Albany County Records
Book C. Page 289. 290

Mr Brinkle — Found this after
having finished letter and sealed
envelope &c

From. vol. 21, Yearbook, Dutch Settlers Society of Albany.

Deed to 10,000 Acres

Teunis Slingerland
from
the Mohawk Indians

Deed from Mohawk Indians to Teunis Slingerland for Onisquetha and surrounding territory of about 10,000 acres now in the towns of Bethlehem and New Scotland.

Know all men by these Presents that wee underwritten Maquaase (Mohawk) Indian owners and native proprietors of ye land called Onitquothaa vizt, Sagoddiochquisax, Tohodaasse, Rojendre, Ochquese, Tahindran, Tojonjow, Sohanntowanne, Wagarontharade; being impowred V. authorized by all ye Sachims of ye 3 races of ye Maquase, and by Onighreende one of ye principal owners; for and in consideration of these following goods in hand paid to witt, one Peece of Strouds, three casks of Rom, three kitles, three Shirts, hondert and fifty hand white wampum; one bag of Powder, the Receit whereof we doe owne and acknowledge and of ye Payment doe fully Discharge, have Bargained, Sold, aliened and Tranported, and by these Presents doe Bargain Sell alien and transport, into Teunis Slingerlant and his Sonne in law Johannes Appel, and to their heires and assigns for Ever, all our Right Title and Interest in a Certain Tract or Parcel of Land, Scituate lying and being, on ye north Side off a Certain Creek called Onitsquathaa to ye westward of Albany, being behind the noormans Creek about Sixteen miles into ye woods which Said and to witt ye arrable Land is marked on ye east and west End wt. ye wolff Bear, & Turtle being ye marks ye 3 Races of ye Maquase; together wt. ye wood Land adjoyning by ye arrable Land; as far as ye Sd. Indians Rights goe as also ye Creek called Onitsquothaa as far as there Land Runs and all our Rights Title and Interest in all ye woods, Lands, Pastures, meadows, marches, Creeks, Rivers, Riveletts, kills, Trees, Timber, wt. all oyr. Commodities, Emulements and conveniences, appertaineing unto ye Sd. Land, to have and to hold ye Said Tract and Parcell off Land and Premises to them ye Said Teunis Slingerlant & Johannes Appel there heires and assigns for Ever, and in ye quiet full and Peaceable Possession of ye Said Tract and Parcell of Land and Premises, them ye Sd. Teunis Slingerlant, & Johannes Appel, their heires and assigns for Ever firmly by these Presents in Wittnesses whereof we have Putt our marks and Seals in ye Presence of ye underwritte Justices of ye Peace.

N.B. The Signing and Sealing of this deed was deferred till Barent Pieterse (Coeymans) his Patent was showen, who alleadges yt. ye Land aforesd. is comprehended in his Patent bought of ye Sachims att ye Cats-

Mohacks

Mahican

kill, dated ye 7th of Apl. 1673 which ye Maquase aforesd. doe flatly deny and declare yt. it is there Land wonn by ye Sword; and a mahikander Squae Pawachpanachkam, doth Say yt. ye Sd. Land doth belong to Barent & ye Indians, Barent did Declare he Should not differ with ye Sd. buyers about ye matter ye Sd. T. Slingerlant & Joh: Appel Engaging to Satisfy ye Mahikanders for yr. Pretense on wh. whereupon ye goods were delivered to ye Maquase and they signed and sealed hereunder in ye Court hal of Albany the 8th day of May in ye first year of ye Reign of our Souveraign Lord James ye Second, off Engl: Scotl; france & Irlant king: defender of ye faith annoq. dom. 1685.

Saggoddioch X Quisax his mark
Rogende X his marke
Tohoda X Rasse his mark

These 3 sign in ye behalf off all ye Rest.
Pieter Schuyler
Gerret Bancker
Willem Teller

8 May 1685

Other than its interest to residents of the village of Slingerlands in Albany County, is the asserted claim to lands lying along the Onesquetha Creek of Kill by eight named Mohawk chiefs representing the Wolf, Bear and Turtle clan-bands of the Mohawk nation. The lands specified here lie considerably to the east of Schoharie Creek, which has been heretofore accepted as the eastern boundary of the Mohawks and the Iroquois Confederacy. This eastward extension had been at the expense of the Mahicans whose district this formerly was as implied in the quit claim in the deed.

WNF

Deed from Mohawk Indians to Teunis Slingerlant and his son-in-law Johannes Appel for land on the north side of Onitsquothaa creek to the west of Albany behind the Normans kill

[289] [1] Know all men by these Presents that wee underwritten Maquase Indian owners and native Proprietors of ye Land called Onitsquothaa vizt. Sagoddiochquisax, Tohodaasse, Rojendre, ochquese, Tahindanege; Tojonjow; Sōhanntowanne; wagarontharade; being impowred & authorised by all ye Sachims of ye 3 Races of ye Maquase; and by Onighrëende one of ye Principall owners; for and in Consideracon of these following goods in hand Paid to witt, one Peece of Strouds, three Casks of Rom, three kitles, three Shirts, hondert & fifty hand white wampam; one bag of Pouder, the Receit whereof we doe oune and acknowlege, and of ye Payment doe fully Discharge, have Bargained, Sold, aliened, and Transported, and by these Presents doe Bargain Sell alien and Transport, unto Teunis Slingerlant and his Sonne in law Johannes Appel, and to there heires and assigns for Ever, all our Right Title and Intrest in a Certain Tract or Parcel of Land, Scituate lying and being, on ye north Side off a Certain Creek called Onitsquothaa to ye westward of Albany, being behind the noormans Creek about Sixteen miles into ye wo[o]ds, which Said Land to witt ye arrable Land is marked on ye east & west End w^t^. ye wolff Bear, & Turtle, being ye marks of ye 3 Races of ye Maquase; together w^t^. ye wood Land adjoyning by ye arrable Land; as far as ye S^d^. Indians Rights goe as also ye Creek called Onitsquothaa as far as there Land Runns and all our Right Title and Intrest in all ye woods, Lands, Pastures, meadows, marches, Creeks, Rivers, Riveletts, kills, Trees, Timber, w^t^. all oy^r^. Commodities, Emulements, and Conveniencies, appertaineing unto ye S^d^. Land, to have and to hold ye Said Tract and Parcell off Land and Premises to them ye Said Teunis Slingerlant & Johannes Appel there heires and assigns [290] for Ever, and in ye quiet full and Peaceable Possession of ye Said Tract and Parcell of Land and Premises, them ye S^d^. Teunis Slingerlant, & Johannes Appel, there heires and assigns to keep and mantain wee bynde our Selfs our heires and Assigns for Ever firmly by these Presents in wittnesse whereof we have hereunto Putt our marks and Seals in ye Presence of, ye underwritte Justices of ye Peace

NB The Signing and Sealeing of this deed was deferrd till Barent Pieterse his Patent was showen who alleadges y^t^. ye Land afores^d^. is comprehended in his Patent bought of ye Sachims att ye Catskill,

[1] In English.

dated ye 7th of Apl. 1673 which ye Maquase afores^d. doe flatly deny and declare y^t. it is there Land wonn by ye Sword; and a mahikander Squae Pawachpanachkam, doth Say y^t. ye S^d. Land doth belong to her and anoy^r. Indian, Machaneek, and after a Long discourse w^t. Barent & ye Indians, Barent did Declare he Should not differ with ye S^d. buyers about ye Matter ye S^d. T. Slingerlant & Joh: Appel Engageing to Satisfy ye Mahikanders for y^r. Pretence on w^h. whereupon ye goods were delivered to ye Maquase, and they signed and sealed hereunder in ye Court hal of Albany the 8th. day of Mey in ye first year of ye Reign of our Souveraign Lord James ye Second, off Engl: Scotl: france & Irlant king: defender of ye faith annoq. dom. 1685.

SAGGODDIOCH X QUISAX his mark [L. S.]
ROJENDRE X his mark [L. S.]
TOHODA X RASSE his mark [L. S.]

Pieter Schuyler
Gerret Bancken
Willem Teller

These 3 sign in ye behalf off all ye Rest

Know all men by these Presents that we under-
written Mayques Indian owners and native Propri-
etors of ye Land called Onitsguethaa Rust Sagodi-
ochquiet Sohoddase Rejendre Schaw-
kew, Tahindaniego, Gojorjow, Schagntowanne, Waga-
rontharadi. being impowred & authorized by all ye Sachems
of ye 3 Nations of ye Mayques and by Onighcendo
ink of ye Principall owners. for and in Consideration
of these following goods in hand Paid to wit, one Peice
of Stroud, three Coats of Roll, three Kittles, three
Shirts Kindert & fifty hand white wampam, one bag
of Powder. the Receipt whereof we do owne and
acknowledge, and of ye Payment do fully Discharge
have Bargained, Sold, alienated and Transported, and by
these Presents do Bargain Sell alien and Trans-
port, unto Daniel Klingerland and his Sonn Wil-
liam Johannes appnd Esqr to theire heires and assigns for
ever, all our Right Title and Interest in a certain
Tract or Parcel of Land, Scituate lying and being on ye
north side of a Certain Creek called Onitsguet Ka
to ye northward of Albany, being behind the new
mans Creek about fifteen miles into ye woods,
said Land to wit ye arable Land is bounded on
east & west End wt ye woolff Bear & Turtle, be
ye meets of ye 3 Races of ye maques, to gether
wt ye woods Land joyning to ye arable Land,
as also all our Right Title & Interest in all ye Lands
Creek called Onitsguethaa and all our Right
and Interest in all ye woods, Leads, Pollm
Timber Trees, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Rivers, Rivulets, Fishe
Waters whatsoever, all of Commodities Emoluments
Hereditaments whatsoever to ye aforesaid
Land or any part thereof belonging or
appertaining and ye Reversion and
Reversions Remainder and Remainders
Rents Issues and Profits thereof and
all ye Estate Right Title Interest Use
Trust Property Possession Claim and
Demand whatsoever of them ye said Grantors
of in and to ye aforesaid Tract or Parcell of Land and
premises with ye appurtenances unto them ye said Daniel
Klingerland & Johannes appnd their heirs

for Ever, and my Heirs full and Peaceable
Possession of ye said Tract and Parcell of Land
and Premises thereby Granted Towns
Fleets Creek, & Oysters appurtenances
Bound and Limits to keep and maintain
Accordg to ye Bounds and
Metes for Ever firmly by these Presents
In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett
my Hand & Seall in ye Province
& yr. Lady Anno Dom. 1683

The Signing and Sealing of this Deed was done
in Presence of Barent Resteyn his Patent was shewed who
alledges that ye Land aforesd. is comprehended in his Patent
bought of ye Sachims at Hackill dated ye 14 of Sept. 1652
which ye Magues aforesd. doe Flatly Deny and declare
that it is their Land wrongfully Sold, and so make
Tender of Love & Friendship & doe Buy ye
Land for Blankets and other Goods of ye Indians, Whereupon
after a long discourse & Debate ye Indians,
Did Deliver Possession and Quiet
and did Receive ye Goods now
to be prepared, and they Signed and Sealed
Delivered in ye Presence of
Sealed, & Delivered in ye Presence of

his mark

his mark

Geseelt

Pieter
Adriaense
de gemaeckelyck
te Laer

tot
Andries
Teller

Lot

Comparande voor my Rob.t Livingston Cl. van als Sche-
ny Ryrsd. Sr. te ordonnantie van de Achte heeren
Mr. P.r Schuyler & Mr. Jod. Kindt Commissarissen der
Selve gerichte P.r Adriaense de gemaeckelyck duyde
declaerde in waere Rechte Eygendom te hebben
Transportte, ende overtoonege by desen aen Mr.
hoved van Mr. And.s Teller zyne Erven & assigne van
Erve, te weten een hoeve gelegen alhier in al bany aen het
gebergte, Schuyt uynaert genaemt Brandt Schuyt
voorts Jochem de Backer toekomende, houdende te
weet achtien als voor 22½ voets, ende Lant twee
Roeden, ende Elff voets, so wel suyden als noord
alles Rynlants maet, ende dat by Kerkstraet
Sonder eenige Lasten daerop staende off uytgaende
Schulden den heer zyne Recht) sonder dathy, de
int minste daerop meender heeft te hebben
als Bekennende daervoor de gemelte voldaen te hebben
te weeten de eerste penning met de Laetste, gerui
achtbe Clean act te hebben gelaten, en volkome
macht, aende voorn Mr. And.s Teller, zyne Erven ende
nakomelingen, off die naermaels uyt Kracht ende ac
mochte desen, omme met het voorn Lant, tedoen & te
disponeren, als hy met zyne Patrimoniale goe
deren en Effecten doen mach, Schuldt te doen
ende gelyck eens gelyckx te waren, ende by
voorde Comparant naemaninge, ende Schuldt
als Recht is, & vonnis hier te gelyck nimmermee
Sal das meerder Lasten gepleedt, ende
recht daerbuyten, in geender manieren,
Kent als daer Lasten Eer te gelden
in albany den 11 may 1686

gesien

1685.

229. 1. The petition referred to. James Littleton became insolvent in 1678, owing petitioners 6,000*l.* They took out a statute against him, which cost them more than has hitherto been recovered of the debt. Littleton has a considerable estate in Jamaica. They pray the King's directions to the Legislature to secure it for their use. 1½ *pp. Copy. The whole endorsed.* Read 20 June 85. *Memo.*—The case recommended to Sir P. Howard in his instructions. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LV., Nos.* 149, 149 1., *and* (*order only*) *Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XXXI., pp.* 40-41.]

June 12. 230. Minutes of Council of Virginia. Proposed to request the King to appoint a seal to be kept by the Secretary, and other seals for the Royal collectors. Ordered that the Assembly be summoned for 1st October. Resolved that Colonel William Byrd and Mr. Edmund Jenings be appointed Agents to negotiate the ratification of the Indian treaty. Resolved to send Colonel Richard Lee to demand George Talbot, lately escaped from custody in Virginia, from the Government of Maryland. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXXIV., pp.* 213-214.]

1685.

trials I have had with the terre-tenants, I conceive that it was according to the report of the Chief Justices of 17 July 1677, confirmed by the royal letter of 23 June 1682, which required the Courts of Massachusetts to admit me to prosecute my right. As to the clause in Governor Cranfield's Commission, he and I conceived it to relate to the value of lands and quit-rents, and not to title. If I have done wrong I ask pardon. It is a great prejudice to me to have to sue in this place, where jurymen take upon themselves to be judges of law as well as of fact, as in the case of Mr. Vaughan. The lands he holds are worth 150*l.* a year, and he has held them for about ten years. I brought an action for 500*l.* damages, and the jury found that the land was mine, and as damages for the time passed awarded me two shillings. Since the arrival of Vaughan and Weare, the preachers and church-members have used all imaginable industry to prevent the inhabitants from agreeing with me. Such as have become my tenants are vilified and abused, and several riots have been committed upon the lands of those who have taken deeds from me, pulling down frames of houses, throwing down fences, mowing the grass, and felling the timber. When the people seek redress, the trespassers plead that it ought not to be tried, being a matter of title, and that all my grants signify nothing till the present King declares my right, as the late King so often did. I beg for a letter from you to encourage the loyal party and suppress the insolent. *Signed*, Robert Mason. *Holograph.* 2 *pp. Endorsed.* Recd. 21 Dec. 1685. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 37, *and Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXVII., pp.* 151-155.]

Aug. 21. Custom House.

326. Commissioners of Customs to Lords of Trade and Plantations. On the petition of Barachiah Arnall (*see No.* 297). We think that, as the King has received no prejudice and the Act of Navigation has not been evaded, the petitioner is a fit object for the King's mercy. *Signed*, J. Buckworth, Jo. Werden, D. North, T. Chudleigh. 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 24 Aug.. Read 26 Aug. 85. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 38, *and Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XLVII., p.* 193.]

Aug. 21. Sept. 10. Onnontagué.

327. Father Lamberville to [Governor Dongan]. Since my last the "Sonnentonans" [Senecas], who wished to make a disturbance and determine all the Maquois to join them against Mons de La Barre, have changed their minds. This is in consequence of an assurance that the peace made last year, as you desired, should not be broken by Mons. de La Barre, as had been maliciously insinuated by a hundred false reports. To finish the work so happily begun, it remains only to exhort the Sonnentonans to add more peltry to the ten beaver skins and thirty otters which they have left in store at Onnantagué to satisfy Mons. de La Barre, as you recommended them to do last year. May your zeal for the public peace, above all for that of the Christians of America, urge you to put the finishing touch to the work at once, and recommend the Sonnentonans and other tribes to distrust current false rumours, for the Governor of Canada desires with all his heart to preserve peace and second your upright intentions. The Onnontagués and

1685.

those who are of their sentiments have wrought earnestly with the Sonnentonans to make them revert to peaceful intentions, as has also the Sieur Arnaut, bearer of this letter, who was present at all that was said and done, and will be glad to give you a full account. Since, by your efforts, peace is likely to be maintained, we shall continue to carry the Christian faith into this country, and to entreat those Indians, whom you honour with your friendship, to embrace it. This is the one object that has brought us hither, that the blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for all men, may be profitable to them, and that His glory may be great upon earth. If you could honour me with a word from your own hand, you can give your letter to one Garakontié, who is deputy for the Onnontagués at the congress which you are calling at Albany. Do him the favour to exhort him to be a good Christian, as was his brother, whose name he bears. Advise him to get drunk no more, as he promised when he was baptised, and to do his duty as a Christian. One word from you will affect his mind very greatly, and he will publish abroad that it is untrue that the English forbid them Christianity, since you, their Governor, exhort him to persevere therein. I pray God, who has united us in the same Catholic faith, to unite us also in heaven. *Signed*, Jean Lamberville, of the Company of Jesus, called in Indian (*en sauvage*) Teiorheuseré. P.S.—Pardon me the liberty that I take in presenting my humble respects to the Governor of Virginia, whom the Indians call Longsword. I hear that he will be near you at Albany. Some time ago I caused an Englishman, called Robetman, whom the Indians had robbed and captured, to him, saving him from the fury of the disorderly and from those who wished to make a slave of him. It was the least that I could do for him. *French.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Printed translation in New York Documents, III.*, 453. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 39.]

1685.

Memorandum of letters received and despatched. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. CVIII., pp.* 211-224.]

Oct. 31. 441. Receipt for eighty-one prisoners attainted of high treason to be transported to America. *Signed*, Rich. White. List of prisoners' names. 2 *pp. Endorsed.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 96.]

Oct. 442. Memorandum of shipment of two rebel prisoners, John Edwards and Edward Lloyd, to York river, Virginia. *Signed*, John Baker of Hamwood in Somerset. *Scrap. Endorsed. Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 97.]

Oct. 31. 443. Journal of Assembly of Nevis. The new members sworn, and Mr. Smargin elected speaker. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVI., No.* 43.]

Nov. 2. 444. Journal of Assembly of Virginia. Twenty-three burgesses only being in town, they informed the Governor that they thought they had not authority to adjourn themselves nor to choose a Speaker. The Governor prorogued them until the next day.

Nov. 3. The Assembly attended the Governor in Council and was ordered to choose a Speaker.

Nov. 4. The Speaker having been chosen, the burgesses waited on the Governor in the afternoon, when Colonel William Kendal was approved by him as Speaker. The Governor read a speech, proposing Acts to empower counties and parishes to make by-laws, to change in all clauses relating to forfeitures the words "to be accounted for to the public" to "to be accounted for to His Majesty." He informed them also of the return of Colonel Byrd, having successfully ratified the peace with the Indians; and reproved the peevish temper of those who were discouraged at the additional duty on tobacco. The King's letter of 26 June was read, and the articles of peace ratified by Colonel Byrd.

MEMOIR CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF CANADA

AND THE MEASURES THAT MAY BE ADOPTED FOR THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY. 12 NOVEMBER 1685.

(*Extract.*)

[Paris Doc. III.]

The most to be feared is the Iroquois who are the most powerful in consequence of the facility with which they obtain arms from the English and the number of slaves they make daily among their neighbours by carrying away at an early age their children, whom they adopt; this is the only means of their increase, for thro' their debaucheries of Brandy which lead them into frightful disorders, the few children their women raise could not of themselves assuredly sustain them, if they did not make prisoners.

The great trade in arms and ammunition at a low rate, among the English has given them hitherto that advantage which they have over other nations who in order to be disarmed have been destroyed by the former who are all of them insolent. Even the English in Virginia have suffered and still suffer from them every day; but the interest of the trader at Orange and Manatte supersedes the public interest, for if they would not sell them powder, that nation could be more easily conquered than any other. It consists of five principal villages, each of which have other smaller ones dependant on them; the first is called Annié (Mohawk) which can furnish two hundred men fit for service and are ten leagues from Orange (Albany); the second is Oneyoust (Oneida) which can furnish one hundred and fifty men at from 15 to 20 leagues from Annié; the third is Onnontagué which could bring out three hundred men, ('tis one hundred leagues from Montreal); the fourth is Goyoguoain (Cayuga) which could put two hundred men a-foot, at twelve leagues from Lake Ontario, and the Sonoutouans (Senecas) the fifth, who comprize, as it is reported, twelve hundred men bearing arms, at five leagues South of the Lake.

The Senecas being the strongest, are the most insolent. The idea must not be entertained that this Nation can ever be reduced except by being in a position to pounce on them; which cannot be done without approaching them, occupying some posts where provisions can be placed for the troops who will be sent after them. To accomplish this sufficiently apropos without being perceived by the enemy, in consequence of the navigation of the river, which is full of Rapids and Cascades, impassable except by portages, independent of the distance—herein consists all the care and difficulty.

The post of Catarokuy appears to me the most advantageous, by placing it in a better state of defence than it is. It is at the entrance of Lake Ontario from the extremity of which the Senecas are distant only five or six leagues, in a beautiful country towards the South.

The position of this fort is sufficiently favorable to secure the barks against the storms and the attacks of the Indians at a trifling expense which will require to be made on it. The passage to be made through this lake is forty or fifty leagues before disembarking near the Senecas. The three barks at Catarokuy will be particularly useful in this enterprize by putting them in repair, for they have been much neglected.

• • • • • • • • • • • • •

It appears to me extremely important that the King render himself absolute master of this Lake, which is more than three hundred leagues in circumference. I am persuaded that the English would like particularly to have a post there, which would be immensely prejudicial to the Colony and the King's power on this Continent; his Majesty could easily make himself master of it, without any opposition, by the permanent establishment of a post, with vessels on this lake, and by another fort

and vessels on lake Erie which is only two leagues distant, by the Niagara River, from this lake Ontario; but as this post cannot be established until after the Iroquois are conquered, I shall, before entering into a detail of the means of conquering that Nation, again say, regarding the importance of occupying those posts, that the English have so great a facility to establish themselves there that it is the power of the Iroquois alone which has prevented them having posts there, since Lake Ontario can be easily reached on horseback from Manatte and Orange, there being a distance of only one hundred leagues through a fine country.

The importance of the post to be occupied on lake Erie is easily perceived, since we can easily go in vessels from that lake to Missilimakina which would be a great facility for the trade of the country, to keep the Outaouacs in check and in obedience to the King; besides, we should have the means of reaching through this lake the Illinois, and surmount by this communication with ships many of the difficulties experienced in the Rivers in consequence of the number of portages. Being masters of these two lakes and cruizing there with our vessels, the English would lose the Beaver trade in that quarter, of which they have abundance.

A durable peace with the Iroquois Indians would be more advantageous to the Colony than prosecuting a war; but this Nation has assumed such excessively insolent and haughty airs towards all the other tribes against whom they wage war and at whose expense they daily increase; and joined to that, the odds they have had from a disadvantageous peace concluded last year with us, has placed them in a position that, we may be assured, they will break with us on the first opportunity. It is yet more certain that if they be not checked, they will reassume their former insolent air the moment there will be no more troops in this country, however they may promise us at present, and will no doubt insult us, and subject us to all possible outrage.

It is necessary, then, to examine the most certain means of destroying and conquering their five villages, which according to the above estimate, may bring into the field about two thousand men bearing arms, and in a condition to go to war.

I consider that what troops we have, and what militia we can collect together, if we had them all with some of our Savages, would suffice to attack them; but as it is not sufficient to make them let go their foot, and it becomes necessary to deprive them of all means of disturbing us in our settlements, we must not go after them to chastise them by halves but to annihilate them if possible. This cannot be done without the aid of a number of Savages sufficiently great to pursue them in security to the distant forests towards Maryland and Andastes whither they will retreat if they find that we are more powerful than they; and as it is of extreme importance not to declare war against them until we are in a condition to vanquish them, it will be absolutely necessary to adopt measures with the Illinois, their enemies, and with the Savages our allies, to engage them to unite with us in attacking them and pursuing them into the woods whither they never fail to retire, daring not to stand against us. For as it would be very unfortunate not to vanquish them if we attack them, nothing ought to be neglected that can be done, to endeavor to destroy them and put it beyond their power to injure the Colony. If we succeed, I calculate the English will lose their trade in that quarter.

I find all our allies so discontented with us, and so dissatisfied on account of the idle march which we caused them to make last year, that according to what I learn, I do not believe that any of them can be relied on.

Before engaging in a war, then, I considered it prudent to permit the continuance of the negotiations of a certain Onontague savage, accredited by them and the other Iroquois, who is said to wish for nothing but peace. Notwithstanding I bethought me of managing the Illinois by promising them every protection, and as Chevalier de Tonty, who is in command at the fort on behalf of M. de Lasalle, has considerable influence among the Illinois, I have deemed it a duty to advise him of my

arrival and of he necessity which exists that he should speak, as soon as possible, for the King's interest.

I likewise sent to M. de Ladurantaye who is at lake Superior under orders from M. de Labarre, and to Sieur Duluth who is also at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other can have news from me this year, so that not being able to see them all, at soonest before next July, I considered it best not to think of undertaking any thing during the whole of next year, especially as a great number of our best men of the Colony are among the Outaouacs, and cannot return before the ensuing summer.

Moreover, learning that six tribes of our friends and allies are at war with each other, and as it is absolutely necessary to reconcile them before thinking of deriving any advantage from them, I sent presents and instructions to M. Ladurantaye to collect our French and put himself at their head, in order to support his reasoning and to have more authority to reconcile them in concert with Father Anjeblan Jesuit Missionary at Missilimakina.

We shall, however, lose no time in putting ourselves in a position to resent the insults that the Iroquois may offer the Colony, which would suffer very much if we were mastered, and we will not let pass any negotiations that offer so as to lull the Senecas who are the most insolent, and with whom there is no permanent peace to be expected, much less that they will observe it with our allies whose total destruction they contemplate.

Chevalier de Tonty commandant of M de Lasalle's fort among the Illinois, coming next week, we shall agree together as to what is best to be done to secure the conquest of this Nation, which I understand can be done if he can march with a sufficiently large body of Illinois behind lake Erie and come to Niagara, as Sieur de la Forest who commanded at Fort Catarokvy told me could be done, who also assured me that powder and at least four or five hundred guns would be required to arm these people. This is but a loan, which the said Sieur de Laforest is certain will be reimbursed in cash, by the said Sieur de Tonty.

The said Sieur de La Forest having demanded my permission to go and join said Sieur de Tonty on M de Lasalle's business, I deemed it proper to select a capable person to guarantee the safety of the Post of Catarokvy. I chose Sieur D'Orvilliers a very prudent and intelligent man and who has much experience, whose conduct during M de Labarre's administration is praised and approved by all persons of property in the country.

I gave him his company as a garrison, with some workmen as well to refit the vessels as to repair the barracks, and to put the fort in the best possible condition to pass the winter.

And as there is a great resort of Iroquois at that place, and as there is quite a number established there, I requested the Jesuit Fathers to station Father Milet there to act as Interpreter and to correspond with Father de Lamberville who is a Missionary among the Onontagues who evince a desire for peace.

In regard to Sieur Duluth I sent him orders to repair here so that I may learn from himself the number of savages on whom I may depend: he is accredited among them and rendered great services to M de Labarre by a considerable number of savages whom he brought to him to Niagara, who alone would have attacked the Senecas were it not for an express order from M de Labarre to the contrary.

On arriving here I found neither batteaux nor canoes for our troops, and as they are absolutely useless if not adapted to pass from one point to another; knowing by experience that the expense of canoes is too great and that they require too much attention and repair, I thought I could not do better than to order plank to be prepared for one hundred flat batteaux, which will carry twice more than canoes and will be much cheaper both in cost and repair, because a batteau that will carry two thousand pounds will not cost more than a canoe which will carry only one.

The means for preparing to wage war against the Iroquois, if the King approve of it, so that that Nation may not have any suspicion, remain to be considered.

It is very much to be desired that first of all, sufficient flour and other provisions might be put into Catarokvy next year, so as to have nothing to do the following year but to march against the enemy; but as I do not think it possible to convey the whole quantity of provisions necessary thither without the savages naturally suspicious taking umbrage, measures must be adopted to accomplish all in the same year with great diligence, which cannot be effected without trouble and expense, for in truth, the difficulties in surmounting rapids and cascades, twenty-five to thirty leagues in extent, are immense.

This, however, is not all; for it is well to consider that the arrangements are not easy to be made so as to secure punctuality, since from the Illinois country there are four hundred leagues to be travelled to arrive at Niagara, the place of rendezvous; and from the Outaouacs and Savages of lake Superior, three hundred leagues, and from Quebec nearly two hundred to the said place of Niagara. All this must make me think of putting myself in a condition to be, myself, sufficiently strong to fight them without any other aid than that of this country.

The conveyance of supplies and the expense are my sole difficulties. The neighbourhood of Catarokvy indifferently fertile in grain, produces good peas; M. de Laforest assures me that he has nearly three hundred minots. I caused him to give orders to have them all sown, and M. d'Orvilliers not to allow any to be consumed, but will make the soldiers work and oblige them to plant some. That will be a trifling supply of four or five hundred minots for next year.

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It will require considerable expense to render the river navigable; the Map I have caused to be made of it will afford some imperfect idea by remarking the pitch in several places there.

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The surest remedy against the English of New York would be to purchase that place from the King of England who in the present state of his affairs, will, without doubt, require money of the King. By that means we should be masters of the Iroquois without waging war.

Memoir of M. de Denonville on the State of Canada.

Memoir on the present state of Canada, and the measures to be adopted for the safety of the country. 12th November, 1685.

Lengthy discourses are not required to prove that the principal means of maintaining and increasing a Colony is to keep it in peace with its neighbors, so that the people may be enabled to devote the whole of their time to agriculture and the formation of their settlements, being no longer called aside by the necessity of taking up arms to attack an enemy and to protect themselves from the insults they are liable to experience. But as it is impossible to rely on neighboring nations, especially when they do not govern themselves by religion nor by any laws that have formed since the creation of the world the two guides which God has placed in the hands of Kings for the conduct of the people whom His Providence has confided to their care, 'tis indubitable that measures must be adopted to secure and guarantee the country against insults to which it is exposed from those Infidels.

The first precaution necessary to be taken is to reassemble the Colony with great care in order to concentrate its forces, and so act that each inhabitant may be aided by his neighbor in case of need. Forts, redoubts and retrenchments must not be forgotten, as well for the safety of the inhabitants as for the security of their cattle and other property.

I am persuaded that the first who had the management of the Colony of New France did not omit anything essential in those principles; they have so frequently seen their necessity that experience, united to their own good conduct, caused them to adopt similar resolutions wherein we now witness in New France but the vestiges of their wisdom. I am, thereby satisfied that care enough has not been taken to carry out their intentions, which appeared to me quite conformable to the King's orders, though these have not been afterwards so closely followed as they ought to have been. For, doubtless the Colony of New France would not be so exposed as it is to the insults of the feeblest enemy that will make his appearance, were it not as it seems to me from the situation of the greatest portion of the settlements, that private applications have been listened to, and every thing granted without any reflection. What is most to be regretted herein is, that for the present there is no remedy except the hope of seeing an increase of population, consequent on the large number of children I see around who, in order to be near their relatives, will possibly settle in their neighborhood.

The best I can do on my side is, to decidedly oppose any person settling beyond our most distant plantations. The principal cause of that wide separation of settlements proceeds, I have remarked, from the desire each has to be in advance of all others, so as to obtain the most peltries; and this is so true, that, if it be not checked, I believe settlements will be pushed as far the Outaouacs. This will not assuredly happen, so long as the King will leave me in this country.

Throughout the entire of New France there is not a single redoubt *(reduit)* except the Castle of Quebec, which, within a few years, resembles only a private establishment, open day and night to every comer, without a single gate capable of being closed.

The post of Three Rivers is formed of lofty palisades, without doors or gates, and without flanks except two large turrets begun last year which are entirely exposed and unfinished. Nevertheless, that post is of importance, and might have been located more favorably had it been placed nearer the three mouths of the river. But this change is no longer feasible.

On the Island of Montreal there is no sign of a redoubt except at the Indi . mission of the Mountain which M. de Belmont has had inclosed with great care and industry.

Thus it may be said with truth, that from River du Loup to the point *(la pointe)* of the Island of Montreal, a distance of more than one hundred leagues, there is not a solitary spot affording the semblance of shelter from an enemy. The general census which I have caused to be taken will show the number of inhabitants in all those settlements; by following the two banks of the river, an opinion will be thus formed how far apart the settlements must be, the one from the other.

The views that ought to be entertained for the support and strengthening of the Colony, until the number of children increase and multiply, would, it appears to me beforehand, be to populate as much as possible the Island of Montreal and to have it surrounded *(d'en faire achever le circuit)* by a greater number of settlers; if that were completed as commenced, no hostile Indian could come on the island without being discovered. That island is twenty-five leagues in circumference; ten leagues remain still to be cleared, eight leagues on the north, and two on the west side, to complete that circle. To accelerate this, it would be necessary that the gentlemen of the Seminary could construct, as soon as possible, two or three mills and two churches, to attract settlers thither. Some offer themselves already on these conditions. M^{r}. Dolier, their Superior, told me he wished it done, but that the erection of the Seminary and of the Church had retarded it; indeed, they did not adopt the Resolution of building a house for themselves until they had great need of it, for no persons can be worse lodged than the ecclesiastics. Too much care cannot be taken to people this island which is of itself very fertile and, from its situation at the head of the entire country, must, if thickly settled, be the strength and support of the whole Colony, inasmuch as all the places against which the foe would like to make a demonstration, are accessible from this point.

It would, for a thousand good reasons, be of consequence, also, to enlarge the town of Villemarie[1]. This could easily be effected by insisting that the Indian trade should be carried on, not in every private place in the settlements but exclusively in the town, as regulated by the King's order communicated in a letter of My Lord de Colbert of the 15th of April, 1676, whereupon an arrêt of the Sovereign Council of Quebec was issued, dated the 5th of October of the same year, which had no more effect than the King's commands.

To avoid being too prolix, it is proper to conclude these reflections in order to make a few observations on the enemy, whose position affords a better opportunity for annoying the colony; and to consider the remedies required in such case.

The Iroquois are the most formidable; they are the most powerful by reason of the facility they possess of procuring arms from the English, and in consequence of the number of prisoners *(esclaves)* they daily make among their neighbors, whose children they carry off at an early age and adopt. This is their only means of increase, for in consequence of their drunken debaucheries which impel them into frightful disorders, the few children their wives bear could not assuredly sustain them alone did they not make prisoners.

Their large purchases of arms and ammunition from the English, at a low rate, have given them hitherto all the advantage they possess over other tribes, who in consequence of being disarmed, have been destroyed by the Iroquois, all of whom are proud of the act. Even the English in Virginia have suffered and still daily suffer from them, but the gain of the merchant of Orange and Manatte is paramount to every public interest, for were he not to

[1] The city of Montreal was thus called when first founded. — Ed.

sell the Iroquois powder, that Nation would be more easily conquered than any other. It consists of five principal tribes *(villages)* each of which has other small dependencies. The first calls itself Mohawk *(Anié)* and can muster two hundred men fit for service; it is ten leagues from Orange. The second is Oneida, *(Oneyoust)* between 15 and 20 leagues of the Mohawks, which can muster one hundred and fifty men. The third is Onontagué, a hundred leagues from Montreal; it can muster three hundred men. The fourth is Cayuga, *(Goyoguoain)* twelve leagues distant from Lake Ontario, which can furnish two hundred men, and the Senecas *(Sonontouans)* are the fifth. The last consist, it is said, of twelve hundred fighting men, and are five leagues south of the lake.

The Senecas being the strongest are the most insolent. Their subjugation need never be expected except we be in a position to surprise them. This cannot be effected without approaching nearer to them; occupying some post into which supplies may be thrown for the troops that will go in quest of those savages. In accomplishing this so opportunely as not to alarm the enemy, consists all the trouble and difficulty, both because of the distance and of the navigation of the river which is full of rapids and cascades impassable except by portages.

The post of Catarakoy appears to me the most advantageous, if it were placed in a better posture of defence. It is at the mouth of Lake Ontario, from the head of which the Senecas are only five or six leagues distant in a beautiful country towards the south.

That fort is in a good position to afford vessels protection from storms and Indian attacks, on the outlay of some trifling expense which will be required for that purpose. The nearest point to the Senecas is forty or fifty leagues across this Lake. The three vessels at Catarakoy will be of vast use in this expedition, when thoroughly repaired, for they are greatly neglected.

The plan of this fort demonstrates that it might have been more advantageously situated were it at the extremity of the tongue of land which is capable of being isolated by cutting a ditch on the land side. A wall twenty-five feet high, flanked with demi-bastions *(demi-tours)* would, in my opinion, be sufficient against Savages who do not make use of cannon.

It appears to me of extreme importance that the King make himself absolute master of this lake, which is more than three hundred leagues in circumference. I am persuaded that the English would like very much to have a post there. This would be a great prejudice to the colony and to the King's power on this continent of which his Majesty can easily make himself master, without any opposition, by the permanent establishment of a post with some vessels on this lake, and by another fort and some vessels on Lake Erie, which, by the Niagara river, is only two[1] leagues distant from Lake Ontario. But as such a post cannot be erected until after the Iroquois are conquered, I shall, before entering into the detail of the means of mastering that Nation, again repeat, as regards the importance of occupying those posts, that the English have so great a facility for establishing themselves there, that nothing save the power alone of the Iroquois prevents them from having posts there; inasmuch as it is quite easy to go from Manatte and Orange to Lake Ontario on horseback, the distance being only one hundred leagues through a beautiful country.

The importance of the post to be established on Lake Erie is quite clear, since vessels can very easily go from that lake to Missilimakina, which would afford considerable facility to the trade of the country and keep the Outaouacs in check and in the King's obedience. That lake would, moreover, enable us to take the Illinois by the hand, whilst communication by vessels would remove a great many impediments met with in the rivers from the numerous

[1] *Sic.* Quel Twelve.

portages. Our cruisers having rendered us masters of these two lakes, t' English would lose all the beaver trade of that quarter, which is very considerable.

A permanent peace with the Iroquois would be of more benefit to the Colony than a proclamation of war; but they act so insolently and haughtily towards all the other tribes with which they are at war, and at whose expense they daily recruit their strength, and have derived such advantage from an unfavorable peace concluded last year with us, that they are placed in a position, we may be assured, to break with us on the very first opportunity. It is still more certain that if not checked, they will, at the moment when there will be no more troops in this country, reassume on the first opportunity their original insolent tone, and without doubt insult us and inflict on us all possible injuries, no matter what promises they may make at present.

The question is, then, to discover the most sure means to humble and conquer the Five nations which, according to the account above cited, can place about two thousand men under arms, and in a state to take the field.

I estimate that the Regulars and militia with some Indians that we could muster, would be sufficient to encounter them; but as it is not enough to make them retreat, and as it is necessary to deprive them of all means to disturb us in our settlements, we must not go to their country to chastise them by halves but, if possible, to annihilate them. This cannot be effected without the aid of a considerable number of Indians in order to be able to pursue them pretty effectually into the distant forests in the direction of Merilande and Endastes,[1] whither they will retreat if they see that we are stronger than they. And as it is of great consequence not to declare war against them except we be able to crush them, it is of absolute necessity to take measures to induce the Illinois their enemies, and the Indians our allies, to unite with us, to attack and pursue them into the woods whither they will not fail to retire, as they will not dare to stand before us. For, as it would be very unfortunate not to crush them when attacked, nothing ought to be left undone to endeavor to destroy them and to put it out of their power to injure the Colony. Should we succeed the English, I reckon, will lose their trade in that quarter.

I find all our allies so discontented with us, and so dissatisfied at the fruitless voyage we caused them to make last year, that I do not think, from what I learn, that we can calculate on any of them.

Prior, then, to engaging in a war, I considered it my duty to permit the continuance of the negotiations of a certain Onondaga Indian of influence among them and the other Iroquois, who say they desire only peace. Meanwhile I thought it proper to set about managing the Illinois by promising them every protection; and as Chevalier de Tonty, who commands the fort on behalf of M^r. de Lasalle, is in great favor with them, I considered it my duty to advise him of my arrival, and of the necessity that existed for my speaking to him as soon as possible on the King's service.

I have also sent to M^r. de Ladurantaye who is at Lake Superior by M^r. de Labarre's orders; and to Sieur Duluth, who is likewise at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other will be able to receive news from me this year; so that, not being able to see them all at the earliest before the month of July next, I have concluded that I ought not, and could not think of undertaking anything during the entire

[1] See Note supra, p. 227. — Ed.

of the next year; especially as a great number of our best Colonists are among the Outaouacs, and cannot return before next summer.

Being, moreover, informed that six Nations of our friends and allies are at war with each other, it is absolutely necessary to establish peace among them before thinking of making them in any way useful. I have sent some presents and an order to Mr. de Ladurantaye to collect our Frenchmen and to place himself at their head, so as to back his arguments and to have more authority to reconcile them in conjunction with Father Angelran, a Jesuit Missionary, who is at Missilimakina.

Meanwhile, we shall lose no time in putting ourselves in a condition to repel any insults the Iroquois may offer the Colony, which would suffer seriously were we overpowered. Neither will we neglect any negotiations that may present themselves to lull the Senecas, who are the most insolent, and from whom we are not to expect any assured peace, still less its observance with our allies, whom they are determined utterly to exterminate.

On the arrival, next July, of Chevalier de Tonty, commandant of Mr. de Lasalle's fort at the Illinois, we shall arrange together our future plans to insure success in crushing that Nation. I expect to accomplish it if he can march with a sufficient force of the Illinois in the rear of Lake Erié, and come to Niagara, as Sieur de Laforest, who was in command at Catarokoy, has assured me he could do. This officer has also informed me that four to five hundred guns, with some powder, will be required to arm these tribes. It will be only an advance, which Sieur de Laforest pledges himself to cause the said Sieur de Tonty to reimburse in cash.

Said Sieur de Laforest having requested my permission to go and join Sieur de Tonty on Mr. de Lasalle's business, I considered it my duty to select a person capable of answering for the safety of the post at Catarokoy. I have chosen Sieur D'orvilliers, a man of much prudence and intelligence, and of great experience, whose conduct during Mr. de la Barre's administration elicited the praise and approbation of every respectable person in the country.

I have given him for a garrison his company, with some mechanics as well to refit the vessels as to repair the barracks, and to place the fort in as good a condition as possible for passing the winter securely there.

And as there is a great recourse of Iroquois to, and even a number of them settled at that post, I have requested the Jesuit Fathers to appoint Father Milet to that mission to act as Interpreter, and to coöperate with Father de Lamberville, a missionary among the Onontagués, who express a desire for peace.

As regards Sieur Duluth, I have sent him orders to wait on me, so that I may learn from himself the number of Indians on which I can reckon. He possesses influence among them, and rendered great services to Mr. de Labarre, by bringing to Niagara a considerable number of Indians for him, who would have, of themselves, attacked the Senecas had not Mr. de Labarre expressly forbidden them.

On arriving here I found neither bateaux nor canoes for our troops. As men are absolutely useless without means of conveying them from one place to another, and knowing by experience that canoes cost too much, and require too much attention and repair, I thought I could not do better than to give orders for the preparation of plank for a hundred flat bottomed boats, which will carry twice as much as canoes, and be much cheaper, and need less repairs. Because a bateau capable of carrying two thousand pounds weight, will not cost more than a canoe which will carry only one.

The means for waging war with the King's approbation, against the Iroquois, without exciting any suspicion on their part, remain to be considered.

It is highly desirable that sufficient flour and other provision should be thrown next year into Catarokoy, so as to have nothing to do the year following except to march against the enemy. But as I consider it impossible to convey thither the entire quantity of provisions necessary without giving umbrage to the Indians, who are naturally suspicious, it will be necessary to adopt measures to effect the whole, with extraordinary diligence, in the course of the same year. This will not be accomplished without trouble and expense; for, in truth, the passage of the rapids and cascades, which embrace from twenty to thirty leagues, is attended with considerable difficulty.

This is not all; for it is well to reflect that it will not be easy to make arrangements for a punctual rendezvous as the Illinois have to travel four hundred leagues before they arrive at Niagara, the place of meeting; and the Outaouacs and Indians of Lake Superior three hundred leagues, and as it is nearly two hundred from Quebec to Niagara. All this must compel me to devise arrangements whereby I will be able alone to beat them without any other aid than what the country will afford.

The transportation of supplies and the expense attendant thereupon are my sole difficulty. The environs of Catarokoy, though not favorable for grain, produce good peas. Mr de Laforest assured me that he has nearly three hundred bushels of them. I caused orders to be sent him to plant the entire lot, and Mr D'orvilliers has instructions not to permit any of them to be consumed but to set his soldiers to work, to plant them. This would afford a trifling supply of four to five hundred minots[1] for next year.

The statements of the cost of conveying flour to Catarakoy exhibit the great expense of freight which cannot be had less. I have witnessed the last convoy, I have seen the difficulties, which had been in some degree diminished by a few passages I caused to be made. More might be effected, but a large expense would have to be incurred to render the river navigable. By remarking the pitch at some points on the map I caused to be made of it, some feeble idea may be formed of those difficulties.

We have treated of the avowed enemy of the colony, and of the means of getting rid of him. It is well to consider whether the English are not equally, if not more to be feared, and whether we must not take as much care to protect ourselves against them.

The situation of the convenient posts and good harbors occupied by these English on the sea coast South of this country, gives them such an advantage over us, that did it afford only the means of navigation at all seasons, this would still be too much.

Since they have been on this continent, they have taken particular pains to erect three large towns, which owing to their good conduct have become very populous. Trade flourishes in consequence of the abundance of beaver they derive from the Indians who eagerly repair to them, because their goods are cheaper than ours; and of the fisheries that nation has forestalled on us through our weakness in Acadia, the coast of which abounds more with fish than theirs.

This fishery though in the King's dominion has been for a long time free to them; it has made them very powerful in our own territory which has scarcely any trade except with them, as it possesses but very little with France; and the few furs obtained from Acadia are all exported to the English.

[1] 12 @ 1500 bushels. — Ed.

This, in addition to seeing them among our enemies, the Iroquois, whom they aid, sustain, is not the only inconvenience we experience at their hands; we also see them establishing themselves at the North Bay, where they will be more injurious to us than in the direction of Acadia: For if their establishments continue as they have begun at the three places on that Bay which they actually occupy, and on the river Bourbon or Port Nelson, we must expect to see all the best of the Beaver Trade, both as to quality and quantity, in the hands of the English.

If not expelled thence, they will get all the fat beaver from an infinite number of nations at the North which are being discovered every day; they will attract the greatest portion of the peltries that reach us at Montreal through the Outaouacs and Assinibois, and other neighboring tribes, for these will derive a double advantage from going in search of the English at Port Nelson—they will not have so far to go, and will find goods at a much lower rate than with us. That is evident from the fact that our Frenchmen have seen quite recently at Port Nelson, some Indians who were known to have traded several years ago at Montreal.

The posts at the head of the Bay, adjoining the rivers Abitibis,[1] and Nimisco[2] can be reached through the woods and seized; our Frenchmen are acquainted with the road. But in regard to the posts occupied by the English in the River Bourbon, or Port Nelson,[3] it is impossible to hold any post below them, and convey merchandise thither except by sea. Some pretend that it is feasible to go there overland, but the river to reach that quarter remains yet to be discovered, and when discovered, could only admit the conveyance of a few men and not of any merchandise. The best informed on this subject agree herein.

The most certain safeguard against the English of New-York would be to purchase it from the King of England who, in the present state of his affairs will, doubtless, stand in need of the King's money. We would, thus, be masters of the Iroquois without a war.

In regard to Hudson's Bay (*du Nord*), should the King not think proper to enforce the reasons his Majesty has for opposing the usurpations of the English on his lands, by the just titles proving his Majesty's possession of it long before the English had any knowledge of said country, nothing is to be done but to find means to support the Company of said Bay formed in Canada by the privilege his Majesty has been pleased this year to grant his subjects of New France, and to furnish them, for some years, a few vessels of one hundred and twenty tons only, well armed and equipped. I hope, with this aid, our Canadians will support this affair which will, otherwise, perish of itself, whilst the English merchants, more powerful than our Canadians, will with good ships continue their trade, whereby they will enrich themselves at the expense of the Colony and of the King's revenue.

[1] Rises in Lake Abittibis, which is in Lat. 49 N., and Long. 79 W., and after forming a junction with Moose River, falls into the S. W. corner of James' Bay.

[2] Rupert river rises in Lake Mistassin, in Lat. 51 N., and Long. 72° 35′ W., and after forming Lake Nemiskau, falls into the East side of James' Bay.

[3] Now, York Fort or Factory, on the West side of Hudson's Bay, in Lat. 57° 2′ N. Long. 93° W. *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 11.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay, and the latter's Answer.

Extract of the Summary of Monsieur de Denonville's letters of the 20th August, 3 September, and 12 November, 1685.

Notes of the Minister.

I shall commence my letter in answer to his, by assurances of the extreme satisfaction the King entertains of his conduct on his entrance into his government *(etablissement)*. I exhort him to persevere and am persuaded that, by continuing to act with such good intentions and so much wisdom, he will place that colony on a very different footing from the past, and perform a service which will be pleasing to the King and most beneficial to the State.—*Good.*

Has made a voyage to Cataracouy. Sieur de la Forest, who commands there on behalf of Sieur de la Salle, having requested permission to go to the Illinois on said Sieur de la Salle's business, he (de D.) has put Sieur Dorvilliers in his place with his company, that post appearing to him of great consequence.

It is highly important to preserve that post, which would be of very great consideration in case of war with the Iroquois, but he must take care not to do any thing adverse to the interests of Sieur de la Salle, its proprietor and governor, who, besides, is employed in the King's service discovering countries towards Mexico, to whom, therefore, he is to afford every protection, obliging him. however, to conform to orders the same as other governors.

By the inclosed plan will be seen the bad condition of the Fort; how it will be more favorably located, and what will be necessary to be done to protect from the enemy's fire the vessels which are sent there.

I have seen this plan and what he writes me about this Fort. I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at the ignorance of those who burned it, since by retiring a few toises they could occupy the entire interval between both parts of the Lake, make a branch of that Lake front them, and prevent an attack on their rear which appears to me not to be protected from insult. It will be very proper, in time, to fortify that post, without, however, doing any thing more than placing it beyond insult, and in a position to protect the anchorage-ground of the vessels, having nothing to fear from the Iroquois when protected against a *coup de main.*

He is assured that l'Ile de la Forêt in Lake Ontario, about a league distant from that fort, is more fertile, and possesses a cove where the

He will be able to visit that Island at another time; the difficulty of landing there in consequence of the wind, must, however,

barks can be sheltered from the winds, which are very tempestuous. He was unable to visit that island in consequence of the gale which agitated the lake, but will do so at the first opportunity.

The post of Cataracouy is of very great importance, as is to be seen in the Memoir on the Present State of Canada, which he transmits.

Three Iroquois villages pass within reach of this fort going and returning from their hunting.

War with the Iroquois is inevitable, and if we do not make it against them, they will declare it after they will have done all in their power to rid themselves of the Indians who are friends of the French.

Though they are highly insolent he will temporize with them until a favorable opportunity present to declare himself.

A man named Acoutache, who is among the Outawas, has told them that he, Denonville, was preparing to attack them, which has alarmed them.

The Onnontagués have promised to visit him in the month of July, when he will endeavor to draw this Acoutache thither in order to arrest, and make an example of him.

He was in receipt of letters from Father Lamberville, Missionary, to the effect that the Iroquois are quiet, so that he does not believe that they intend to be first to declare themselves.

This father informs him that they have sent a war party against the Illinois and other tribes, allies of the French.

make Cataracouy preferable, notwithstanding the soil is less fertile than that on the island.

In case war against the Iroquois cannot be avoided, it will probably commence at this post, which will afford great facilities for its speedy termination, as the greater portion of the Iroquois pass, he says, within reach of this fort on their return from hunting, for it will be easy to seize a favorable opportunity to attack them unawares, in the same manner as they have frequently surprised the French. However, his Majesty refers it to him to act in this case as he shall judge most proper, observing, always, the principle which has been laid down for him, that he must, for the good of the colony, avoid war as much as he possibly can with safety and due maintenance of the fear the Iroquois ought to entertain of the French. But if it be inevitable, efficient measures should be adopted promptly to exterminate the Iroquois and to avoid prolonging the war.

Good. The King refers to his prudence the conduct he is to observe in this regard.

Nothing is of more importance than to uphold the allies of the French, and to prevent the Iroquois insulting these tribes; and if the

Reasons will not be wanting to break with them when desirable, and it is even impossible to avoid attacking them as they are too haughty, and do not perform what they promised in their last Treaty.

They are to come to see him this summer.

Transmits a list of articles required to carry on the War, and another of what is in store.

Sieur d'Orvilliers has written to him that one of his soldiers, returning from accompanying a Jesuit to Onondaga, saw eleven English canoes, loaded with goods for the Seneca[1] trade, conducted by French deserters.

As it is necessary to prevent this trade, he is to send to said Sieur Dorvilliers some canoes, which he will employ with his barks in cruising on the Lake and endeavoring to seize those French and English.

If this were not promptly remedied, the Canada trade would be lost.

After having defeated the Senecas, it will be necessary to establish a good post at Niagara, and another Fort on Lake Erie, for the security of the barks that will have to be built there; and thus the English and the Iroquois will be kept in check.

He has found the old troops in a bad enough condition, but he will remedy it.

The greater portion of the companies are without arms. He has distributed among them the 600 muskets he carried out.

The 300 that are yet to be sent this year will be distributed among the settlers.

He requests their immediate dispatch.

It would be well to furnish the Illinois with arms. Sieur Tonty would pay for them; the King would thus only make an advance of them.

defence of the latter require war against the Iroquois, it were better to commence it than to suffer the destruction of the Nations with whom trade can be carried on.

It is very important to prevent this trade, as it is certain that the Colony of Canada will wholly perish if we cannot prevent the bad designs of the English and Dutch who crowd it on all sides and whose continual aim is to engross its commerce.

He acted very properly in dispatching those canoes to cut off the passage of the English; but if he could seize some of those French deserters, it would be very important to execute prompt and exemplary justice on them.

The King leaves it to him to do whatever he will think most proper, but let him take care not to engage in excessive expenses, and to send, as often as he can, the description of the country, and plans of the places. He will design to establish posts hereafter; let him observe also that there must not be too many posts to be garrisoned in a new country, as that divides its forces and, therefore, it will be absolutely necessary to confine himself to what is requisite for the support and increase of Trade and the safety of the inhabitants.

Good.

I issue the order for the dispatch of these three hundred.

I order the payment, but, as he remarks that it is only an advance, they will be issued on account of the money which is to be sent

[1] Outawa. — Ed.

Has contracted with the man named Azur to supply said muskets.

He binds himself to deliver them at Quebec @ 10^{ll} each, French currency, according to the sample he has on hand.

As it is only an advance, requests that payment thereof be ordered at Rochelle to Sieur Grognon, merchant.

He has been advised that Sieur De la Salle pretends that the Commandant of his fort is not to receive orders from him, Denonville. Inquires what are the intentions thereupon.

Whatever the decision may be, it is necessary to order said Sieur de Tonty to march with Sieur de la Forest at the head of the Indians whithersoever ordered.

Will endeavor to get the Frenchmen to come back, who say they have M^{r}. de la Barre's order to go to the Outawas.

Said Sieur de Tonty will not permit the French to trade in the direction of the Illinois.

Asks if the King has granted the whole of that country to said Sieur De la Salle.

He is highly pleased with the conduct of Chevalier de Callière.

He has endeavored with said Sieur de Callière to find some mode of diminishing the expense of the freight of the provisions to Cataracouy, but there is no way to do it except to impress the people, which would fatigue them excessively and ruin them.

He has increased Sieur de Callière's powers, *(Gouvernement)* and has given him an order to command the Regulars and militia according to the Memoir he transmits.

Proposes to appoint said Sieur de Callière to the general command, immediately under him, of the country, inasmuch as, should he happen to die, great disorder and confusion would ensue before the arrival of another governor.

Another Extract.

The Youth of Canada are so badly trained, that, from the moment they are able to

this year to Canada, subject to the repayment of the advances, in order that the funds be employed as intended according to the estimate.

Answered.

To write formally to M. de Tonty on the subject.

It is a ridiculous pretence on the part of Tonty, and I shall write sharply to him on the subject, as it is his Majesty's intention to preserve to the French the liberty of going to the Illinois to trade.

He must not think of forcing the people by means of corvées to do that transportation, and it is better that it should cost the King a little more than to fatigue and disgust the country people by taking them away from their labor and trade.

The King does not wish to confer the general command of the country on him, and besides, it is necessary that M. de Callières deserve that distinction by a longer service.

shoulder a gun, their fathers dare not say a word to them.

As they are not trained to labor and are poor, they have no other means of gaining a livelihood than to range the forests *(courir le bois)*, where they are guilty of an infinitude of disorders.

He will make use of all his authority to chastise them, and will exercise no other than military justice in this regard.

He will also endeavor to suppress a prevailing abuse in these debaucheries, namely, going entirely nude, after the Indian fashion.

This savage life has great attractions for those young men, who imitate all the movements of the Indians.

He has observed that the latter, far from instructing themselves in Religion and good morals, acquire only what is bad among the French, and it is impossible to subject them to order unless by collecting them into villages.

He is greatly edified by those who are established in the villages of Sillery, Lorette, the Sault, La Prairie, and at the Montreal Mountain.

He will inquire into the means of employing the Youth of said country in their early years.

The noblesse of Canada is of the most rascally description *(ce qu'l y a de plus gueux)* and to increase their body is to multiply the number of loafers *(fainéans.)*

The sons of Councillors are not more industrious than other young men.

3d Extract.

The Canadians are all tall, well made, robust and active, and accustomed to live on little.

The women and girls there are pretty lazy, for want of petty occupations.

4th Extract.

He will afford his entire protection to the agent of the Farmers (of the Revenue.)

That agent pretends to oblige all the traders and canoemen to deposit their peltries at the

It is his duty to introduce order there, and this is one of the circumstances in which his wisdom and application will be most useful to that colony.

Nothing is more important than to induce Indians to live among the French, but this must be for the purpose of Religious instruction, to lead them to adopt our manners, and not for the corruption of the French Youth and to make these live like Indians. I am persuaded that he who entertains such correct principles on the subject of Religion, will do all in his power to prevent that disorder.

They must not be increased.

Nothing is of greater consequence than to accustom them to industry, and means must be adopted to establish manufactures suitable to the country.

Custom House *(Bureau)* on their arrival and not to keep them at home in order to prevent people sending them to France or to the English.

The merchants say if that be done trade will be ruined, inasmuch as their peltries going to the Bureau pass through a number of hands, and are subject to be purloined.

The English sell their powder much cheaper than the French, which causes the Indians to resort for it to the English and to carry their peltries to them.

Were M. Brunet to be more accommodating as respects this article, it would be a benefit to the country.

I shall have M. Brunet spoken to, but it will be necessary that I know at what price the English sell their powder in order to examine with Sieur Brunet if he could furnish it at the same price—to write to him to come and see me on the subject.

He found, on his return from Cataracouy, English Merchants at Montreal, who thought to carry off the beaver as in times past; but they returned as they came.

Good.

Communicated to all the merchants the King's intentions on that subject, and they went away as they came.

Let him pay attention to it.

Some English merchants have proposed to him to come to Quebec in search of grain, and though the country requires the sale of it to increase its value, he did not consider it his duty to grant this permission without orders.

It would be a source of considerable profit, for English goods are cheaper than those of France.

There is no inconvenience in permitting this trade except what might arise from intercourse with foreigners, which possibly would afford the latter an opportunity to carry away Beaver and other peltries under the pretence of trading in grain, but by paying strict attention to prevent that, the King is pleased to allow this trade in grain for one year, subject to its being eventually interdicted if it be found not beneficial to the colony.

5th Extract: drawn from the letters of M. de St Vallier.

Inquires if the Parish priest *(Curé)* is to give the Governor and the Intendant the title of—My Lord—at the prône, and if the Clergy are to so style them in letters they address them.

It is proper as regards the Governor, not the Intendant.

Represents, in like manner as Monsieur de Denonville, that the Canadian Youth are for the most part wholly demoralized; that there are married men who, in addition to their

own wives, keep Squaws whom they publicly deceive; and that the most frightful crimes are perpetrated by the Young men and the French who resort the woods.

Were he persuaded that his letters would not be seen by others, he would describe matters more at length.

To remedy this evil it would be necessary to place all the Indians in regular missions.

That is his business, but he must be assisted in the execution of such an undertaking.

The Indians, whatever crimes they commit, remain unpunished, and as they live among the French they ought to be subject to the same laws.

'Tis easy to place them on that footing, and they would not destroy one another were they to see crime punished.

They would even come among the French in greater numbers.

Five or six Squaws have, since a few years, ceased boarding with the Ursulines as they have no marriage portion. A fund of a thousand écus was formerly appropriated for marriages. If its direction has been changed in the case of French women, he does not believe that it has been retained for the Indian girls.

He could also found an Establishment for School teachers the expense of bringing them from France is too great.

Aliò.

The poor overwhelm him, and ask of him wherewith to clothe themselves.

The consequences of this poverty are melancholy. The children being obliged to lie together, frightful irregularities result.

As they dare not appear in that state, the children do not leave their houses, especially during the winter, and remain without instruction.

M. de Denonville thinks he cannot employ a few licenses better than by affording these poor people the means of clothing themselves.

To agree to what he and Monsieur de Denonville will deem necessary to prevent the disorders and to assure him therein of the King's protection.

The marriage portions of these six Squaws must be replaced @ 50ll each.

Good.

That's very good.

Note.— The above columns are transposed, in order to render their arrangement uniform with that observed in the preceding volumes of this work. — Ed.

III

DESCRIPTION DU PAYS DES IROQUOIS.

NÉCESSITÉ D'OCCUPER LES LACS ONTARIO ET ÉRIÉ POUR GARDER LA COMMUNICATION AVEC LES OUTAOUAS ET PROTÉGER LES ILLINOIS.

Extrait du Mémoire concernant l'estat présent du Canada et les mesures à prendre pour la seureté du pays.

12 novembre 1685.

.....Pour éviter d'estre trop long, il est bon de se contenter de ces réflexions pour en faire sur l'ennemy, qui peut estre plus en estat d'inquiéter la colonie et songer aux remèdes.

Le plus à craindre est l'Iroquois, qui se trouve le plus puissant par la facilité qu'il a de s'armer chez ses voisins en leur enlevant leurs enfans en bas âge, qu'il naturalise. C'est le seul endroit qui augmente les Iroquois, car d'eux-mesmes, par leurs desbauches d'eau-de-vie qui les entraisnent dans des désordres épouvantables, s'ils ne faisoient point d'esclaves, le peu d'enfans que leurs femmes élèvent ne les pourroit soustenir asseurément.

Leur grand commerce d'armes et de munitions à bas prix chez les Anglois leur a donné jusques icy tout l'avantage qu'ils ont sur les autres nations, qui pour estre désarmées ont esté détruites par ceux-là qui en sont tout orgueilleux. Les Anglois mesme dans la Virginie en ont souffert et en souffrent encore tous les jours, mais l'intérest du marchand d'Orange

et de Manate l'emporte sur tout intérest public, car s'ils ne vouloient pas leur vendre de la poudre, on réduiroit cette nation plus aisément qu'aucune. Elle consiste en cinq principaux villages qui, chacun d'eux, en ont d'autres petits dépendans. Le premier se nomme Anié, qui peut mettre deux cents hommes sur pied en estat de servir et qui sont à dix lieues d'Orange. Le deuxiesme est Onneioust, qui peut mettre cent cinquante hommes sur pied, à quinze ou vingt lieues d'Anié. Le troisiesme est Onnontagué, qui peut faire trois cents hommes, à cent lieues de Montréal. Le quatriesme est Goyogouin, qui peut mettre deux cents hommes sur pied, à douze lieues du lac Ontario. Et les Sonnontouans, le cinquiesme, sont, à ce que l'on dit, douze cents hommes portant les armes, à cinq lieues du lac du costé du Sud.

Les Sonnontouans, comme les plus forts, sont les plus insolents. Il ne faut pas croire que jamais on puisse mettre des vivres pour les troupes qui les iront chercher. Et c'est en cela que consiste tout le soin et toute la peine de le faire assez à propos, sans que l'ennemy s'en aperçoive, tant à cause de la navigation de la rivière, qui est remplie de rapides et cascades qui ne se passent que par portages, outre l'esloignement.

Le poste de Catarakouy me paroist le plus avantageux, en le mettant mieux en estat de deffense qu'il n'est : c'est l'entrée du lac Ontario, de l'extrémité duquel les Sonnontouans ne sont esloignez que de cinq à six lieues en beau pays, du costé du Midy.

La situation de ce fort est assez avantageuse pour y tenir des barques en seureté des vents et des insultes des Sauvages, moyennant quelque dépense qu'il y faudra faire pour cela. Le trajet de ce lac est de quarante à cinquante lieues à faire

pour débarquer au plus près des Sonnontouans. Les trois barques qui sont à Catarakouy seront d'une extrême utilité pour cette entreprise, en les mettant en estat de servir, car elles sont fort négligées.

On peut voir par le plan de ce fort qu'il auroit peu estre mieux placé dans la pointe de la langue de terre, qu'on auroit peu isoler, en faisant un fossé du costé de la terre ferme. Je crois qu'une muraille de vingt-cinq pieds de hault, flanquée de demy-tours, auroit peu suffire pour des Sauvages qui n'ont point l'usage du canon.

Il me paroist d'une conséquence extrême que le Roy se rende le maistre absolu de ce lac, qui est de plus de trois cents lieues de tour. Je suis persuadé que les Anglois voudroient fort y avoir un poste, ce qui seroit d'un préjudice extrême à la colonie et à la puissance du Roy en ce continent, dont Sa Majesté aisément se peut rendre maistre sans aucune opposition, par l'establissement solide d'un poste avec des barques sur ce lac et par un autre fort et des barques sur le lac Erié, qui, par la rivière de Niagara, n'est esloigné de ce lac Ontario que de deux lieues. Mais comme ce poste ne se peut prendre qu'après avoir vaincu les Iroquois, avant que d'entrer dans le détail des moyens de se rendre maistre de cette nation, je diray encor sur la conséquence d'occuper ces postes, que les Anglois ont une facilité si grande pour s'y establir, qu'il n'y a que la seule puissance des Iroquois qui les a empeschés d'y avoir des postes; puis de Manatte et d'Orange on va très aisément à cheval au lac Ontario, n'y ayant que cent lieues de distance par un beau pays.

La conséquence du poste à occuper sur le lac Erié est aisée à juger, puisque de ce lac, avec des barques, on peut très

aisément aller à Missilimakinak, ce qui feroit une facilité très grande pour le commerce du pays et pour tenir les Outaouas en respect et les tenir dans l'obéissance du Roy; outre que par ce lac on seroit en estat de prester la main aux Illinois, et que cette communication avec barques osteroit bien des difficultés, qui se trouvent par la quantité de portages qu'il y a dans les rivières. Estant maistre de ces deux lacs en les croisant avec nos barques, les Anglois perdroient tout le commerce des castors de ce costé-là, dont ils ont abondance.

IV

LES ANGLAIS ONT EN VUE L'OCCUPATION DES LACS ONTARIO ET ÉRIÉ, AINSI QUE DES TERRES DU LAC HURON ET DU SAGUINAN.

Extrait d'une lettre de Denonville au Ministre.

Villemarie, 12 juin 1686.

Vous devez estre seur, Monseigneur, que les Anglois ont la plus grande part à l'insolence et arrogance des Iroquois, se servant d'eux adroitement pour estendre leur seigneurie, s'estant liez et associez avec eux comme une mesme nation, de manière que les Anglois ne prétendent pas moins avoir à eux que *le lac Ontario, celui d'Erié, toutes les terres du Saguinan, celles des Hurons,* s'ils s'allient à eux et à toutes les terres du costé du Mississipi.

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 460.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 461.]

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 462.]

NOTE. — The word "Indians" in the 9th line from the top of p. 463, Vol. III. is in the French translation "*Marchands*" (Merchants,) and the word "*Mihillmiqum*" in the following line, is "Michilmiquina," — ED.

Abstract of M. de Denonville's Letters and of the Minister's Answers thereto.

Council of Canada.

Summary of letters written in 1686.

Monsieur De Denonville.	Answers.
RELIGION.	
There is no inhabitant of the Pretended Reformed Religion.	His Majesty is very glad to learn that there are no Protestants in Canada and that the soldiers who were still of the P. R. R. have been converted.
There were only a few soldiers, the most of whom have made an act of abjuration. Were some small gratuity bestowed on them, it would have a good effect.	
50 or 60 Huguenots of the islands of Saint Xtopher and Martinique have taken refuge at Manatte. Some have also arrived at Boston from France.	

War.

We have fallen into such discredit among our Indian allies that we shall not be able to recover from it, unless by some considerable advantage over the Iroquois who are endeavoring to seduce them.

A Huron, named Escoutache,[1] under the guise of negotiation, delivered seventy men belonging to his Tribe, and 36 Outawas into their hands, with the view of afterwards proposing a peace between those Iroquois and these two tribes, and of achieving it by surrendering these prisoners.

The Jesuit Fathers have broken up this pretended Treaty, having even prevailed on the Onontagués, one of the five Iroquois nations, to disavow that act.

These Onontagués have, themselves, brought back to Fort Cataracouy five soldiers of that fort who had deserted, and have requested their pardon, which he did not think prudent to refuse them in the present conjuncture, and, in order to preserve the good will of those Indians, he has considered it proper to overlook that crime.

The English are the cause of all the bad intentions of the Iroquois; they make them act with the view of destroying us and of rendering themselves masters of the country.

Colonel Dongan has assembled them at Manatte, and promised them all sorts of protection against the French. He has made them presents to induce them to wage war against us. He even sends emissaries among our Indian allies in order to unite them with the Iroquois.

It is confidently stated that the Colonel is about to dispatch one hundred and fifty Englishmen in the design to attack the Detroit of Lake Erie which is garrisoned by the French. Should that be the case, he does not consider that he has more terms to keep with them, and would be inclined to go straight to Orange carry their fort by assault and burn the whole concern.

His Majesty after mature examination of the reasons adduced in his letters concurs with him in the necessity of waging war against the Iroquois, and for that purpose has long since issued the necessary orders for the preparation of troops, arms, ammunition and the other things he will require for its successful prosecution. His Majesty anticipates from his prudent conduct and bravery, a happy termination of this expedition, and only recommends him to husband with strict economy the funds appropriated, of which I supply him with a part, so that they may suffice for the termination of this war.

His Majesty approves his conduct on this occasion, but he must take care lest the soldiers, aware of the facility with which they receive pardon for such a crime, may not more readily take leave to desert.

I write to M. de Barillon to complain of Colonel Dongan, and I advise Mr de Denonville thereof. I communicate to him, also, the Treaty of Neutrality and the orders issued by the King of England for its execution in the countries under his obedience in America. And I observe to him that on Colonel Dongan becoming aware of this Treaty, his Majesty is persuaded that it will put an end to all expeditions he may be preparing.

[1] Compare supra, p. 293. — Ed.

Since Monsieur de la Barre's visit, the Iroquois are in perfect union with the English under whose protection they placed themselves that year, when the English caused posts bearing the arms of England to be set up in their country, although the French have had missionaries there first, and have an infinitude of incontestable titles of their rights to that country.

Colonel Dongan has written to the Superior of the Jesuits that he would afford him every protection provided he meddled only in affairs of Religion—and to him (de D.) that his Majesty was indebted to him 25 $^{m\ liv}$, and being a very selfish man, might, he believes, be gained over with money, if desirable.

It is of the greatest importance not to protract the war, and to terminate it, if possible, this year. He would require, for that purpose, fifteen hundred regular troops with the ammunition and money he specifies amounting to 168 $^{m\ liv}$. In case the war cannot be terminated in one year, it is desirable that he could attack at least, the two largest Iroquois Villages in the first campaign, and winter in their country, in order to prevent them coming to reëstablish, during the winter, what might be destroyed in summer.

That such is necessary, likewise, in order to prevent them coming to attack the settlements of the Colony which are at a considerable distance the one from the other, and unable to assist each other.

I notify him that his Majesty is about to nominate Commissioners immediately, who with others to be also nominated by the King of England on his part, will endeavor, in conformity with said Treaty of Neutrality, to terminate all subjects of difference which may exist then between the French and the English regarding the countries in America belonging to both Kings.

His Majesty is not acquainted with the grounds of this Colonel's pretensions, but it is necessary that an eye be kept on his conduct, because if he contravene the orders he has received, and will hereafter receive to keep up a good understanding between the two Nations, His Majesty will request the King of England to be pleased to deprive him of his Government.

His Majesty is persuaded of the necessity of not protracting this War, and hopes by the wise measures he (de D.) has adopted, that he will conclude it this year.

Advise him that he will be able to accomplish that with the assistance his Majesty affords him; to wit, 800 soldiers actually in Canada and a like number sent thither presently, exclusive of the militia of the country; and the necessary arms and ammunition his Majesty causes to be transmitted to Quebec.

In regard to the money, I explain to him that of the 168$^{m\ liv}$ he demands, I shall cause 30^{m} to be expended in France in the purchase of a portion of the articles he requires. And as to the balance of 134$^{m\ liv}$ Canada currency, which is equal to 103$^{m\ liv}$ French currency, I observe to him that 50$^{m\ liv}$ of it were sent him last year, and that I order the remaining 53$^{m\ liv}$ to be transmitted to him.

Post of Niagara.

Immediately on declaring war, his intention is to fortify in the best possible manner the post at Niagara; this is of the great consequence in order both to furnish the people facilities of getting their peltries from the Outawas and

His Majesty approves of his fortifying this post, but, is very glad to have him informed in regard to all the forts he proposes to build, that it is necessary that he avoid at the same time incurring too great an expense; And

other distant places, and to secure a retreat for the Illinois, in case they be pressed by the Iroquois. But it would be proper to send masons from France as the wages of those of this country are 3^{liv} and 3^{liv} 10 sous a day, and they are moreover indifferent workmen.

It is so much the more necessary to fortify that post, as it is to be feared that the English will seize on it, if not anticipated.

He also proposes to construct a post at Chambly; at la Prairie de la Magdelaine, to prevent the incursions of the Iroquois at those places.

And represents that the King will never be master of that country until his Majesty have forts at all the Falls *(Saults)*, and Barks on all the Lakes.

He is making preparations to go with his troops to Lake Ontario at the end of June.

Has issued orders to the Jesuit Fathers, and to some confidential officers to collect all the Frenchmen who are abroad trading, and the greatest possible number of the Indian allies, and to bring them to the rendezvous which he has appointed for them; and he has directed Sieur de Tonty to proceed with the Illinois to attack the Iroquois in the rear, at the same time that he falls on them from another point.

He has sent orders to the Officer in command of the post of Lake Erié to cause all the Frenchmen taken among the English to be shot.

Chevalier de Callières has recently caused a Canadian settler to be arrested who wished to induce some young men of the country to repair to the English.

The Iroquois can arm 200[1] men and have made an alliance with the Mohegans *(Nation* therefore I cause two most essential things to be observed to him to which he must pay attention. First, not to build but one fort a year, beginning with the most urgent; and secondly, to construct only slight fortifications, suitable for warding off a surprise, as he has not to do with any power capable of carrying on a siege, so that a simple wall with loop holes *(créneaux)*, and a ditch and pallisades outside, are the only works admissible in that country.

In regard to workmen he will find many among the soldiers, but he must not hesitate to oblige those of the country to work, furnishing them with the necessary support, it not being proper, at a conjuncture like this, to suffer them to take advantage of the existing need of them. Meanwhile, I write to Sieur de Mauclerc, to look up 4 or five masons and 20 laborers to be sent to that country, and I recommend him to manage so as get them to enlist with the troops.

His Majesty approves the measures he has adopted for the approaching campaign, and has nothing to add except that, as he possibly may take several Iroquois prisoners in the course of this war, his Majesty desires him to keep them in confinement until an opportunity will offer to send them to France, as his Majesty thinks he can employ them in the Galleys. He can send even by the return of the vessels which will have carried over the soldiers, those whom he will have captured before the departure of those ships.

His Majesty approves the issuing of such orders, and I send him an ordinance prohibiting under penalty of death, the French going to the neighboring nations without a pass.

It is of importance to make an example of that man, if he be guilty of this crime.

His Majesty does not think the great number of these Savages is to be feared, inasmuch as

[1] Sic. Quere? 2,000. — Ed.

du Loup) who are to furnish them as many as 1,500, to make war on us, independent of a great number of other Tribes, their allies.

He has dispatched Sieur de Tonty to collect together the Illinois, and has given him 150 guns to arm a portion of them.

That officer has been as far as the mouth of the River Mississipi in search of Sieur De La Salle without having received any news of him. Only learned when returning, that some Savages had seen him at the River des Mouilla which is 40 leagues north of the mouth of the River Mississipi, and that he had left that place to go towards the South.

Said Tonty has brought back with him 2 Illinois Chiefs who have promised that their Nation would perform their duty against the Iroquois.

As there is no General Officer in the Country to command under him, and as, in case of his falling sick the whole war would devolve on a few Ensigns of Marine who are at the head of the first companies, and are not qualified for so great an enterprise, he demands an order for one of the inferior Governors to command in his absence, and under his authority in his presence, and proposes Chevalier de Callières, governor of Montreal, who, he assures, has all the qualifications requisite to acquit himself properly of such duty.

they have no experience in War; hopes on the contrary that those whom he will collect from among our allies will be of great service, when conducted by a man of such experience as he.

I advise him that his Majesty sends three hundred guns to be distributed as a gift to the Indians who will serve with him.

His Majesty is very impatient to receive news of Sieur de La Salle. Let him communicate every particular he will learn of that gentleman, and afford him every protection he will stand in need of, should he return.

I notify him that the King has made choice of Sieur to command, under him, all the troops that will be in Canada. In regard to the conduct of the war and the command of the country, they would belong of right to this Commandant. Nevertheless, as he gives assurance that Monsieur de Callières is highly qualified, his Majesty sends commissions *(des patentes)* with a blank to be filled with the name of such of these two officers as he will consider best qualified, in case he should find himself unable to act; but he must observe that he is not to make use of this power except on this occasion only.

His Majesty approves of his taking the said Chevalier de Callières with him, in such capacity as he shall think advantageous for his Majesty's service.

Justice and The Actual State of the Country.

He sends the census of Canada, which has augmented since last year, one hundred and ten persons, there being at present 12,373 souls.

His Majesty does not consider the increase very considerable, more especially as regards the Indians, the number of which he ought to endeavor to augment by every means; nothing being more advantageous for that Colony than

The Priests of the Montreal Seminary are greatly increasing their Establishments on that island, and as it is a quarter the settlement of which is highly important, he will induce the soldiers who will get married to establish themselves there in preference.

Nothing is more important than the suppression of the disorders which prevail in the woods, and he has drawn up regulations to correct them; but it will be very difficult to cause these to be observed, if some means be not found to give employment to the Sons of the Noblesse, and of those who live as such.

He proposes, for this purpose, to enrol these young men into regular companies, and to give 8 sous of France per day to the best behaved *(plus raisonnables)* and 6 sous to the others.

It is to be feared, if they be not retained by that arrangement, that the English will seduce them.

He represents that there are many families of Gentlemen, very worthy persons, in extreme want, not having even bread; and solicits some charity for them.

the acquisition of new subjects for his Majesty, without any expense to the Kingdom. These Indians will, moreover, be of great use in establishing Christianity in the Country.

His Majesty has been, likewise, surprised that there has been less land under cultivation in 1686 than in 1685. He wishes, in advance, that he so manage as that it will increase, by giving lands to be cleared to those who will be able to take them.

His Majesty approves the measures he adopts for the peopling of the Island of Montreal.

His Majesty continues to recommend him to execute with severity the ordinances made against the Coureurs de bois; Approves the regulation which he has made on that subject.

And also approves his proposal to enrol them into regular companies, but it would be necessary that he should so manage that they would not cost more than those at present maintained by his Majesty, who promises to establish one forthwith on that footing.

I explain to him that of the 6 sous a day which the King will give them as soldiers, 4^{s} 6^{d} will be sent to the country in money and 18^{d} will be retained in France to be expended in the purchase of clothing which will be transmitted them every year.

He will be at liberty to select, for the command of this company, one of the old Captains already settled in Canada who will have more authority and influence over the minds of those young men than any other officer who might be sent thither.

His Majesty has granted an alms of a hundred écus to each of these families, and I have caused him to be notified, that their actual misery proceeds from their ambition to

He does not consider it expedient in a time of war like this, to institute a search after spurious Nobles, the more especially as those who have assumed the quality unjustly would not become more industrious.

He is of opinion, only, not to grant patents of nobility except to such as will be rich and will embark in some business.

The post of Cataracouy is very advantageously situated for trade, and it would be well to attract settlers thither, but to accomplish that, his Majesty ought to purchase it from Sieur de La Salle, and open its trade to all the world.

live as people of quality and without labor; and, therefore, it is proper to prevent, for the future, those who are not gentlemen assuming that rank which reduces them to mendicity.

As regards letters of Nobility, his Majesty does not consider it necessary to grant any more to the people of Canada; and to relieve the country of a part of the children of those who are truly noble, I send him six commissions of Gardes de la Marine;[1] and recommend him to be careful not to fill them with any who are not really Gentlemen.

His Majesty will possibly reassume Fort Cataracouy in course of time, but there is no hurry at present.

Sieur Parat, Governor of Placentia.

Asks if he must arrest French sailors of the pretended Reformed Religion who come into the ports belonging to his Government in English vessels.

He may, without difficulty cause those sailors to be arrested and sent to France, but let him be careful not to undertake any thing in this regard, without being sure of success.

Commission of Major M^c^Gregory to trade in the Ottawa Country.

[Licences, Warrants, &c., 1686, 1702, V., in Secretary's Office, Albany.]

Thomas Dongan Captaine Generall Governour and Vice Admirall of the province of Newyorke and dependencyes.

To Majôr Patrick Magregore Greetting Being well assured of your loyalty Conduct and Courage I have Commissionated and appoynted And by these presents doe Commissionate and appoynt yow the said patrick Magrigore To bee Captaine and Cômand^r^ In Cheife of such men as by my order yow are to go along with from Albany to the Ottwasse Countrey a tradeing As also of a Company which Likewise by my order yow are to Overtake and proceed together with in the said Journey which sayd Companyes as Captaine and Cômander in Cheife yow are to Leade and Conduct in their sayd Journey to the said Ottwasse Countrey and from thence back again to Albany In the Execucôn of which office yow are to observe such

[1] During the old French government young gentlemen used to receive brevet commissions and were permitted to serve on board the ships of war. They were called *Gardes de la Marine* (*James' Military Dictionary*), and were of similar rank to midshipmen. When they had acquired a knowledge of their profession, they were promoted to the rank of officers. — Ed.

of hunteing Licenses & the like to trade with the Indians without ye town is the occasion of the greate decay of trade here & will if continued tend to the utter ruin of this place.

2. Wee doe find that altho' there are many acts & ordrs. against Such tradeing without the Towne, yett in regard of the dificulty of proveing it by Christian Evidence those acts come farr short of a Sufficient remedy—Therefor wee would humbly recomend it it to yor honrs care as a thing very convenient that some provision may bee made that for the future yt upon the testimony of an Indian in the afirmative the party accused so to have transgressed may bee oblidged to purge himselfe by an oath otherwise the accusacon taken *P* Confesso.

3. Wee doe finde that great Debauchery happens amongst the youth by goeing to trade with the Indians in their houses.

4. Wee doe finde very greate inconveniencyes not onely to our selves but strangers by the generall neglect there is of high wayes in some places quite Stopt up in others changed much to the disadvantage and allmost all wanteing repayre by cleareing or the like.

5. Wee doe likewise finde that the giveing of gifts to the Indians by particular persons thereby to oblige them to traffique with them is a great wrong not onely to the neighbour but to the publique also by occasioneing the Indians to Sett the greater vallue upon their Comodityes seing such contention who shall have them.

Corn van dyck voorm

The Cort Recomend the above Agreviances to his honor the Governors Consideracon *p* Cur: John Tuder D. Cl: [1686]

To the Right Honorbl Coll Tho: Dongan Lieutenant & Govr Generall under his Majtie of N yorke & its dependencyes The Humble Petition of the Magistrates of Albany in behalf of them selves & ye rest of the Inhabitants of his Majestys Burgh of Albany [c. 1686]

Sheweth

That the scituation of this his Majty Town being on a barren soile and Confined to verry narou limitts the [(*torn*)] Collony[1] haveing Apropriatd all the adjacent Land to the town that is fitt for

The two men then told the Mohawk council of their plan for a Peace Confederation and the building of a Longhouse of brotherhood. The Mohawk speaker replied that his people would firmly grasp the Tree of Peace.

Improvemt & endeavor also to obstruct us in our trade So that The Inhabitants who have been at vast Charg & Exspence in Erecting & building this his Majtys towne, have no other way left for ther maintanance and Support of themselves & familyes but the Indian Trade wch of late years has very much decayed, to the great diminution of his Majtys revenue and detriment of yr Honors petitioners, and Cheifly by the Incroachmt the French have made both upon our Trade wth the Indians and the Confines of ys his Majtys province, under pretence of propogateing the Christian faith amongst ye Indians they debauch them away to Canada.[2] The Effectuall Cure that yr Honer hath allready taken Since yr Arryvale here for the removeing of those Evills doth Encourage us to adress in this Method, and presume to represent unto yor Honor, that ther Can be nothing more Conducive to his Mejtys Interest, and the wellfare of this his Majty Town, then that yor Honor would be Pleased to Grant and Confirm unto the Inhabitants of this his Majty town yr antient right & priviledge that non shall trade wth the Indians upon any pretense wtever but at ys town,[3] and also that yor Honor would be pleased to Interceed wth his Majty to send over some preists that might endeavor to propogat the Christian faith amongst the Indians, and regaine those Indians that are removed already to the french, and also that the french may be hindered from Comeing and Tradeing within his Majtys dominion on this Side of the Lakes all wch things will very much tend to the Increase of his Majtys Revenue and the Encouradgemt of Trade, and yr Petitioner Shall ever pray.

[1] The Manor of Rensselaerswyck.

[2] The desire of the people of Albany to replace the French Jesuits with English priests was the subject matter of another petition. O'Callaghan, 3: 418-419.

[3] This monopoly of the fur trade was granted by Governor Dongan in the Albany Charter of 1686. *N. Y. Col. Laws*, 1: 211.

Propositions made to ye Maquese, oneydes, onnondages, Cayouges & Sinnekes Sachims. by the Right honble. Col. Th Dongan, govr. genl. undr his majt: in ye Court house of albany ye 20th. of may 1686

Brethren

I had a great desyre to see you, & Am therefore come this Voyage to meet wt. you that wee may Continue the frindship between us, and to Redresse Some Inconveniences that may happen to our Brethren, wh. might be a kindenesse to us. I have yt. kindenesse for ye Brethren, that I slipp no opportunity to Testify ye Same, for I have Intelligence from al parts of ye world, & if ye Brethren wil be advised by me, They will finde att ye letter yt I am & will be ther Best frind. I am Sorry yt ye Brethren does not see, that yr number doth diminish & yt. wee are ye People that att Lenth must mentain yr wives and Children, and now & Then Protect ym. against all sorts of People yt will offer to disturb them as you have found by Experience, by ye last Trouble yt. ye. Sinnekes had wt. ye french when ye great Sachim of Engl: arms who is now king was Putt upon your Castles ye french would nott offer to goe any further in disturbing you & upon my Complaint to ye gr king of Engl: of ye Govr. of Canida's disturbing you, he was forthwith displeased. I hear there are a great mãy English dutch & french goes a hunting and Tradeing wt ye farr nations of Indians, without a Seale from me, I would not graunt itt; itt being a Prejudice to ye Brethren; They findeing once ye way to hunt & Trade as ye Brethren doe, will Contribute much to yr Losse

I hear Some french marry wt. yr. Squaes, if they doe I desyre you to take yt Care yt they goe not to Canida but that they shall live Close by your Castles or in yr Castles.

And I charge you neither to make warr nor Peace wt. any Christians without my approbacon; & yt you will Suffer no frenchman, nor oyr Christians to live or Build fort or house at onyaggero or

Scouts were sent to the People of the Upright Stone to see what they thought of the plan for everlasting peace.

any oyr Place that might hinder ye Brethrens Progress in yr Bevr. hunting.

And yt ye Brethren shall not Trade or Traffique, or Enter Into any Covenant chain wt any Christians french or English as to matters of Trade or Traffique wtout my Consent & approbation, butt you are to Continue to bring yr. Trade here to this toune according tto ancient Custome where you are Sure to have bread for yr wifes & Children when you want itt,

You are not to Suffer any to Trade or hunt, butt Such as have 3 litle Red Seals to show, a Patren whereof you Shall Take along wt. yu.

That you lett ye way be open & free through yr Country, for our Indians to come back from hunting, for our Indians wanting yt free Passage Come home by ye way of Canida & yr drink & Play away yr Bevr. & so yr wifes & Children are Reduçed to great wants & we loose our debts.

I have anoyr Proposeal to make to ye Breth: Wh. is yt. they shal use all ye french fathers, verry Civilly, & not to Suffer yr young men to abuse them, after yr Drinking of Rom.

Proposal made by Rode, Sachem of the Maquase, to the Governor General in the name of the Maquase, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. In Albany, May 21, 1686.[1]

1° We nations have come on the Governor's request. But before we begin to make propositions, we advise you that the Senecas have made 70 of the Dionondadees prisoner, of which five are set free: two whose father has come to bring them back to Canada, and three who have been sent back to announce the news to the others. Give 2 beavers.

2° Say that they hope all is peace in Europe between our King and the other Christian Kings, of which they are very glad.

3° That the treaty chain between the Governor and us is very old and steady and is kept unbreakable. And as my Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, is also taken into the treaty chain, so let his hand and arm be bound, and even if he wanted to loosen the same, let his Honor, our Governor, keep it secure. Give 2 beavers.

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

After the Governor had made his proposals, they answered in the afternoon through a spokesman thus:

1° Brother Corlaer,

We have come very cheerfully on your request. We have heard you speak which has gladdened our hearts. We must thank his Honor for his liberal gifts, especially that his Honor has publicly informed us that provisions and ammunition have been sent [by the French] to Cadarachqui. Now we see that our Governor, who takes care of us and who keeps our welfare so clearly in mind, means well for us. Now we cannot contain our joy, but will shout that our eyes have seen and our ears have heard a person who tries for the welfare of the whole country and for ours in particular. Say further that they now see clearly what the inclination of the Governor of Canada is like, and what his nature is, and on the other hand they see the inclination of his Honor, which is not strange when we consider that we are Corlaer's subjects, in whose land we live. We are one head, one body, and one heart. We like to hear this which was not said just for the sake of talk, but because it is true. Give two beavers.

2° We understand that if the French attempt to build forts on this side of the lake, we will have to try to stop them. We will do this, and throw to the ground any such forts they might try to build. As to his Honor's orders that we should not be the first ones to take up the hatchet against the French, we will obey and not molest the French unless they attack us. But if they attack us, then his Honor will have to help us, for if we suffer then his Honor will also suffer, for if the body suffers then the head is not free from danger, for if one member suffers the whole body is in pain. On the other hand, Corlaer is obliged to help us for the Governor of Canada speaks very despisingly about his Honor and says that his help would not stay with us. But we trust that when it comes to that point, we will see something different. Give 5 beavers.

3° We have also understood that all covenants and agreements made with Christians will have to be made here. We accept this and will follow it. Not only we sachems, but all our young Indians

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The Oneidas, after considering the plan in council for one year, reported that they would join the confederation.

are agreed never to listen to any proposals of any Christians unless they are made in this house.

Concerning his Honor's desire to be kept informed of everything happening with us, we will at all times, occurrences, and occasions send a messenger to keep his Honor informed of all transactions even if it was but with a "walhetook." Give two beavers.

We have been warned to be watchful. We will not sleep, but will be quick as foxes, and as soon as any disasters occur we will send in all haste a messenger from the Seneca country to Cayuga, and from there to Onondage, and from there to Oneida, and so to the Maquase country where there is a horse, and then here. We are very fast messengers, and even though we do not have any horses, we can walk so much better.

Proposal made by Oheda, an Oneida, for the Cayugas and them.

1° We have understood the proposals made by his Honor to us but addressed mainly to the Senecas who are the nation most distant, and repeated the whole proposal made by his Honor and agreed to follow the same. Give 2 beavers.

2° The Senecas have said that they will watch out carefully for all disasters, but we trust that we will also have young Indians who will not sleep, but who will use all their abilities by night as well as by day to discover everything and to make it known. And say that his Honor may continue to do as he has done, and to let them know all good news like a candle that gives light everywhere. Give 5 beavers and 1 belt wampum.

Proposal made by Rhode for the Maquase

We have heard his Honor's proposals with great attention, and we will also follow it in all obedience as we have been ordered. And our people will not fail to be on their watch and to give advice as soon as the situation warrants it. Give 9 beaver and 2 belts of wampum.

The Senecas and Onondages have given his Honor this belt to keep a light like a candle and to keep them informed. We give a belt to announce to his Honor that we have a horse in our country with which we will soon inform his Honor of everything.[1]

[1] On the next day Dongan wrote to the Governor of Canada that "our Indyans are aprehensive of warr." O'Callaghan, 3: 455.

Proposal of the 3 Maquase Sachems [July 1686][1]

The Governor has proposed to us that in case something begins to happen with the French we will let you know here and in the meantime we would keep quiet in order not to take up the hatchet before we are forced to do so. The Governor let us know also that in case the French intended to settle at our place or make fortifications, we should not agree and should prevent them from doing so. The sachems of all nations have been assembled to discuss this and ask that the Governor will keep his word and will come here as we urgently want to speak to him. We give hereon one belt wampum in the name of all five nations to ask the Governor to please come here, and we will then, when the Governor arrives, tell him what we wish to say.

Answer:

We would like to know what you have to tell the Governor. Then we will let him know it at the first opportunity, and he will then come himself or else will send someone else with what he wants said and done. In the meantime you can be sure that the Governor will do as he promised.

Return answer:

All the nations for seven days have been assembled in Onondage and have kept council. And the priest asks us what we kept council about, which we did not want to tell at first. But he promised to tell us something also. Thus we said that the Governor had ordered us to keep quiet and not to take up the hatchet. Then he told us that when the corn would be nearly ripe the French would come to kill us. The French intend also to send for you and if you go there you will be dead people.

[*note on side*]

We would also like to know if and when there is any danger as we do not know whether we will be dead or alive.

[1] Translated from the Dutch. The date is supplied from a parenthetical note made by Robert Livingston.

Two messengers were sent toward the setting sun. They carried wampum strings and an invitation to join the confederation. Arrived in the country of the People of the Muckland (also called the Great Pipe People), they built a fire and recited their message.

Present:
Maj. Baxter
P. Schuyler, Mayor
D. Wessels
J. Bleeker

Albany, August 5, 1686
Report by Onnachragewaes, alias Jannetje, a Maquase, of his message he has given to the Christian Indians in Canada.[1]

Says:

That he has been sent by the Maquase sachems to the Christian Indians in Canada with 3 belts of wampum and has made known to them the conversation our Governor has had with those sachems concerning the country of Sarachtoge that for three years has been sold to the Christians. That the Governor, as an encouragement to the Christian Indians who were in Canada to make their homes here, wanted to give them as much land as they needed in Sarachtoge and would also have a priest there to instruct them in religion. And therefore it was the wish of the Governor as well as of the sachems that they should return again to their country and should take Sarachtoge as their residence.

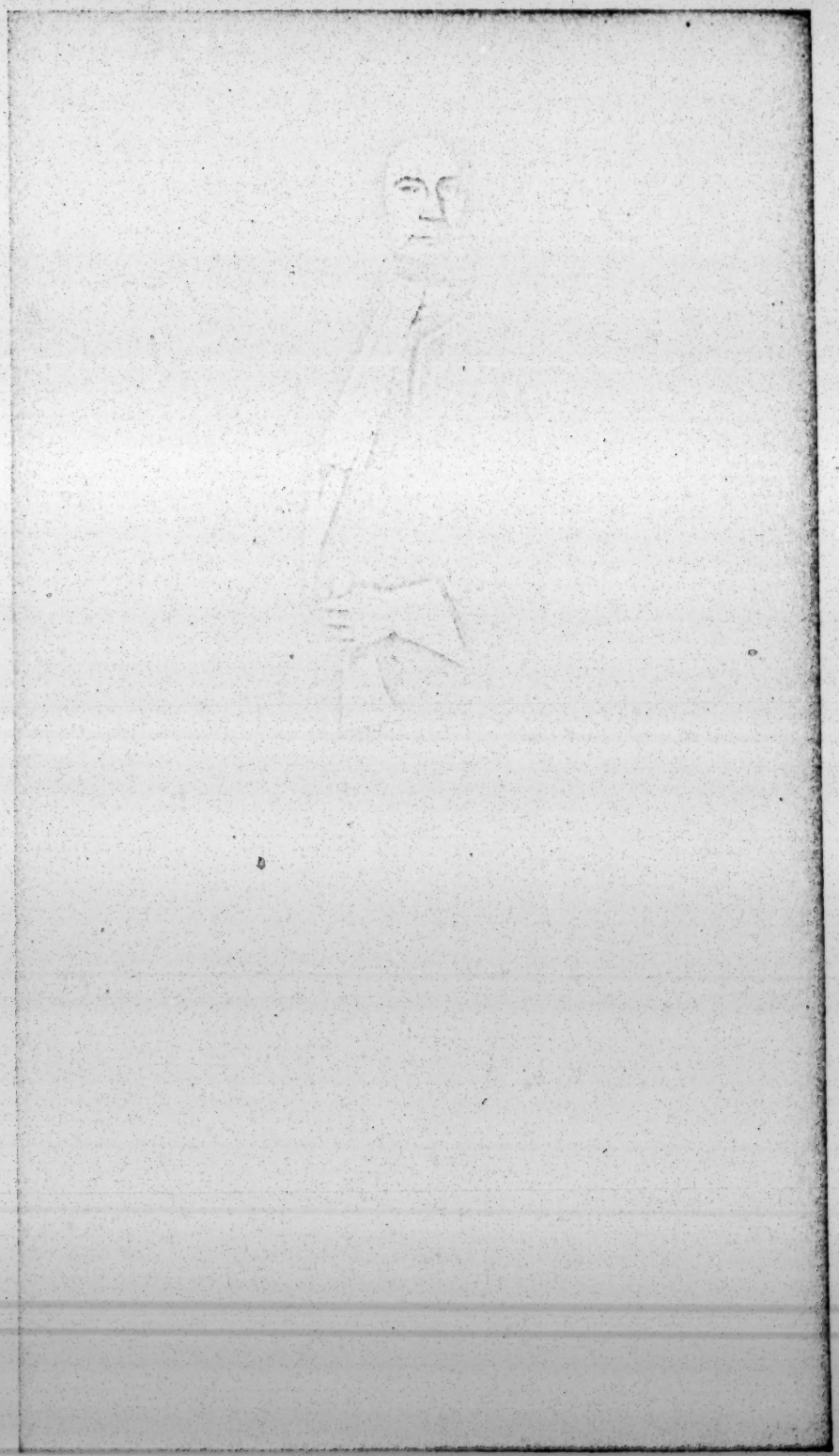
To which the Christian Indians in Canada replied that they would be very willing to come to live at Sarachtoge and that the Governor of Canada says also that he does not want to prevent their coming here, but says first he wants to see a letter from Corlaer and then will let them go freely. Therefore those Christian Indians are very anxious that Corlaer will please write a letter to the Governor of Canada so they can be fully assured of his ready inclination to let them come here in this government.

Present:
D. Meyer
Dirck Wessels
Adrian [ ]
Daniel Schrac

Proposal made by the Skachkook Indians August 7, 1686[2]

Brethren, we are very sad, for some time ago we came to Skachkook as designated by Corlaer and have lit our fires there. And it was not yet burning before our greatest sachem died. Thus we as well as you have reason to be sad. But we have now chosen three others in his stead, and thus we send you Anachenne and Katoessaeck and Sehertarie, and are now ready to go to the Maquase's country and there to light our fires and do it so that it may grow into a big fire so that you and they, meaning the Maquase, may

[1] Translated from the Dutch.
[2] Translated from the Dutch. Brackets indicate unintelligible name.



PETER SCHUYLER (1657-1724), FIRST MAYOR OF ALBANY.

Courtesy J. A. Glenn, Albany, N. Y.

be able to and will freely smoke tobacco there. Do give a belt of wampum 12 deep.

KNOW ALL MEN by these *p*sents yt wee abraham Provoost & Elias Provoost are held and firmly bounde unto the Mayor Aldermen and Commonality of ye City of albany in ye Somme of fifty Pounds Courant money of this Province to be paid unto ye Said Mayor aldermen and Commonalty of ye City of albany and there Successors, to ye wh. Payment well & truly to be made, wee oblige ourSelfs and Each of us our and each of our heirs, Executors and administrators, for ye whole & in ye whole firmly by these Presents, Sealed wt. our Sealls, dated ye tenth day of Septembr. anno Dom 1686 annoq Regn. Regs Jaci: Secdi: angl &a Secdo. WHEREAS the abovebound abraham Provoost & Elias Provoost by and with the Consent of ye Sd Mayor, aldermen and Commonality of ye City of albany have obtained his Excell: ye Governors Passe to trade travell & hunt amongst ye Indians, of waganasse & ottowawasse under ye Command of Capt. Johannes Rooseboom,[1] as in and by ye Said Lycence, beareing date ye 21st day of august Last Past, Relacon thereunto being had, may more fully & att Large appear, NOW THE CONDICON OF THIS OBLIGATION is Such, that if ye abovebound abraham Provoost & Elias Provoost doe not Trade or Traffique, wt any of ye five Nations of Indians Commonly called, the Maquase, oneydes, onnondages, Cayouges, and Sinnekes for any Bevers or Peltry or any oyr. Indian Commodities (Provisions only Excepted) then this Present obligation to be void Else to be and Remain in full force and Virtue[2]
Sealed and Deliverd
in ye Presence of

Richd. Pretty /s/ Abraham Provoost [seal]
Robt. Livingston Cl. /s/ Eliase Provoost [seal]

ATT a Council held att ffortt James in New Yorke Sept. ye 30: 1686

PRESENT

His Excellency &c.

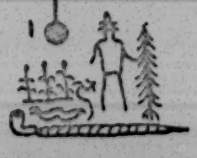
ORDERED that Johannes Roseboom, and those in his Company

[1] This relates to the Roseboom expedition to divert the trade of the western Indians from Canada to Albany. See the order-in-council which follows.

[2] Identical indentures were executed by: Johannes Dyckman and Jacob Bosboom; Cornelis Slingerlant and Hendrick Gerritse; Frans Winne and

Who have had Lycence to travell & trade Amongst the Indians, Do stay and Remaine in the Sineques Country, or in Some Convenient place near unto itt, untill those of Esopus and Albany, who have had passes from his Excellency the Governor: be joyned to them, and that they all use their Uttmost Endeavour to Perswade as Many of the five Nations of the Indians and the River Indians, as Possibly they Can to go in Company with them And if it Shall so happen that Any of them Proceed further on their Journey and Voyage then into the Sineques Country they are hereby Ordered to leave in Writeing Certaine Advice to What Place they are gon and also Abide there untill the Rest Come and be joyned to them, And Every Person Concerned is hereby Ordered to show all Civility and kind usage to the Indians att Ottowaas, and to use the best Ways and Methods to Influence them to trade and Correspond with the Inhabitants of the Citty of Albany; and (wch. may bee Very Acceptable and Obligeing) to Convey Safely to the Ottowaas, all Such of their Country as have been made Prisoners by the Sinequas Indians; And to the End that good Discipline May. bee Observed, and all Disorders Prevented, the Severall Persons Concerned in the Aforesaid journey and voyage to the Ottawaas are hereby ordered to Make an alliance to Defend one another in case of Opposition, and Chuse fitt and Discreet Persons to be their Officers and one Commandr. in Cheife to whom all Others Are hereby Strictly required to yeild all due obedience, as they Will Answer the Contrary at their perills; And that they Continually keep A Strict Watch as Well by day as by Night and Proceed on their Intended Journy And Voyage Nothwithstanding Any Rumor that May happen, of Disturbance from the ffrench; and they are not in Any wise to meddle wth. or Disturb Any ffrench Indians or Any others Whatsoever Except Such as be Traders from Pensilvania, East and West Jerseys, whom they Are hereby Empowred to Apprehend and bring to his Maties Citty of New Yorke.

Hendrick Hanse; Dirk Alberte Bradt and Matthys Nack; Johannes Claese and Cornelis Jacobse. These are all found in the Livingston Indian Papers.



The Cayugas, after considering the plan for a year, sent back word to the Mohawk council that they would hold fast to the Tree of Peace.

And it is further ordered that Johannes Rooseboom Immediatly After the receipt of these Orders, Cause them to be read to all those who go In his Company and that he Send by the first Opportunity fouer Indians in a Canoe to the Ottowaas to give them Notice of their Comeing.

By order in Council
J. Spragge Secr.

Return of Beaver received from Canada from 1675 *to* 1685.

	lbs
In 1675 including fat, old, dry, and for Muscovy,	61,000
1676	70,000
1677	92,000
1678	60,135
1679	68,080
1680	69,000
1681	82,900
1682	90,353
1683	95,489
1684	49,056
1685	23,568
In the same year was received from Fauconnet	114,000
This is about all the Beaver received for the whole period of Oudiette's lease *(ferme.)*	895,581 lbs.
Average	89,588 lbs.

It is to be observed that the consumption of Beaver in France has ordinarily been about 40 to 45 thousand pounds a year, assorted, $\frac{3}{4}$ fat and $\frac{1}{4}$ dry. The surplus of said Beaver which consisted of dry, and of skins suitable for Russia, was sent to Holland, except some trifling portion occasionally sold in France; this however was small.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord

* * * * * * * * * *

I understand that the intelligence is correct which I had the honor to transmit you, of the appearance on Lakes Ontario and Erié of English canoes conducted by French deserters, on their way to the Outaouax. There are ten of them loaded with goods. Thereupon, My Lord, I dispatched orders to Missillimakina, Catarokouy and other places where we have Frenchmen, to run and seize them, and I have determined to send another officer with twelve good men to join Sieur Doruilliers at Cataroskouy who is to go to Niagara with Sieur de la Salle's bark, to trade there with the Iroquois Indians on their return from hunting. [He] will be accompanied by some men. By means of this vessel and of some canoes that will be furnished him, he will go with twenty men and post himself at the river that flows from Lake Erié to Lake Ontario towards Niagara, by which the English who have gone up into Lake Erié will, of necessity, pass with their peltries on their return home.

I consider it a matter of importance, My Lord, to preclude the English from this trade as they doubtless would entirely ruin our's as well by the cheaper bargains they would give the

Indians, as by attracting to themselves the French of our Colony who are in the habit of resorting the woods. What is particularly to be avoided is, not to do any injury to the Iroquois, so as not to draw the war on ourselves prematurely and contrary to the interests of the Colony which require that we be not worsted, for, in truth, consequences might follow our defeat, as the population is so sparse and scattered, that would render it impossible to protect it from the insults of an enemy without a miracle from God. I had the honor to submit to you, My Lord, by my letter of the 14th November last, the necessity there was for some redoubts and stockaded posts. *(lieux fermés.)* If there is to be war, some ought to be erected in each Seigniory, for the security of the people, their grain and cattle.

I will add, to this letter, My Lord, that it would be well were Villemarie, at the head of the whole of those settlements, inclosed by walls and put in a condition to secure the stores, to afford shelter to the entire island and to cope successfully with the enemy.

You will permit me, My Lord, again to beg most humbly of you to reflect that walled places are the only security for a country which, so long as it is without them, will be always exposed to destruction.

My Lord, it is highly important that you would have the goodness to reflect on the actual state of affairs in our present conjuncture with the English and the Iroquois.

The former are cutting off our trade at the North; to obviate that I have, I believe, sent by land every order possible to the extent of the power, and even beyond the means, of the country.

They also intersect us on the South by Niagara whence they go westward to the Outaouax. In my opinion, nothing more remains for me to do than to send in search of, and seize them, if overtaken, and to lay in wait for them at the Straits of Niagara. If it be our good fortune that one and the other expedition succeed, there are the English on our backs. They are more powerful than we, at sea; they will harrass us on our Acadia coasts where they have already committed so much violence on the settlers and on our fishermen by their pirates who are swift sailers. They will again endeavor to make war on the Company of the Hudson's Bay *(Baie du Nord.)*

If they are desirous to continue trading with the Outaouacs by way of Niagara, that pass is at a great distance from us to admit of our watching it constantly, in order to catch them there. However we shall try.

In regard to the Iroquois Indians, they labor constantly to form an alliance with the Outaouax, with a view of gaining them over to themselves. They fear us, and hate us still more. There is not the least doubt but they will make war on us, sooner or later; and would have already declared it, had not Onontagué, one of their five villages, openly opposed them on this point. Allow me the liberty to observe to you hereupon, My Lord, that their distance from the colony as well as the impediments of the rapids are too great to admit of the Iroquois being approached with rapidity, should we carry a requisite supply of provisions. Besides, when we reach their country, there is no certainty of meeting them; for feeling themselves weaker than we, they will retire into the forest. I hope it will not be a mere affair of burning their villages, and laying waste their fields; for it is not certain that this would effect their destruction. The war with them may easily endure many years; occupying the woods, as they do, they will be at liberty to ravage as many of our settlements as they please, if God blind them not in their power. Such, My Lord, are the inconveniences that attend waging war on them, even should we destroy the village of the Senecas; this alone is a work of a

campaign, because the others are at so great a distance from them, that it is impossible to attack even the nearest, the same season. Thus, that village may sustain and recover itself, the very same year, by the aid of the others who will unite with them in making war against us.

I am satisfied the Iroquois heartily desire peace now that they see troops, but I do not, at all believe that they consent to abandon all future hostilities against the other tribes, our allies. Therefore, there remains not a doubt of the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition to humble them.

The establishment of a very strong post at Niagara would, in my opinion, be the most effectual means to accomplish that object.

The mode observed by the English with the Iroquois, when desirous to form an establishment in their neighborhood, has been, to make them presents for the purchase of the fee and property of the land they would occupy. What I consider most certain is, that whether we do so, or have war or peace with them, they will not suffer, except most unwillingly, the construction of a fort at Niagara whereby we would secure to ourselves the communication of the two Lakes, and become masters of the passage by which the Senecas go after peltries, having none in their own country, and where they rendezvous when they hunt for game, with which as well as with all sorts of fish this country abounds.

That post would be of great advantage as a retreat for the other nations who are at war with them, and who dare not come into their neighborhood in consequence of having too far to retreat.

This post would keep them in check and in fear, especially were the fort made sufficiently large to accommodate a body of 4 to 500 men to wage war against them. It would necessitate some expense as it should be inclosed by ordinary palisading to protect it from insult, as the garrison could not derive any assistance from us.

Even if we were at peace with them, a force would no doubt be necessary to protect the workmen so as to insure the construction of the fort. The conveyance of provisions both for the garrison and the men to remain there, is very expensive, the freight of a thousand pound weight, which is a canoe load, from Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal to Catarakouy costing 110[ll]. In addition to these mere provisions, how many other articles and munitions would be necessary.

Such a post, my Lord, would absolutely close the road to the Outaouax on the English and place us in a position to prevent the Iroquois carrying their peltries to the latter; for with the redoubt of Catarokouy to serve as an entrepôt to shelter our barks from the winds in winter, and with posts on both sides of the Lake, we could control the hunting of that nation, which is not able to maintain itself except by such aid, and would derive but trifling assistance from the English were it to have no more peltries to give them. What is certain is, that the quantity it would bring them would be much less than in times past.

I design sending Sieur Doruilliers this year to Niagara with Sieur de Villeneuve draughtsman *(dessineur)* whom you have furnished me, to draw the plan. And after I shall have had an interview with the Iroquois at Villemarie on the Island of Montreal, and understand on what terms we are with them, I shall see if I be not able to go and make a tour there myself, so as to have it in my power to render you a more exact account of the matter. For [it is out of the question] to confide in Sieur de Villineuve alone; though a very good, very correct, and very faithful draughtsman, he has not, in other respects, a well ordered mind and is

too contracted to be qualified to furnish any views for the establishment of a post, and to be entrusted with the exclusive superintendence of it.

I am assured the lands in that neighborhood, which is in about the 44th degree of latitude, are very fine highly productive and easy of cultivation. All I learn of the place confirms me in my opinion that in three years at farthest, that post would support itself. Fortifying it, 'tis feared, will draw down war on us if you wish to avoid it. But at the same time it is my belief that the Senecas, on seeing us strongly established, would be much more docile.

Should this plan meet your approbation, My Lord, be pleased to send out some Masons, and a quantity of tools to remove the earth and quarry stones.

Certain it is, our merchants will pay the King a handsome profit that will help to diminish the greatest part of the expense his Majesty would incur there; and were affairs arranged with the Iroquois, I believe our associates will realize a revenue of 30,000ll for the King, besides the present you would consider suitable for the Governor in return for the fourth of the Beaver and the privilege of trading with the Iroquois and not with the other tribes; which would be easily regulated: And, I think, I may assure you that after the first lease of such a post, the revenue from it might approximate that received here; especially if all commercial intercourse between the Iroquois and the English were prevented. I have written a word to M. Morel who will possibly speak to you on the subject.

I am still of opinion, My Lord, that the assured establishment of this post would be highly advantageous for the propagation of the Faith, owing to the facilities it would afford to put our Vessels on Lake Erie with which we could easily reach Missilimakina, as I have had the honor of advising you, this autumn.

The whole world, here, is convinced that the progress of the Faith among the Indians depends absolutely on humiliating the Iroquois.

I think it will be well that the garrison of Catarokouy be composed of detachments *(gens detachez)*, instead of retaining an entire Company there. I shall see, on the spot, what will be best for the service, and have the Company relieved if necessary.

Five Soldiers belonging to that garrison deserted last winter, and set off to the English by way of the Iroquois Villages. It was a daring undertaking on the part of those rascals. I doubt if they all arrived there owing to the severity of the cold at that season; some of them assuredly, will have been frozen on the ice; those sent by Doruilliers in pursuit of them almost perished of cold.

This proximity of the English is highly dangerous to the Colony. I should greatly desire that the affairs of the King of England would require him to conclude some arrangement on the subject with his Majesty. It would greatly advance the affairs of the Colony, supply the State with many commodities, and place the Iroquois at our mercy, who maintain themselves only by the assistance of the English.

I have dispatched a Lieutenant with eighteen men to the place where formerly stood Fort Chambly, which is one of the communications to the English by way of the Richelieu River; and have issued orders to stop all who would pass there. Two of Macary's Serjeants have deserted by this route.

You will be surprised, My Lord, to learn that Sieur de Chailly, concerning whom I had the honor to write you this fall, has run away from, and deserted the Country, in order to repair to Orange and to proceed thence, no doubt, to France by way of England, as he was not able to obtain my permission to return home with all his property which he sent off the year before my arrival. When I represented to him that he was bound in honor to serve a Country in

which he had realized a fortune, inasmuch as from being a simple Cadet in the Carignan regiment, without a penny of patrimony, he has amassed 50,000ll I thought he ought to have waited for an opportunity of rendering the Colony some service in this conjuncture. He had purchased an establishment at the end of the Island of *(Bout de l'isle de)* Montreal, where he had made all his money, not without considerable fraud and deception, as I had the honor of advising you in my letters of the 14th November, was the custom in that quarter. When I arrived in the country he had sold the place for which, as I am assured, he has not been paid.

It is highly important, My Lord, that this desertion do not go unpunished. He has inveigled away with him an Indian of the Sault.

What is unpleasant is, that he will have told Governor Dongan all he knows respecting our expeditions towards Hudson's Bay *(Baye du Nord);* and every thing concerning the interests of the Country and our plans, that he is acquainted with. I most humbly request you, My Lord, to be pleased to permit the confiscation of whatever may be found belonging to him for the benefit of the two Hospitals of the Colony.

There is no doubt but he will go to Rochelle whither he has sent all his property by Dombourg's ship, from whom as well as from all the merchants of the city who trade to this place, intelligence respecting him can be obtained.

His father is said to be noble, very poor, residing at Amboise, and owner of a farm in that neighborhood, near the fort. He has a brother who is adjutant of Brisac. If allowed to go unpunished, it will I assure you, My Lord, have a very bad effect throughout the entire Country, where levity of character is the cause of the greatest damage to all our young men.

I am certain that only one Coureur de bois of the Island of Montreal has run away since my arrival, but I hope he will be arrested, and shall not fail, sooner or later, to make such an example of him that the others will break themselves of this habit. I shall have the honor of indicating to you, elsewhere, the main source of these Coureurs de bois who have demoralized the people of the Country.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I have, just now, received letters from Sieur Doruilliers, commandant at Catarokouy, informing me that the five deserters from his garrison had been stopped by the Iroquois of the village of Onontagué, when passing their place to the English, because they were not provided with passports from me.

They did more, for they brought them to Catarakouy, urgently entreating Sieur Doruilliers to pardon them.

Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit Missionary at that village, strongly recommends that their prayers be respected; otherwise it may be of evil consequence. I believe the interests of the service require of me to ignore this desertion, in our present conjuncture with those Indians.

You could not conceive, My Lord, what salutary effects I expect from this. I believe it will be proper to make some presents to reward that act of a people who appear desirous to please us. That tribe, My Lord, is the most disposed of all to peace, and through the intrigues of one of their leaders, named Otreouaty,[1] is making every effort to induce the Senecas to preserve peace with us. But all these efforts must not lead us to rely on them too far, because their harebrained young men, who are the braves, without discipline and any semblance of subordination, upset, at the first moment of caprice, and drunken debauchery, all the

[1] See note, supra, p. 243. — Ed.

deliberations of the old men who are no longer obeyed. In addition to that, My Lord, all the Iroquois are naturally cheats and traitors, and influenced only by fear and interest.

To reach that village, those deserters have endured all possible hunger, cold and hardship. On hearing their account thereof I do not think the other Soldiers dare run the risk of so many dangers as those have experienced.

M. Doruilliers advises me that a number of Indians belonging to that village have passed the fort on their way to hunt, and had traded considerably there with M. de la Salle's people. But I am very sorry that the little clerk whom M. de la Forest left there, has, contrary to my orders, and in opposition to what I had recommended and written, sold all the peas I proposed that he should plant.

If it be your pleasure, My Lord, that I should continue to occupy that post, it would be highly proper that the King alone should be its proprietor. In that case, you will state, if you please, for whose benefit it is his Majesty's pleasure that the trade should be prosecuted. 'Tis supposed that it cannot exceed 4,000^{ll} this country currency, all expenses paid, exclusive of the King's share. M. de la Salle has assigned it to divers merchants here, who with the consent of Sr de la Forest propose beginning this year, to carry it on, for the discharge of Sieur de la Salle's debt to them. It is greatly to be wished that he could pay them all, for disappointment would, in truth, seriously inconvenience them.

They write me from Catarakouy that the three barks which are aground cannot be got afloat before the 15th of June, the time that the rivers rise. These vessels will require a good deal of repair before they are fit for service on the Lake.

I am with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obliged
and most obedient Servant,

Quebec, 8th May, 1686. The M. DE DENONVILLE.

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

Copy of the letter from Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York to the Marquis de Denonville, Govr Genl of Canada. 13th October, 1685.

Sir,

I have had the honor of receiving your letter, and greatly rejoice at having so good a neighbor whose character is so wide spread that it has anticipated your arrival.

I have written several letters to M. de la Barre; that which you have honored is one of the first. I presume the others have not been shown to you. He meddled in an affair that might have created some indifference between the two Crowns which gave me considerable pain, as I entertain a very high respect for the King of France, of whose bread I have eaten so much that I feel myself under the obligation to prevent whatsoever can give the least umbrage to our masters. M. de la Barre is a very worthy gentleman, but he has not written to me in civil and befitting style.

To
Chr. Blakeway Secretary
to H. Right Honble
H. Commissioners
for Plantations
Whitehall

P. York 1. Sept 86

Der Hr. Prof.

Lieb ist Tag 86

1686.

territories belong to us or to the French King must be decided by our masters at home, and your business and mine is to take maps of the country as well as we can, and to send them home for the limits to be adjusted there. I am also informed that you design to build a fort at a place called Ohniagero [Niagara] on this side of the lake, without question within my master's territories. I cannot believe that one of your reputation would follow the steps of Mons. de la Barre and be so ill-advised as, at the instigation of interested persons in Canada, to create disturbances between our masters' subjects in that part of the world for the sake of a little peltry, when all differences could be ended by an amicable correspondence between us. I assure you it shall not be my fault, though we have suffered much and daily suffer by your people's trading within our King's territory. I have had two letters from the two fathers that live among our Indians, and find them somewhat disturbed by apprehensions of war, which are groundless, for I am determined that it shall not be begun here, and I hope you will equally prevent it on your side and refer all differences home as I shall do. I hear that one of the fathers is gone to you. I have sent to the other to come here, lest the Indians should insult over him, though it is a thousand pities that those who have made such progress in the service of God should be disturbed, and that by the fault of those who laid the foundations of Christianity among those barbarous people. *P.S.* The rumour of your coming to Cadaraqui has prevented me from sending a gentleman to congratulate you on your arrival in your Government, so am obliged to entrust this letter to the father. *Copy.* 1½ *pp. Endorsed.* From Colonel Dongan. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVII., No.* 90.]

May 26. June 5. Montreal. **694.** Mons. Denonville to Governor Dongan. I have received your letter of 13 October last. I remember you when you were serving in the French Army, which is a reason above the friendship of our masters for cordial understanding between us. I do not know for what reason you are displeased with Mons. de la Barre, but I shall not fail in all civility to you. As to the behaviour of Mons. de la Barre, which you think might cause ill-feeling between the two Crowns, I understand you to refer to his broil with the Sonnontouans. I think you know enough of these people to see that it is not easy to preserve a good understanding with folks who have neither religion, honour, nor discipline. Mons. de la Barre has several grounds of complaint against them, and their recent conduct has been no better. They have violated their word by the outrages they have committed on the Outaouacs this winter, perfidiously, and in violation of all good faith. I ask you what can be expected from these people after this? The King my master's attachment to this country is due solely to his zeal for the establishment of religion and the support and protection of the missionaries, whose zeal for preaching the Gospel has condemned them to brutality and persecution from the most savage tribes. You know better than I what they have borne, the tortures that they have suffered, and the fatigues that they undergo daily for the name of Jesus Christ. I know that

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your heart is filled with the glory of that Name. Shall we be so miserable as to refuse them the protection of our masters and to support them and contribute our small help towards the winning of poor souls to Christ? You cannot but lament that far from helping these apostles of the Gospel, we make war against them if we give their enemies opportunity to hinder the work of conversion. Hitherto the avarice of traders has made war on the Gospel by furnishing the tribes with arms to make war against us and with drink to make them mad. You are a gentleman of merit who love religion. Cannot you and I come to an understanding for the maintenance of our missionaries, keeping these savage tribes in awe and respect, which is the only means of making them receive the Gospel? Must it be that the avarice of our traders shall furnish them with arms to destroy their brothers and their own country? See what the Iroquois have done to the poor people of Virginia and Maryland. I cannot understand how a Christian's heart can be so hardened as to see dry-eyed that they are the destroyers of their brothers and countrymen. My trust in your piety has made me open my heart to you. I have done so the more joyfully since you have given me ground for hope that you would have us imitate the close bond of friendship of our master for the re-establishment of the royal authority in England, and the reviving therein of the Gospel in its ancient glory. If my thoughts touch you never so little, communicate yours to Father Lamberville, who is with the Onontaguez. He will let me know what you wish to tell me. God grant that the frankness with which I have written to you may be of profit to you in helping you to gather all your savages within the fold of the Church. I know how much the King has the work at heart. He told me, when I took my leave, that this was the only thing that made him love this wild country.

I am much obliged to you for the news of the punishment of the Duke of Monmouth. Who would have thought that poor unhappy prince capable of such conduct after the favours lavished on him by the late King at the siege of Maestricht. I did not conceive him to have so disloyal a heart. I assure you of my good wishes for the prosperity of your King. Every Frenchman must love and honour him, especially those who had the honour to see him when serving with an army None of his own subjects can wish him better nor respect him more than I. I hear that several of the riff-raff of this Colony, in the hope of getting furs from the Indians, have spread lies and falsehood among them, with the object of gaining their confidence. I remark that the Indians are restless and alarmed for no apparent reason, and I thought it right to warn and inform you that several of those rascals have entered your territory. You will distrust them as much as I, for they are incapable of anything but mischief and they will make mischief for you sooner or later. I wish you would consent to work with me for the expulsion of these rogues. I am ready for my part to find out and compel to stay all that are on their way to your Colony without your leave. One of your officers asks me for two negro slaves, who have deserted him and, as he thinks, have come here. I have caused search to

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be made but cannot find them; if discovered they shall be sent back in irons, and I hope that you will repay me in kind. I know that some of our soldiers that have deserted are with you. I think our masters would be pleased if you would return them, and if an understanding was made between us on the subject. *Signed*, Le M. de Denonville. *French.* 3½ *pp.* *Endorsed.* Recd. from Colonel Dongan. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVII., No.* 91.]

May 26. **695.** Minutes of Council of Maryland. Legal business. Order for the soldiers at Christina port to be continued and paid as heretofore; the captain of the port and his four men to be allowed 400 lbs. of meat and four barrels of corn *per annum*. Order for the officer in command to report any encroachment on Maryland in that quarter immediately. Legal business. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LIV., pp.* 27-29.]

May 27. Boston. **696.** Edward Randolph to the Governor and Company of Connecticut. I am heartily glad for your sake of my safe arrival here. Mr. Dudley and his Council entered on their government on the 25th inst. with the general consent and applause of the people. I have a *quo warranto* against your Government and Rhode Island. The King intends to bring all New England under one Government, and nothing now remains for you but to think of a dutiful resignation of your charter. If you try to defend it at law you will find that you are contending for a shadow, and you will lose all your territory from Connecticut to New York and find it annexed to New York. Nothing will save you and New England from such a calamity but timely submission, with an annexed petition asking for liberty of conscience and continuation of your present lands to you, and such other favours as your wants dictate to you. A court is ordered to be erected in Narragansett to assert the King's authority and to check further incursions of the Rhode Islanders. I do not expect that you will trouble me to enter your territory as a herald to announce war. My friendship for you inclines me to suggest to you an accommodation, and I therefore ask you to let me know if you will favour yourselves so far as to come to me to Boston, where you will be witnesses of our peace, and find the King's Government not such a scarecrow as to frighten men out of their estates and liberty rather than persuade them to submit and be happy. We expect ships to sail from hence to England within a month, and your intentions must therefore be fulfilled within that time. Now if besides yourselves and some of the Council in and about Hartford, your Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Major Gold will vouchsafe to come as far as Mr. Richard Smith's in Narragansett and apprise me of the time appointed, I question not but that you will be able to confer with some of the principal gentlemen of this Government. Bless not yourselves by vain expectation of advantage and spinning out of time by my delay. I will engage that though the weather be warm the writs will keep sound and good as when first landed. My care for you has made my letter unduly long. I beg you to appoint a speedy day that I may communicate to you what is not fit to write. Mr. Blathwayt is

In regard to your fugitives, I assure you that such persons as you will think proper to send, who are acquainted with them, will not want for any aid or assistance that this government can supply to recover them. As for Jacques Vigor, this place shall not afford him a refuge. The woman's father is at full liberty to come in quest of his daughter, and we will assist him in whatsoever is necessary.

Our news here is that the Duke of Monmouth is dead and has been beheaded at *Gibcard* and drawn and quartered in Scotland. I hope all the rebels will meet the same fate. The King, your master, has, no doubt, been deeply afflicted at the death of the late King Charles of glorious memory, and I trust his present Majesty will keep up as good understanding and amity as the late King with the Crown of France.

It will not be my fault if we do not cultivate a cordial friendship, being, with respect and truth,

Your most affectionate servant,
(Signed) DONGAN.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Villemarie, 12th June, 1686.

My Lord,

The bark which I dispatched to you having suffered considerably from the severity of the gales, and been obliged to return to Quebec to repair damages; and judging it impossible for her to arrive in France before the departure of the last ship, I have given orders that the letters she was carrying, should be transmitted to you by the fishing vessels at Perçée Island.

A bark is too small to go at the close of the winter to France to convey the news of the country to you, and to receive your orders.

I am in receipt of intelligence from the Outaouacs by the Jesuit Father Enjalran, Superior of Michilimaquina and of the missions in that quarter. After having dispatched a canoe to me, he came himself expressly to communicate to me the deplorable condition of our affairs with all our allies, on whom we could no longer make any impression owing to the discredit we have fallen into among them, wherefrom we can not recover, except by some considerable advantage over the Iroquois, who, as I have had the honor to advise you, labor incessantly since autumn to rob us of all our allies, by sedulously endeavoring to contract alliances with our friendly Indians without any participation on our part.

I have had again the honor of advising you this fall that a man named Scoubache, a native Huron, had been to the Iroquois to induce them to make war on us. It has since been discovered that his principal design was to betray all the Hurons at Michilimakina, and that Traitor did in fact, conjointly with others like himself, deliver up to the Iroquois seventy Hurons who were dispersed a-hunting between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, in the country they call Saquinan.[1] He made them carry off thirty-six Outaouas, big and little, at the same time. The plan of the Iroquois was, to restore these prisoners when peace would

[1] Sacenong, in Chippeway, meaning the country of the Saca. It comprised that part of the State of Michigan lying between the head of Lake Erie and Saginaw Bay, on Lake Huron. — ED.

be concluded without my intervention. All the Jesuit fathers strongly opposed this course, and, after considerable difficulty, finally induced the Outaouas to consent that Father Enjalran should wait on me on their behalf, to request me to demand back *(repeter)* their prisoners in my own name; and the Father accordingly came. The village of Onontague sent Father de Lamberville, the resident missionary there, to me to inform me that it disavows the act perpetrated by the Senecas, and in proof thereof offers to send the prisoners who fell to their lot to Catarocouy, and to use their efforts to engage the Senecas to surrender the others whom they have. Although I place no reliance on their fine promises, knowing that they design only to deceive us, nevertheless, being unable to do otherwise, I have accepted their offer, and sent Father de Lamberville back with belts and presents to demand our prisoners. Father Enjalran of the Outaouas will repair to Catarocouy to receive those the Onontagues have promised, and those of the Senecas, if the latter are willing to surrender them. It is very certain that Scouebache and the other traitors among the number of the prisoners with the Senecas will not be willing to come, as they have sold the others. This, My Lord, is as disagreeable an occurrence as can well be, and the more so as I am not in a position to do what is proper to insure success in such a negotiation with people who are very insolent and haughty, and who despise us. Firm and vigorous proceedings, club in hand, would be necessary to oblige them to do what cannot be exacted from them by reason.

My Lord, I am not afraid to march against them with what forces we can collect in the Colony; but I am deterred by the state of the country and the consequences of a war which could not terminate in one, nor in two years, short of a miracle from God.

Reflect, My Lord, that we can not accomplish anything of moment in the hostilities we are obliged to undertake against this Iroquois Nation, after having burnt the Seneca town and laid waste their grain, unless we make arrangements to winter two hundred men in each of three different posts that it will be necessary to establish in their country at points whence we could excite considerable uneasiness among them.

The three places to be occupied are on the south side of Lake Ontario; they will be able to support each other if supplied with bateaux. I doubt not but by this manœuvre we may expect that the most timid among their Indian enemies will wake up to share in the ruin of the Iroquois nation.[1]

When these posts are established and the country of the Senecas laid waste, the latter will, possibly, take refuge in the other four villages, where they will find enough to support all their wives and little ones through the winter, whilst their warriors will keep the woods to harrass us in our settlements; had I sufficient troops to march, at the same time, against the two larger villages, it would be a mighty achievement.

It is necessary, then, to attend to the interior of the Colony, which is in such a terrible state of disorder that no good is to be expected from it, unless it be reconstructed. This cannot be effected without causing most of the Settlements to be abandoned, each Seignory being two or three leagues front, and the most populous of them having only thirty or forty settlers; the majority of them twelve to fifteen, and even five or six.

If these be concentrated, they will need shelter against the rigors of the severe winter, and require stockaded redoubts as places of security for themselves, their cattle, their grain and flour. If the major portion of the strongest and most vigorous are to be detailed

[1] Je ne doute pas que de cette maneuvre on ne doive afendre que les plus timides Sauvages leurs ennemis se reveilleront pour avoir part a la perte de cette nation. — Text.

for the war, or for the transportation of provisions, what means will those who remain have to fortify themselves, make their harvest and gather their grain and fodder into the redoubts at a distance from their settlements?

'Tis certain that stores of grain and flour must be provided, and that serious suffering on the part of the people must be anticipated, unless provision be seasonably made with great precaution.

You may depend upon it, My Lord, that the English are the principal fomenters of the insolence and arrogance of the Iroquois, adroitly using them to extend their sovereignty; uniting with them as one nation, in such wise that the English pretend to own nothing less than Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, the entire Saguinan country, that of the Hurons if these become their allies, and the whole territory towards the Micissipy.

By the letter I have written to Sieur de la Durantais, whom I have appointed commander over all our Frenchmen at the Outauas, you will again see, My Lord, what measures I have adopted for the occupation of some posts in the Saguinan in order to encourage our Indians whom possibly he will collect from the most distant parts and at whose head he will march. As for our Outauas, I do not expect any thing from them, having nought else to ask of them except to come and witness our actions. I have not considered it best this year to refuse twenty-five licenses, believing it of very great importance to have a number of Frenchmen among the Outaouas to control the Indians, and to protect them against new expeditions on the part of the Iroquois; I, moreover, expect all those French to join me at a rendezvous I shall appoint for them, when I march.

I am very sorry, My Lord, to find the affairs of this country in so deplorable a state. I am still more sorry to see myself constrained, if I would avoid the loss of all by too much precipitation, to temporise and to incur the danger of being overpowered by the Iroquois. Be assured, My Lord, could I manage better, I would do so with pleasure. Had I no fear but for myself and for those who, without any other than our own resources, will share with me the dangers of an expedition against an enemy that can put two thousand men under arms, I should have no more cause for apprehension than in the several other affairs into which thirty years of the King's service have led me.

I cannot avoid stating to you, My Lord, without betraying my honor and conscience, that it will be out of your power to reëstablish the affairs of this country unless you send some good troops hither; and that it would be much better for you to incur at once the expense necessary to put every thing on a proper footing, than to do so by piecemeal.

It will not be in my power to advise you before this autumn of the success of our negotiations. They will be backed by some presents to gain over the leaders, until you put us in a condition to do better, and to speak with more authority. Colonel Dongan will, perhaps, interfere to prevent a rupture between us and the Iroquois. The Merchants of Orange, who support him, would be very sorry that a war should prevent the Iroquois hunting for beaver, by whose means they expect to attract to themselves the trade with the Outaouacs who have been attached to us only by the dread of being pillaged by the Iroquois. The latter perceiving that, do their utmost to encourage and persuade those Indians that a peace concluded between them, independent of the French, will be more to their advantage and much more durable.

It is proper for you to know, My Lord, that the Iroquois are aware of every circumstance that transpired at Paris touching the affairs of this country. The English, who have free

access to the ocean during the entire winter, take care that the Iroquois be informed of whatever concerns them. They knew, last year, of the change of Governor and that you were sending troops, long before our arrival in this country. I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most
obliged and most obedient servant,
The M. DE DENONVILLE.

aisément aller à Missilimakinak, ce qui feroit une facilité très grande pour le commerce du pays et pour tenir les Outaouas en respect et les tenir dans l'obéissance du Roy; outre que par ce lac on seroit en estat de prester la main aux Illinois, et que cette communication avec barques osteroit bien des difficultés, qui se trouvent par la quantité de portages qu'il y a dans les rivières. Estant maistre de ces deux lacs en les croisant avec nos barques, les Anglois perdroient tout le commerce des castors de ce coste-là, dont ils ont abondance.

IV

LES ANGLAIS ONT EN VUE L'OCCUPATION DES LACS ONTARIO ET ÉRIÉ, AINSI QUE DES TERRES DU LAC HURON ET DU SAGUINAN.

Extrait d'une lettre de Denonville au Ministre.

Villemarie, 12 juin 1686.

Vous devez estre seur, Monseigneur, que les Anglois ont la plus grande part à l'insolence et arrogance des Iroquois, se servant d'eux adroitement pour estendre leur seigneurie, s'estant liez et associez avec eux comme une mesme nation, de manière que les Anglois ne prétendent pas moins avoir à eux que *le lac Ontario, celui d'Erié, toutes les terres du Saguinan, celles des Hurons,* s'ils s'allient à eux et à toutes les terres du costé du Mississipi.

Je ne vois de remède pour finir ces prétentions que d'estre les plus forts et d'humilier l'Iroquois et prendre de bons postes sur les lacs Ontario et Erié, quand il en sera temps.

De cette guerre commencée, nous avons à appréhender l'inquiétude de nostre peuple, qui a un penchant extrême de se tourner du costé de l'Anglois, qui l'attire tout autant qu'il peut.

Je ne puis me taire encore sur l'avarice de ceux qui ont entraisné la meilleure partie de nos Canadiens dans les bois, sans nulle précaution de la part de ceux qui avoient l'autorité du Roy en main pour retenir les libertins, qui, par la licence qu'ils ont prise contre les ordonnances du Roy *de porter en une année seule cent barques d'eau-de-vie* à Michilimakinak, se sont plongés dans les désordres et libertinages, qui ont esté à une telle extrémité que c'est merveille que les Sauvages ne les ayent pas tous assommés pour se garantir des violences qu'ils ont receu des François et juqu'à leur oster leurs filles et leurs femmes. Tout cela, Monseigneur, et la dernière guerre, nous ont attiré un si grand mépris chez toutes les nations que nous ne devons songer à nous relever que par nous-mesmes, et à mortifier les Iroquois, sans le secours des Sauvages; après quoy, ils songeront à nous pour les détruire. Car, sans eux, je ne voy pas que nous les puissions suivre dans les bois; alors, ils songeront à s'unir à nous pour les détruire dans les nouveaux pays qu'ils peuvent songer à habiter du costé de la rivière Ohio vers les Andastes, qu'ils ont détruit en veue d'y avoir une retraite. Les Iroquois ont fait depuis peu de ce costé-là une alliance avec la nation des Loups, qui s'est obligée de donner douze cents hommes à l'Iroquois pour nous faire la guerre.

La seule chose que je croy pouvoir faire à présent est de chercher à temporiser et tirer en longueur tant du mieux qu'il se pourra, cherchant à négocier jusques à l'an prochain, dans l'espérance que peut-estre les Illinois que j'ay envoyé avertir voudront bien s'assembler et s'approcher de l'ennemy par derrière le lac Erié. Mais il auroit fallu avoir des armes à leur envoyer dès cette année, en cette saison...

Vous verrés, Monseigneur, si vous voulez bien vous en donner la peine, les mesures que je prens là dessus par la lettre que j'adresse aux sieurs de La Forest et de Tonty.

Vous verrez encore, Monseigneur, par la lettre que j'escris au sieur de La Durantaye que j'ay nommé pour commander à tous nos François aux Outaouas, la mesure que j'ay *prise pour occuper des postes dans le Saguinan,* tant pour rasseurer nos Sauvages que pour inquiéter les Iroquois qui pourront s'y jeter cet hyver, et pour ameuter les Sauvages que l'on pourra rassembler des lieux les plus esloignez, et marcher à leur teste, car, pour nos Outaouas, je n'y compte rien, ne devant pas leur demander autre chose que de nous venir voir faire.

Je n'ay pas creu devoir arrester nos vingt et cinq congés de cette année, pensant qu'il est de très grande conséquence d'avoir un nombre de François aux Outaouas pour contenir les Sauvages en respect et les garantir des nouvelles entreprises de la part des Iroquois, outre que je prétends que tous ces gens-là me joindront dans un rendez vous que je leur donneray, lorsque je marcheray.

1686.
June 10. **726.** Minutes of Council of Jamaica. Colonel Thomas Freeman took the oaths of councillor. Report of the Committee on Fortifications. *Dated*, June [illegible] (*see No.* 714). [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XXXVI., pp.* 115-117.]

June 10. **727.** Mons. de Denonville to Governor Dongan. I have re-
20. ceived yours of 22 May. You will see from what follows that your intelligence of our pretended designs is baseless, and that the accounts given you by our deserters should be most cautiously received. You are too old a campaigner to take umbrage at the stores which I have sent to Katarokouy for the subsistence of my soldiers there. You understand the Indians well enough to know that it would be most imprudent for me to leave this post without stores and ammunition for a year, and, as you know, one cannot get up to the post at all seasons of the year. Had I to transport stores thither for a large force I should have chosen a different mode of transport. The perfidy inseparable from a people that has no religion sufficiently forbids me to trust them and justifies me for taking precautions against their unrest and caprice. On the 6th inst. I informed you of my master's zeal for the advancement of religion. I trust that of your piety you will not oppose the work. Can the missionaries have as great success so long as the Indian villages are allowed no rest? When I arrived here I thought that peace between the Iroquois and ourselves and allies was assured. The behaviour of the Iroquois at this juncture makes me ask you whether you think that I am wrong to distrust them. They are alarmed at the prospect of war with me. Nothing but their own consciences can have created this alarm in them. I have not taken the least step that could have caused it, and I wish for nothing better than to see peace established in the country. What have I done to give them the least uneasiness, and what do they want? As regards your claims to territory, no doubt you are not well informed as to the possessions taken by the King, my master, and of the establishments which we have settled in the country and on the lakes. I gladly consent to refer all such difficulties of boundaries to our masters, and I wish nothing more than that you and I may live on as good terms as they. But meanwhile it would be very fitting for so honourable a gentleman as yourself not to give protection to all the rogues and rascals who desert us to take refuge with you, and who to gain themselves some favour in your eyes think they cannot do better than relate to you impertinences against us, impertinences which will never end so long as you are willing to listen to them. My letter of 6 June should suffice to apprise you fully of my intentions. I should not have needed to answer your letter had I not wished to mark my respect for you. *Signed*, le M. de Denonville. *French.* 3 *pp. Endorsed.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVII., No.* 103.]

June 11. Hartford. **728.** The Governor and Council of Connecticut to [Edward Randolph?]. After some delay owing to the illness of the Governor and the distance of the residences of some of the Council, we have met to-day and considered your letters of 27 May and 2

Arnold [illegible]

[illegible] gave [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible], after [illegible] manner, [illegible]

[illegible]
very glad to see you here. He bega[illegible]
ou is to acquaint you that his grat[illegible]
and my affairs shall not be hid from you
Looks upon you as he does upon [illegible]
men in America & that he will be a lover
to you & will especially take of you
protection. & under his protection as [illegible]
subjects so you are not to make civil war
either with Christians or Indians before you shall
acquaint me with it, he bids always ready
& to assist you provided they begin not the war
at his coming & approbation; & as for Jan Jo-
hannis & Jan Jonas & Brasmap who [illegible]da-
qua for to traffic or trade with the French [illegible]
ny to his promise made to me & [illegible]
thereby to [illegible] & [illegible] out
[illegible] & [illegible] do not warr
against [illegible] & [illegible]
of [illegible]
[illegible]

c 47
1053

[illegible] said about [illegible]
[illegible] will do our utmost endea[illegible]
[illegible] & do desire [illegible] Honr
to know what will have noe in[illegible]
[illegible] our back words
[illegible] Indians, going to Cadaraqua
[illegible] but to Onondagy
2d Honr shall said to Canadian hunt
[illegible] was gone upon the Iroquois hunt
[illegible] bring down peltry [illegible]
[illegible] goods proper for, but to pursue
[illegible] may [illegible] all meddling with, for a ma
[illegible] goods is [illegible] will defend Ensly
[illegible] may create trouble in ours, & Mr. for we
[illegible] Indians & Honr again.
All [illegible] & Honr [illegible] proposed, w
[illegible] very well, & [illegible] many thanks for
your kindness [illegible] they gave a present
[illegible] Magnus Hodupe said
All [illegible] proposed to accept
promise to obtain [illegible] Indian pris
ners if [illegible] for, & [illegible] Honr
pleasure, [illegible] long
with an [illegible]
Mr. Dongan [illegible]
a present [illegible]
most [illegible]

[illegible] desire his advice about
[illegible] answered that whither they
[illegible] not come to him, but went to
[illegible] ellers; to which they answered telling
[illegible] that not withstanding he had taken much
[illegible] pains in peace, & that he had bin at his
[illegible] charge, & sitting up the nations, & was
[illegible] to begin warr as the ffrench, & that he
[illegible] the ffrench did intend, or intended no
[illegible] warre, but as the ffrench should begin wa
[illegible] to have the Indians to assist them, & advise for
[illegible] them, & Capt ffrancis to come to him
[illegible] which if they will

[illegible] said the ffrench did begin wor-
[illegible] ships & children should come amongst them &
Indians should be assisting against the ffrench
[illegible] and then he do nothing without his order, &
[illegible] all the villages of the Indians, then
[illegible] to him with the 6 Indians, & hither that
[illegible] he can should be sent, he advised also that
[illegible] one of them should goe with Indian from
[illegible] the Sovereign [illegible] and that he did not see
[illegible] six of them [illegible] him, & took it very
[illegible] ill, & [illegible] to one of them put him out
[illegible] of his [illegible]

[illegible] ... first convenient opportu[nity]
[illegible] persons as are alsoe required to
[illegible] shall then attend for his Ma[jes]
[illegible] receive due payable by the
Assembly

Jacobson & ors persons deputed by the
of Brookland appeared & the Mayor
hereof a Catalogue whereof Richard Gibbs Esq
out a patent for the said Sadlocke by
cock; being heard & their reasons consid
ordered that a patent do pass for the said
nd Gibbs & his heirs & Doris Jacobsen & the
itants of Brookland Farms, as required by Law.
Jacobus de Bois appeared & drew himself
next relation to Adrian Van Elpendam wh
thinks that Albany is the most dutifull Plan
next

[illegible] James Myers for 30 600 pattents
[illegible] Mr Govierno
[illegible] Mr Van Schaick
[illegible] Mr Sanders Athol
[illegible] Mr Savard

Ordered that a proclamation be [illegible] proper to be
[illegible] whereby all [illegible]
Dat Curiæ.

Ordered [illegible] Court [illegible]
Court Low Marks [illegible]

TREATY BETWEEN GOVERNOR TH MAS DONGAN AND THE FIVE NATIONS
30 August 1686 and 1 September 1686

This text has been prepared by combining two versions, both incomplete. The ms. version is in N.Y. Council Minutes, V, 163, 169. It has been damaged by fire, and its restorer put its leaves together in the wrong order. The printed version is in E.B. O'Callaghan, Documentary History of the State of New-York, I, 403-405 (octavo ed.). It is a series of extracts. Some, but not all, of its elisions, are indicated by asterisks.

We start with DHNY:

"At a Council August the 30th 1686.

P'sent the Governr Mr. S.V. Cortlandt Mr N. Bayard, Maj. Ger. Baxter J. Spragge Arnold Interpreter.

The mss. gives a name and adds Attys Gen.

The Governr gave presents to the Indians for wch they thanked him after their manner, and he said to them

Brethren"

(DHNY shows elision here. What follows is from the mss.)

"I am very gladd to see you here, the business . . . for you is to acquaint you that the great King [of] England my Master hath ordered me to let you know that he looks upon you as he does upon the rest of his Children in America; & that he will be a loveing father to you, & withall expects that as you have put your selfs under his protection as Children & subjects so you are not to make either warr or peace either wth Christians or Indians before you shall first acquaint me with it, he being allways ready to protect his subjects provided they begin not the warr without his consent & approbation; & therefore I am sorry to hear that som of the Brethren are gon to Cadaracqua for to treat or trade wth the ffrench wch is contrary to the promise they made to me at Albany contrary to the obedience wch Children owe to their parents; besides; do the Brethren think that it is out of fear of them that the ffrench do not warr against them — they have thousand men for one of the Brethren, & it is only for fear of disobligeing the great King of England, who is yr King allso"

(Turning the mss page, we come to burnt lines at the top.)

"

. . . concerne is that the . . . dionundados, som of whom you . . . last yeare have a mind to bury the Hat[chet] . . . Brethren; & an inclination to enter . . . friendshipp both in peace & warr, as the . . . of the Brethren have wth us, I know . . . of great advantage to strength to the Brethen . . . us allso; & therefore desire that you will send a sachem of each nation & two from the Sineques [&] som of Albany whom I will Commission for [the] purpose to go to the farr & [illegible] Indians, & carry them home their prisoners, & bring two or three of their Sachems to Albany, when I will be present, & we will bury all or hatchetts; & make a firm pe[ace] & Alliance that [illegible] whosoever shall warr wth one, shall warr wth all of us.

"The Governor of Canada hath written a very Civil answer to my letter; & says that his reason for putting so much provision in Cadaracqua; is the great . . . of the Winter; which hinders the bringing provisions to them, that are theire, the Brethren need not feare any thing, for I have a watchfull eye for their security, & I allso desire that the Brethren would bring all those of the Brethren that are gone to Canada back again for I love to have the Brethren strong & united; & what I have promised concerning the priests & the land shall be performed"

(This ends one sheet of ms. Following is a paragraph from DHNY, p. 403, the last few words of which correspond to some partly burnt words at the top of the next following ms. leaf.)

"I allso desire that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ neither ffrench nor English go & live at the Susquehannah River; nor hunt nor trade amongst the Brethren without my passe and seale, the impression of which I will give them but if they doe that the Brethren bring them to Albany and deliver them at the Town house when care shall be taken for punishing them (except the priests and one man wth each or either of them) although any of them should be married to an Indian squa; they being only spies upon the Brethren."

(Following is from the mss.)

". . . Sachems that are with you complain . . . [p]ut to death the poor prisoners you take . . . will not suffer them to be Christened; I desire you to do so no more, but that you suffer them that Comit great Crimes may be Christned by the fathers before they be put to death; & those that are young be kept to ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ strengthen the Brethren, or else to bring them to Albany & bestow them on Christians there for it is a great Crime agt god to murther people so, & it is the fear of god that makes the Christians so great as they are, & the slighting of him makes the Indians decay & I should be sorry that the Bretheren should do anything to disoblige the great god; who hath Created the great world sun & moone, & given us all, & every thing

"At a Councill Septeber ye 1st 1686 prsent the Gove Mr Steph V. Cortlandt Mr N. Bayard Major G. Baxter J. Spragge

The Indians of the five nations returned the following Answer"

(The page turns at this point, and the fire damage at the top of the next page makes it necessary to turn to DHNY, p. 404.)

"The Cayouges & Oneydes answered first & said

Brother Corlear We are come hither at New York by yr order although the appointed place is at Albany.

We have understood your propositions that we are no more Brothers but looked upon as Children of wch we are gladd"

(The above two paragraphs are not indicated as being anywhere in the mss. ~~It appears impossible that they could have been written in the space at top of page before~~ words from the DHNY text begin to coincide with the mss. text ~~as the xxxxxxxx following words do.~~)

"And what concerns the sending the prisoners back againe which the Cayouges and Oneydes have no hand in taking them; that concerns the Sinequas

What your Honor hath ~~xxxxxx~~ said about the Indians that are at Canada we will do our utmost endeavor to bring them from thence & do desire that yr Honor would write a letter to them, wch will have more influence upon them then our bare words

Concerning the Indians going to Cadaracqua that doth not concern us but the Onondagos

What yor Honor hath said of the Christian hunters & the traders that may come upon the Susquehañah River to hunt or trade wthout your passe; that we should take their goods from them & bring their persons to Albany, we dare not meddle therewith; for a man whose goods is taken from him will defend himself wch may create trouble or warre, & therefor we deliver the seales to yr Honor againe."

(

(The DHNY text parts company from the mss. here. DHNY goes on directly to a Mohawk speech without indicating omitted matter. Following is an additional paragraph of the Cayuga-Oneida speech, taken from the mss.)

"All that yr Honor hath further proposed, we like very well & give yr honor many thanks for your kindness whereupon they gave a present

Then a Maquas stood up & said"

(The immediately foregoing line is common to both texts, but again the DHNY text omits a paragraph without indication. It follows from the mss.)

"All that his honor hath proposed we do accept & promise to observe & concerning the Indian prisoners it concernes us not, but if it be your Honors pleasure, that one of the Sachems shall go along wee are willing to goe"

(Both texts coincide in the following.)

"We desire that yr Honor will order that lande & a priest may be at Saraghtoge; for they will be most Maquas that return from Canada; & for" ~~xxxxx

any fear . . . where we have a mind, this is now for the ffrench; but we are affraid"

(With the last three words, the DHNY text comes in again to coincide.)

"the seals given us put us in a new Trouble; therefore we deliver them to your Honour againe; that we may live wholly in peace / give a present

The Sinniquas said

We came the first to Albany Although we live the farthest of, & do find Corlaer to be a good brother to us, therefor did not delay"

(The mss. page ends here, and the top of the next is fire damaged. Following is in DHNY only.)

"I shall speak first of the Seales; We know the ffrench by their Coats and the other Christians by their habitts & if we should take their goods from them, it would create trouble or warre & therefor deliver the same againe."

(Here ends the DHNY text. Following is from the mss., picked up where it begins to be legible.)

". . . allways that the ffrench . . . for yr Honor told us two yea . . . should not do it because it is upon his . . .

. . . prisoners that are with us I cañot di. . . here alone but I will acquaint those . . . will, & do not doubt but we shall doe . . . Honor desires; We have allready sent A. . . one of the prisoners a great man with two other [pri]soners to Jenondadosse to fetch of their Indians & . . . into our Land to speak of peace; & what shall be . . . & Concluded upon shall forthwith be sent & made [known] to yr Honor

So as I have said I say still when Aiendes co[mes] back what we then Conclude shall be forthwith m[ade] known to yr Honor give a present

Then the five nations conculted together, & came . . . Honor to know ~~xx~~ when they should return home ~~[illegible]~~ . . . that they might have provisions for their Voyage . . . gave his Honor many thanks for his gifts & good provitions."

(Here the mss. goes on to another subject.)

10 August 1967

know that Great Penn did speak to us here in Corlaer's hous by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanne River, but we would not hearken to him nor come under His Government, and therefore desire you to be witness of what we now do and that we have already done and lett your friend that lives over the Great lake know that we are a ffree people uniting our selves to what Sachem we please, and do give you one beavor skinn.

This is a true Copy Translated, compared and Revised *P* me

Robt Livingston.

SIR JOHN WERDEN TO COL. DONGAN.

[From same, Vol. IV.]

St. James's, 27th August, 1684.

[Extract.] Touching Susquehannah River or lands abot it or trade in it, wch the Indians convey to you or invite you to, we think you will doe well to preserve yor interest there as much as possible that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr Penn or ether New Jerseys. For it is apparent they are apt enough to stretch their privileges as well as the people of New England have beene, who never probably will be reduced to reason by prosecution of the Quo Warranto wch is brought agst ym

[Council Minutes V.]

At a Council August the 30th 1686

P'sent the Governr Mr. S. V. Cortlandt Mr N. Bayard, Maj. Ger. Baxter J. Spragge Arnold Interpreter.

The Governr gave presents to the Indians for wch they thanked him after their manner, and he said to them

Brethren * * * * * * * *

I allso desire that neither ffrench nor English go & liue at the Susquehannah River; nor hunt nor trade amongst the Brethren without my passe and seale, the impression of which I will give them but if they doe that the Brethren bring them to Albany and deliver them at the Town house when care shall be taken for punishing them (except the priests and one man wth each or either of them) allthough any of them should be married to an Indian squa; they being only spies upon the Brethren.

At a Council Septemb 1st 1686.

P'sent the Gov. Mr Steph. v. Cortlandt Mr N. Bayard, Maior G. Baxter J Spragge

The Indians of the fiue Nations returned the following answer

The Cayouges & Oneydes answered first & said

Brother Corlear We are come hither at New York by yr order although the appointed place is at Albany.

We have understood your propositions that we are no more Brothers but looked upon as Children of wch we are gladd.

And what concerns the sending the prisoners back againe which the Cayouges and Oneydes have no hand in taking them; that concerns the Sinequas

What your Hono^{r} hath said about the Indians that are at Canada we will do our utmost endeauo^{r} to bring them from thence & do desire that y^{r} Hono^{r} would write a letter to them, wch will have more influence upon them then our bare words

Concerning the Indians going to Cadaracqua that doth not concern us but the Onondagos.

What yor Hono^{r} hath said of the Christian hunters & the traders that may come upon the Susquehañah River to hunt or trade wthout your passe; that we should take their goods from them & bring their persons to Albany, we dare not meddle therewith; for a man whose goods is taken from him will defend himself wch may create trouble or warre, and therefor we deliver the seales to y^{r} Hono^{r} againe. * * * * * * *

The Maquas stood up and said

We desire that y^{r} Hono^{r} will order that lande & a priest may be at Saraghtoge; for they will be most Maquas that return from Canada; & for the reasons given your Hono^{r} by the Cayouges & Oneydes we allso deliver your Hono^{r} the Seals againe—upon that they gaue a present

The Onondages stood up and said in Answer

Brother Corlear * * * * We are affraid the seals given us put us in a new trouble; therefore we deliver them to your Honour againe, that we may liue wholly in peace.

The Sinnequas said

We came first to Albany Although we liue the furthest off, and do find Corlear to be a good brother to us, therefore did not delay.

I shall speak first of the Seales; We know the ffrench by their Coats and the other Christians by their habitts & if we should take their goods from them, it would create trouble or warre & therefor deliver the same againe.

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Monsr Dongan Gouverneur de la Nouvelle York a parlé aux Iroquois assemblés à Manath sur la fin de Septembre 1686 en ces termes.

1. Je suis bien aise que nous nous entrevoyons.

2. Je ne suis pas bien aise qu'on allume le feu des affaires a Katarokoüi. Vous avez bien fait de n'y pas aller, Pour l'onnontaguë et son fils l'oüeïout qui y ont esté, on verra ce qui en arrivera

3 Pourquoy avez vous tué les Tionnontatés et les Kiskakons je veux que les prisonniers retournent en leur pais.

4 J'envoye 30. de mes neveux aux Tionnontatés. Je veux que des Iroquois de chaque nation les accompagne[sic]; mais particulierement des Sonnontoüans, ce sera a Tionnontaté que tous ensemble tiendrez conseil pour de bonnes affaires que mes neveux proposeront.

5. J'envoye rapeller les Oguiez Chrestiens qui sont au Saut je leur donne une terre a la peschc d'ochiarenti, qui demeureront avec un Jesuite anglois que je leur donnerai.

6. Il y aura des missionnaires de ma main en toutes les terres des Iroquois, et 2. a Sonnontoüan, que ceux qui demeurent a Onnontaguë se retirent, et aillent demeurer ailleurs, ou la d'ou ils sont venus.

7 Si monsieur le Gouverneur de

Canada vient avec grand nombre vers vos quartiers accourez viste[ment] m'en avertir. je viendray, je sauray ce qu'il pretend. Ne le frappez pas les 1ers laissez le Commencer c'est a moy qu'il aura affaire /

345v 8. Qu'on publie tous les Europeans qui viendront en vos quartiers mesme du Costé d'Andastoque et de merinlande[t] qu'on les lie, et qu'on me les amene, je ne les connois point tous, Ainsy ce que vous leur prendrez sera bien pris.

Ce Gouverneur a donné 7 Couvertures a chaq[e] nation 3 fusils. 1 baril d'eau de vie. 8[r] de poudre dix barres de plomb.

Les Iroquois disent que les marchands d'orange ont ajousté le 7e article.

dela mains + Je vous envoy Monsieur le memoire que a envoyé icy le Pere Lemberville qui est presentement aux villages des onnontagués le Pere Lemberville laissé en envoye la Copie a Mr de Calliere +

346-348 Barbade 19 Septembre 1686. Edvin Sted gouverneur
dela Barbade à Blenac Copie

349-354 Barbade 3 novembre 1686. Edvin Sted gouverneur
dela Barbade à Blenac Copie

355-359 Fort St Pierre de la Martinique 23 novembre 1686
Blenac et Dumaits [au Ministre] copie

360-361 2 octobre 1686 Confirmation des articles de paix entre Jacques II roy d'Angleterre et les seigneurs de Tunis

361v-362 7 fevrier 1686 Confirmation des articles de paix entre Jacques II et les seigneurs de Tripoli. Copie Copie

363-365 Westminster 15 octobre 1686 Letters aux Etats Generaux Copie

[illegible] Indians, som of whom
[illegible] shew a mind to bury the
[illegible] ir; & an inclination to embr
[illegible] dship both in peace & warr, & to
[illegible] the English have to us, & know
[illegible] wat advantage to expect by the Engl
also, & therfor desire, that you will sha
[illegible] on of a nation & weapon the sinnes
[illegible] on [illegible] bary w[ith] our old Custom
[illegible] ressing [illegible] & [illegible] ir Indians, &
[illegible] ir home, the prisoners, & one or two of
[illegible] ir Cachimos [illegible] bary [illegible]
wi will bury all o[ur] [illegible] & make a firm
& Alliance [illegible] & soul shall warr w[ith] our
shall warr w[ith] all ells.
[illegible] gouerno[r] [illegible] anada pas[s]ed with a very
[illegible] answ[er] & mind, & [illegible] for [illegible] & for
so much prosp[er] in [illegible] adrijacqua, & that
of the Iroq[uois], which finding it [illegible] prov
ous to them, [illegible] & [illegible] Brethren need
not fear anything, [illegible] peace & quietly
for their Country [illegible]
would [illegible] all [illegible]
go to [illegible] back [illegible]
Brethren strong [illegible] & [illegible] promised
[illegible] & [illegible]

[illegible] affairs for

[illegible] also

[illegible] have not been willy reft
[illegible] from the Irish, for wi[illegible]
[illegible] of Ulster which is now [illegible]
[illegible] da divi: ar sui ex Cadaracqui; wh
[illegible] people ar, soni he speak will Hen-
[illegible]z by his ho: C wi ar hir; C do
[illegible] exhasp[illegible] ex[illegible] C. Hi. am beginne
[illegible] about the Mantes, the Sinthini that
[illegible] wer ex Cadaracqua; wi sam him
[illegible] Sorcri[illegible] C. [illegible] [illegible] six mon, so flet
[illegible] not one of [illegible] ex[illegible] look, will
[illegible] Hi Irish will make no war upon Gi
[illegible] Dominions, but [illegible] away all far
[illegible] fon by [illegible] for we will willout any fear
[illegible] wi have a mind, this is now for the
[illegible] Ci, but we ar effraid the ta Gi ginen cy
[illegible] wil in a new trouble, [illegible] for wi delibn
[illegible] to gain Honour again, that wi may lim
[illegible] ally [illegible] [illegible] give [illegible] sirc
[illegible] C in ney[illegible] ted
[illegible] Vi com[illegible] [illegible] Aben, although [illegible] line
[illegible] Hi [illegible] [illegible] C. fri[illegible] for [illegible] hi a good
[illegible] brother [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] no delay

[illegible] Honō [illegible]
do it because it is upon [illegible]

[illegible] that as willas Jcarol dis[illegible]
alone but I will acquaint Lō Hō[illegible]
ell, & I do not doubt but we shall do[illegible]
Lords desires, We have already sent o[illegible]
ō prisoners a great man with two o[illegible]
ō to Jroquois to get all of their Indians
to come and speak of peace, & that the
Covenant upon which all should be settled
by y^{r} Hono^{r}
so as I have said I may still retain friend
ship which the Covenant shall be found
known to y^{r} Hono^{r} [illegible] & present
Hee ye five nations Commanded to stay & [illegible]
Hono^{r} to know what they should return home
that they might make provision got their Voya
ge the Hono^{r} may thank for by this good
Dition.
It following instructions was made to Philip
Enguish Esqr Governor & Cheife Magistrate of his
Maties Castle & Territories on the West
Syde in America & all things upon Dela-
ware River.
That being done you are to make the best of your
way to the mouth [illegible] & there to call to
give a Gunshott upon [illegible] of

[illegible]

[illegible] petition of Hindrick [illegible]
[illegible] of land call'd Claus grae[illegible]
[illegible] of the land & sixty of Upla[illegible]
[illegible] provided the said land[illegible]
[illegible] approached & disposed of.

[illegible] Council [illegible] Proposal to Go[illegible]
[illegible] Gov. Bayard [illegible] Mr. Vanbrugh [illegible]
[illegible] M. Beekman [illegible] Smeg[illegible]
[illegible] that [illegible] Attorney Gene[illegible]
[illegible] an Affidavit [illegible] Province
[illegible] will of course long Council he has Exchiney to
[illegible] signed it. Upon [illegible] Mr. Attorney Generall
[illegible] asked [illegible] how [illegible] will as a second
[illegible] to be signed by him, he gave his opinion that
[illegible] Mr. Bull [illegible] will of course was taken out in Mr.
[illegible] Speights name by which [illegible] Mr. Bull of course not
[illegible] obtained by patent Mr. Bull [illegible] will of course not
[illegible] Whereupon Mr. Bayard [illegible] he should [illegible] Mar
[illegible] new Will & Exr. should be joined.

[illegible] Council [illegible] Mr. Bayard
[illegible] Mr. Speight
[illegible] Mr. Attorney
[illegible] Mr. Bayard
[illegible] Mr. Bull, &c.
[illegible] Mr. Bull
[illegible] Council

C

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Aug. 25. **2,149.** Minutes of Council of New England. John Gold dismissed with a fine of £50, and bound for his good behaviour. Sundry petitions considered. Order for the military orders to be printed; also the order for observing the Lord's Day.

Aug. 26. Ordered that a Committee sit to revise the laws. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXIV., pp.* 65, 66.]

Sept. 25. **2,150.** Minutes of Council of New England. Order for the ordinary annual charge of the Castle to be £200, of which £50 to the lieutenant, provided he be always in residence. Captain Clapp to deliver up the Castle and give an account of the stores therein. Sundry petitions and minor orders. Order approving the removal of the distressed Eleutherian people to Caicoa Bay for settlement.

Sept. 26. Letter to Captain St. Loe, refusing him permission to have a bonfire, owing to the danger to the city, which is built of wood. Sundry minor orders.

Sept. 27. Order for a market to be kept in Boston; the details referred to a Committee. Order as to Siveret's ship, seized by Mr. Randolph, that she be tried in some British port. Order for the distribution of the money collected at Salem for the distressed French settlers. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXIV., pp.* 67-74.]

Oct. 1. Quebec. **2,151.** Mons. de Denonville to Governor Dongan. I have received by Father Lamberville the elder, missionary with the Iroquois, your letter of 27 July. I repeat that it will not be my fault if we do not live on a good understanding, and I am willing to believe that you on your side will contribute to the same end. I do not believe that the King your master would approve of your giving presents to the Iroquois, arming them to make war against us this year, and encouraging them to pillage French traders. You proposed to remit all disputes to the decision of our masters, but your envoy to the Onandagas has told all the tribes to plunder us and make war on us. Whether he did so by your orders or by those of the traders at Orange, he has done it. You know what your traders did at Michillimackinac. I ask you, do you expect me to think such conduct in accordance with your letter of the 27th July, full as it is of friendly professions as to religion and a good understanding between us? You told me that you will send me back all the deserters who have taken refuge with you, but you cannot but be aware that there are some with you now; and as they are all bankrupts or thieves, I hope that they will some day regret that you sheltered them, and that your traders will pay for employing rogues who will be as faithless to you as they have been to us. I am satisfied of your King's zeal as to religion. He has given proofs enough of it in his own dominions since his accession; but I wish that his piety was equally effective under your orders, and that you might find means to restrain his enemies from destroying the fruit of our missions by their wars and their cruelty. You know that they spare neither the Ottawas, our oldest allies, nor the other tribes among whom our evangelists are at work. You know also the barbarity that they have shewn towards the missionaries whom they here martyred. Will not such considerations lead you to

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second the pious intentions of your master? Religion can make no progress while your traders give them abundance of brandy, which turns them into demons and their abodes into hells. Be assured that I shall gladly try to obtain from you the favour which you desire from my king, who does not neglect men who, like you, have served him well. I wish you had explained that matter further, and sent me the vouchers or proofs of your claim. So many things pass through the hands of ministers that I fear M. de Louvois may not have remembered yours. And you do not give the name of the intendant of Nancy to whom you refer; but I will do my best for you. *Signed*, Le M. de Denonville. *French.* 3¼ *pp. Endorsed.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXIV., No.* 156.]

Item, a well with its cover, above the scarp of the ditch.

All which apartments are in the same condition as they were last winter, and consequently inhabitable. Which all the Witnesses, namely, the Reverend Father Millet of the Society of Jesus, Missionary; Sieur Desbergères, Captain and Commander; Sieurs De la Mothe, La Rabelle, Demuratre de clerin and Sieurs de Gemerais, Chevalier de Tregay all lieutenants and officers, and Maheut, Pilot of the Bark *la Generale* now in the Roadstead, certify to have seen and visited all the said apartments and have accordingly signed the Minute and Original of these presents:—Pierre Millet of the Soc^{y} of Jesus, Desbergeres, Chevalier De la Mothe, De La Rabelle, Murat, De Clerin, de la Gemesais, Commander de Tsegimo, and Maheut. Collated with the original in my hands, by me the undersigned Councillor, secretary of the King, and Chief Clerk to the sovereign Council at Quebec. Thus signed Penuset, with Paraph.

Compared at Quebec the 12th 9^{ber}, 1712.

Signed VAUDREUIL.

Signed BEGON.

Relation of the Events of the War, and State of the Affairs in Canada.

Quebec, 30th October, 1688.

You will understand from the account I am about to give you of the events of our war, and of the state of the affairs of this country, that the presentiments, I informed you last yeaf I entertained on the subject, arose only from the knowledge I have these twenty-three years past of the advantage our enemies possess over us, by reason of the woods and the great difference in their mode of life and ours.

Therefore, I beg you to believe that whatever I shall state to you respecting the faults committed in this expedition and since, does not proceed from any resentment I entertain against others, but solely from the interest I take in common with the rest of the country, in the public welfare.

M. de Saint Vallier[1] was greatly surprised on arriving in the country, to find things in a different condition from that in which he had left them, and was very sorry to have so much exaggerated, in the Letter he had printed at Paris, the morality of the people here and the blessings which God shed on them, since by a policy very usual among those of his rank and

[1] Right Rev. JEAN BAPTISTE DE LACROIX CHEVRIÈRE DE SAINT VALLIER, second Bishop of Quebec, was born at Grenoble, on the 14th of November, 1653. He was Chaplain to Louis XIV., in 1684, when he was appointed Vicar-General by Bishop de Laval. He arrived in Canada on the 30th of July, 1685, and remained in that country until November, 1687, when he went to Paris and was consecrated Bishop of Quebec on the 25th of January, 1688, and in August following, returned to Canada. He founded the General Hospital of Quebec, in 1693, and in revisited France, where he sojourned until 1704, when he embarked on board the King's ship *la Seine* for Canada. This vessel was captured in the month of July by the English, and M. de St. Vallier was carried to England, where he, and the several clergymen who were accompanying him, remained prisoners until 1709, the House of Lords having presented an address to Queen Anne that in exchanging the Prelate, regard should be paid to the French Protestants in prison in France. Bishop St. Vallier died in the General Hospital of Quebec, on the 26th of December, 1727. Whilst in Paris, in 1688, he wrote the "Letter" mentioned in the text, which was published in March 1688, under the title of "Etat present de l'Eglise et de la Colonie Francoise dans la Nouvelle France. Par M. l'Evêque de Quebec." It also appeared under the title of "Relation des Missions de la Nouvelle France," without, however, any other change than that of the title page. It is a small 8vo., containing pp. 267.—ED.

profession, he was obliged, in a Sermon he preached, to attribute the scourge with which Canada was afflicted, to the sins of the people, and to exhort every one to penance and prayer so as to appease the wrath of God. But that discourse only increased the murmurs of his hearers, who attributed the war to human, rather than divine causes, and the dissatisfaction obliged him to suppress the two hundred copies he had brought of his book, which have not since made their appearance.

You have learned that since the treaty concluded by the two monarchs on colonial differences, the King of England has instructed Colonel Dongan, Governor of Orange, to negotiate peace between us and the Iroquois, forbidding him at the same time to furnish them arms and ammunitions should they refuse to comply. Hence, Miss d'Allonne and three soldiers belonging to the garrison of Fort Frontenac, having been surprised by 40 Iroquois of the Mohawk, Onontagué and Oneida cantons, who lurked around the fort, and having found means to give intelligence of their capture to Sieur d'Orvilliérs the commandant, that officer sent proposals for a conference to the Indians, informing them that if they would send three of their men to the Prairie he would delegate as many. The Indians having consented, Sieur Dorvilliers sent Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit, with two soldiers. This Father spoke to them first, and asked them why they were seizing our people since we were at war only with the Senecas. They answered, wherefore had we taken so many of their tribes; if we would restore them, they would give up our people. The Father having stated that they were at Quebec, and that notice of the present demands must needs be communicated to Onontio, they inquired respecting the condition of their men and having been answered that they were confined merely with a view to their safer detention, the Father presented them two belts to oblige them not to injure our prisoners, nor to take part with the Senecas. They received the belts, and went to rejoin Miss d'Allonnes, but with faces so sad and so pensive that she thought they were going to dispatch her. She, however, suffered only fear, and was immediately conveyed, with the other two, to Onontagué.

Those two belts were afterwards carried to Colonel Dongan who immediately sent the man named Gregoire to the Marquis de Denonville to know what he meant thereby. He made answer that he was about dispatching to Mr Dongan a gentleman who would communicate his intentions to him.

This was Father Vaillant, Jesuit, who set out on the last day of the year, and was instructed to demand of this Colonel what proposals he wished to offer, being unwilling to appear as having made the first advances.

The Colonel, surprised, said, that he had sent only to convey the two belts given by Father de Lamberville; however, he did not omit entering into discussion and submitting some proposals, but they were for the most part such as honor did not permit us to accept.

Namely, That the Prisoners who had been sent to the galleys in France should be restored:

That the Indians who have been settled for so many years among us at La Prairie de la Magdelaine and at the Montreal Mountain, should be sent back:

That the forts in the upper country, viz., Niagara and Frontenac, should be razed, and that we should restore what had been taken and pillaged from their people.

One of our Indians belonging to La Prairie de la Magdelaine, who had been taken last fall on the return ofour army, having escaped in the beginning of May, related that as soon as Father Vaillant set out from Orange on his return, Colonel Dungan held a meeting of several

Chiefs of the Nations, and told them that Onontio had sent him to request a negotiation of peace between us and them; but that he did not wish to promise it except on condition of razing the forts we occupy in their country; that we should restore all their prisoners and whatever we plundered from their people, and that he was waiting for Onontio's answer; that, meanwhile, they must lay down the hatchet, without burying it however, merely covering it under the grass, so as to be able to take it up again, should needs be; that his King forbad him furnishing them with arms and ammunition in case they wished to make war on the French, but they need not be alarmed at that, because, if peace should not be concluded, he would give them some of his own rather than abandon them; that they must be on their guard for fear of treachery on the part of the French, and divide themselves into two detachments, one to occupy the River *des Forts*, and the other Lake Champlain, in order to prevent as well surprisals as the victualing of the forts by killing all the French who would make their appearance in that quarter.

And so it happened. For early in the spring they spread themselves on all sides in those directions, so that no person dare venture so far, had it not been for the convoy which had been dispatched to Fort Frontenac early in the season and before they had occupied the avenues to it, and on the return of that convoy, a party of 25 to 30 of the enemy seized one of the rear canoes, and with blows of a sabre cut off the heads of two men who sat at the sides, in view of 120 men of that convoy, the commander whereof instead of going to the relief of those poor people ordered seventeen of his canoes to be destroyed so as to reinforce the others and to escape the quicker.

The Iroquois thus dispersed, daily made similar attacks, breaking heads, and taking prisoners, and even lay seige to the Fort of Chambly, which they thought of taking.

In the beginning of July, La Grande Gueule,[1] one of their Chiefs, accompanied by six warriors, came to Fort Frontenac to request an officer to conduct him to Montreal, whither, he said, he was desirous of proceeding for the purpose of negotiating peace with Onontio. Sub-Lieutenant de la Perelle was detached with him, and having embarked in their canoe, was not a little astonished to encounter, five leagues below, six hundred Indians who, by the discourse they held, made him bethink himself of his conscience. But after having amused themselves at his expense, they accompanied him as far as Lake S[t] Francis, where they met another party equal in number and halted, leaving him to continue his voyage to Montreal with La Grande Gueule.

After having exaggerated in the presence of Onontio the advantages of those of his Tribe, and the facility with which they could exterminate our people, in consequence of the knowledge he possessed of our weakness, this Savage said, that as he ever loved the French, he had done all in his power to prevent his people executing the project they had formed of burning all our barns and houses, killing all our cattle, setting fire to our grain when it would be ripe, and after we should be suffering from famine, *(affamés)* coming the night following and attacking our forts and our redoubts; that through his exhortations he had induced them to consent to visit Onontio in order to make peace on the conditions already set forth; finally, that he was allowed but four days to return to his people; that Onontio should give him a prompt answer and not pretend to delay him any longer, as he would not be responsible for what might occur.

This is, literally, what he said, and there is every appearance that they will easily execute their design in consequence of the discouragement under which the Colonists are laboring,

[1] See note, supra, p. 243.

who hear every day of their women and children being daily carried off, and more especially when they had learned that, of the hundred and twenty men that had been there[1] in garrison five soldiers, one captain and a lieutenant only were remaining; and that 93 had died of the same sickness at Fort Frontenac.

This was caused by the putridity of the provisions, which, owing to the carelessness of those entrusted with supplying and transporting them, were tainted even last fall when carried thither, and by neglecting to send medicines to those two places for the relief of the sick.

Those who had furnished and transported the supplies would have run the risk of being assuredly punished, had they not been favorites, and had means not been found to forget designedly, at a carrying place, the chest of Commissary-General Gaillard who was sent to investigate the matter on the spot. All those straits forced the Governor to connive at the bravadoes of this Savage, and to agree to a cessation of hostilities which he proposed, until the wane of the August moon, when he promised to return to consent to the truce being converted into a peace on the preceding conditions and not otherwise.

In the month of July, deputies arrived at Montreal from Colonel Dongan, who brought back 13 of our French people, among the rest Miss Dallonne, and a convoy of eleven hundred men was at once prepared to carry supplies to Fort Frontenac. La Grand Gueule offered some of his men to assist in this work, but his offer was thankfully declined, and not without reason, for as soon as the canoes set out, the enemy seized near La prézentation, at the point of the Island of Montreal, one of those in the rear with three men; and a party of Mohawks and Mohegans *(Loups)* made a foray on the River St. Francis, to which place those barbarians even went, as well as to River du Loup, Saurel, Contrecœur and St Ours, where they burned all the buildings except the redoubts; killed all the cattle they found there and on the adjacent islands, whither they had been conveyed; and all this without any opposition on our part, for the majority of the people of those places were engaged in conducting the above convoy.

The English delegation to Onontio, on its return, caused those parties to retire, by informing them of the truce, of which, perhaps, they were not ignorant; but they were desirous to serve us in the same manner that we had treated them. Besides, we learned from some among them, that Colonel Dongan had told them, that the true way to get their prisoners back was to capture some of our people.

No act of hostility has occurred since that time. The Governor waited at Montreal for La Grande Gueule, until the 10th of October, when he proceeded to Quebec. It is not known what could have detained that Indian—whether it was some new expedition, or the Meeting of all the Nations on the subject of what happened to four of their Deputies who were on their way hither to request the Governor to wait 20 days longer for their ambassadors.

.The circumstance was this:—A small party of Hurons of the Upper Country, commanded by the Rat, a chief of the Indians under our protection, having met those 4 deputies at La Famine, killed one of them and made prisoners of the other three, whom he was unwilling to carry to Fort Frontenac for fear he should be obliged to surrender them; but one of the three, who had had his arm broken by a musket shot, having made his escape, took refuge there, and complained of the hostility of our allies; he was given to understand that we had no participation in it, and was escorted back to Onontagué.

Some Mohawks belonging to La Prairie de la Magdelaine having met, a few days before in the Grand river, four others of the enemy, carried off their scalps.

[1] Quere! at Niagara.—Ed.

The Abenakis indignant, also, on their part at our negotiations, having got up an expedition about the same time, killed seven of the enemy, both Mohegans *(Loups)* and Iroquois, on the River Chambly, and proceeding thence to the nearest English settlements, returned with 7 or 8 light haired scalps, in revenge, they said, for those whom Colonel Dongan had caused to be taken and killed.

Possibly these occurrences may retard matters, and consequently afford no little annoyance to the Governor who is embarrassed by the management he has to employ with our Indians, who act thus only through vexation at his past conduct.

In fine, it is to be admitted that affairs are at a bad pass, and that there is every reason to doubt whether we can retrieve the errors committed in the prosecution of this war; four at least of which are of a grave character:—

I. Being the first to break the peace which is so advantageous to the Colony, and by making war without any just cause.

II. Having seized those who had been publicly informed there was no intention to injure them; and having sent them to the galleys in France, in order to be under the necessity of bringing them back again, or continuing a war utterly ruinous to the country.

III. After having commenced the war, by not following up our advantages and pursuing the enemy, who would undoubtedly have been defeated—which would have justified our conduct, and proved that our designs were against the Senecas only—instead of contenting ourselves with burning the Indian corn, whereby we have drawn down upon ourselves only the contempt of the other Iroquois nations, and of our own Indians who taunt us, by saying that an ambuscade of only 200 men, who fled on the first discharge of their own guns, had frightened us, and prevented our pursuing and annihilating them.

IV. Having erected Fort Magaret[1] which we were forced to abandon the very first year without any articles of peace, having served no other purpose than to weaken us and to strip the country of men who were employed in conveying provisions thither, whilst the enemy were laying waste our settlements.

Without mentioning the loss that the Colony experiences from the interruption of the Indian trade, nor the neglect of preparing any ambush on the enemy's route during the war, and of making any irruption on the Mohawks, after their acts of hostility, which might have been easily effected with the forces sent with the convoy, as these consisted of the élite of our people.

I speak not of the disgrace of fifty of those Barbarians having ravaged so many settlements without encountering the least opposition from the people posted in the redoubts, who failed in their duty of making a sortie in pursuit of them, not having any orders, they say, to that effect.

But contented themselves with taking advantage of the ravages committed by the enemy, to kill the remainder of the Cattle and fowls; complaints were vain, the Governor paying no attention to them. This has caused universal dissatisfaction, and called forth in private circles an infinitude of murmurs, and severe reflections *(lardons)* on such conduct, which out of respect, I do not repeat.

Such is the state of the country, and of public opinion against the war, which it is considered impossible to terminate without large reinforcements, or a peace. Far from being of advantage, the latter will only aggravate in our regard, the insolence and contempt of

[1] Niagara. — Ed.

those barbarians and of the other Savages, our allies, which they already openly manifest towards us.

There is a desire, notwithstanding, to attribute the faults which have been committed, to the sins of the people; and with this view, Father Enjalran, Jesuit, one of the principal Agents of the expedition, has been sent to prejudice the public mind, and Chevalier de Callières, afterwards, to explain the new plans concerted since the Father's departure.

As for the other private news, I shall not relate it here, because it would lead me too far, and would include things too strong for some stomachs, should I amuse myself by giving a faithful report of every thing.

I shall add only one article on which possibly you will find it strange that I have said nothing; namely, whether the Governor carries on any trade? I shall answer, no — but my Lady the Governess *(Madame la gouvernante)* who is disposed not to neglect any opportunity for realizing a profit, has had a room, not to say a shop, full of goods up to the close of last winter in the Castle of Quebec and found means, afterwards, to make a lottery to get rid of the remainder of the rubbish which produced her more than her good merchandise.

As regards her husband's intrigues, many people say, that he takes advantage of the occasion, but I say nothing on this score, as I state only things with which I am perfectly conversant. Therefore, I mention this simply on public rumor. But for all the rest that precedes, I protest that I am not prejudiced by any passion, and that the interest of the Country and pure truth alone induce me to satisfy your curiosity.

Whilst I am occupied with my letter, deputies from Colonel Andros have arrived here to renew the proposals of Colonel Dongan whose place he occupies. But the answer is kept a profound secret, from which circumstance it is inferred here that the continuation of the war is certain.

Abstract of Letters from Canada and the Minister's Remarks thereupon.

CANADA.

Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny. 10th August, 31st October, 6th 9ber, 1688.

The Deputies of Three Iroquois Nations had come to demand peace of Sieur de Denonville, and had promised him to return with those of the other Tribes and to conclude it. These Indians were about to keep their word, and whilst on their way a party of Hurons attacked them, killed some, and took the others prisoners.

That affair interrupted the measures he had adopted to terminate the war this year.

This is a very unfortunate accident at the present conjuncture when it had been desirable for the good of the Colony, and in view of the actual state of affairs in Europe, that a peace should be concluded on advantageous conditions. I hope, however, that things being

esteem with the French Governour and officers, and that they went in very nigh Christians habitts—

9thly The French Governour told this Examinant that he was not gone up with the Army with an intent to warr against the Sennekes but only to renue the peace between the French and the Sennekes and that he had stayed five dayes for their comeing and being refused he therefore did march towards them in order to forse them to a peace, and withall to enjoyn them not to intermedle any further in warr against the neighbouring Indians who made complaints that they were hindred and cutt off in their hunting by the said Sinnekes—

10thly The Examinant had heard by several reports that the French Boshlopers were called in and had been with the Govern^r against the Sennekes and that the beavers were all burn'd by an accident of fyre being left by them at a further Magazeen in the further Indyans Country—

11. That the Examinant observed a great heat and desire amongst the French Officers to war and be revenged of Sinnekes and that no peace would be accepted of, except uppon great termes, and the Sennekes giving good hostages for their securitye—

12. That he had heard the Sennekes in their last engagement had behaved themselves as very valliant souldiers and would have done more harm to the French if their powder had been good—

13. That he had observed hardly any particular house he saw in Canida but he found in it one or more soldiers upon the Kings pay—

(signed). ANTHOINE LESPINARD.

Reverend Jacques de Lamberville to Reverend Jacques de Bruyas.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.]

[New-York Papers, II. 9.]

4 Novem^r 1686 arnoniogre.

My Rev. Father,

I am alone here since the 29th of August, much grieved particularly for having, through my neglect, allowed two adults to die without baptism, who were altogether disposed to receive it. *Instantia quotidianna.* I did not expect my brother to have been so long on his journey, nor supposed that he was so necessary there as at his mission *linguia tuum quia.* I wrote by way of the fort all that I considered prudent to write. The occasion of this [is a] friend whose name is N., who requested me to inform you that he still has the gun of *la miette,* who is called in Indian "ganniaton" and that he retains it to restore to him when he'll meet him again; also that he hath placed in security what he gave him in exchange to return it to him at their interview. If you know the whereabouts of the said *la miette* whom the Onondagas took on his way to reside among the Dutch, have the goodness to communicate to him what the friend has instructed me to write.

I let you know, briefly, what he'll be glad to learn; all the Onnondagas are on a war expedition in the direction of the cherermons; they are divided into two parties; one of 50

which will not be long absent; the other of two hundred with 50 of other tribes. The Senecas wanted me to join them, and said they, themselves, wished to fight against the Tolere tionnontatez[1] Ennikaragi[2] and the French; for they always imagine that others are plotting against them.

2d. The army of 200 Senecas returns this month of September to the country of the Omianicks,[3] 500 of whom, they say, they brought away *(tiré)* or took prisoners. Two of theirs were killed in the foray, and 27 when the touloucs[4] and Illinois caught them. No truce is to be expected with the Nations in that quarter. The Senecas are to go thither either this winter or spring with all their forces to recover the Myamicks.

3d. Korlar spoke to the Iroquois at Menade this summer.[5] He said 1° Why did you go to treat at the fort? 2° Why did you kill the Hurons at lemikariagi? I wish them to be carried back. 3° My nephews are going to the Tannontatez, let 2 of each Iroquois nation accompany them. 4° I am about to recal the Xtians of the Sault. 5° I shall supply Blackgowns to all the Iroquois nations on condition that those at Onondaga go away. 6° Should Onontio come to your country, hasten to advise me of it; I'll go to him and ask him what he wants, and then we'll see what's to be done, but do not attack nor kill him.

4th. Twenty Dutch Canoes have passed Galkonthiage quite recently, they are going to trade with the Hurons, and are freighted principally with rum. Three Mohawks — Karistatsia, his brother, and Onsugiron — accompany them, not as hired men but as traders for the Dutch; they have, as Korlar recommended, taken two of each nation with them. 30 additional canoes are to start early in the spring from the same quarter on a voyage to the Outaouaks.

5th. Six frenchmen went to the Dutch within two months; 4 of one party, and two of another. Is it not possible to close the passage at Chambly as has been done here at Onondaga?

6th. A man named Andrew Flannaverres has gone with two others to look up the Kekerannon-rounons — who are, I believe, the Nypissings, in order to induce them to come and live with the Iroquois. Atchinnara, a married Oneida, is employed on this mission. He takes 4 belts and 2 blankets.

7th If my brother do not return this winter I am not certain whether I shall remain here next spring, for I know not whether it be not better reverere spiritu quam invitumq;—spelli quibqe qui tiendra si gidernatoo olbñus nou et esgruat unde nos amis si quider unus e nostriser scriptit quoi nussurmani Angli vocandi sunt et Anglia qui orudiant Indos sabertes crip Anglis quales nichil ultra scribam lui multa sint scribenda sed ergor temply et nolo nimum scribere ne videare penasse si libera mea avalus.
deprehenderem[r] unmyle noys ut nusquam obliviscaris in tuis orationbz.

[1] See note, ante p. 443. — Ed.

[2] "In the beginning of May One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty three a Nation of Indians came to Albany, singing and dancing, with their Calumet before them as they always do when they come to any place where they have not been before. * * * * Towards the end of the same Month Eighty men besides Women and Children came to Albany in the same manner; those had one of our five Nations with them for an Interpreter by whom they Informed the Commissioners that they were of a great Nation called *Neghkereages* consisting of Six Castles and Tribes, and that they lived near a place called by the French Misclimakinack between the Upper lake and the Lake of Hurons." *New-York Council Minutes*, XIV., 395, 396; *Colden's Five Nations*, 8vo., II., 21. In the map prefixed to the latter work, they are called, also, Outaouaes, and occupy in that, and in Mitchell's *Map of North America*, 1755, the north-west part of the present state of Michigan. — Ed.

[3] Ouimiamies or Miamis. — Ed.

[4] *Sic.* Probably intended for Outouaca. — Ed.

[5] September 30, 1686. *Council Minutes*, V., 165. — Ed.

S^{r} in X. addictissimis Tui in X^{o} serm. Idilunter Item primo efflugita a R R. P. P. nostrum quibus perbe salute deplurrmen milles.

This letter was sent from Pr Lamberville att the Ottowaways^{l} to a Priest at Canada giveing account of the Governor's propositions to the Indians att New Yorke and of the numbers of the Cannoes going tradeing to Ottowawa.—

1686.

for ascertaining the Indians' lands at Pocomoke. Petition of James Round against the Indians for killing and stealing his hogs.

Nov. 3. Several Indians from Pocomoke appeared, and said that they were not satisfied with the boundaries laid down for them by Colonel Stevens. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LIV., pp.* 65-71.]

Nov. 4. Arnoniogre. 968. Father Lamberville to Jacques Brugas. I have been here alone since 29 August, with not a little trouble, in particular for having suffered two adults to die without baptism, men who were quite disposed to receive it, to say nothing of others. *Instantia quotidiana.* I did not think that my brother would have been so long on his way, and I doubt if he was as much counted there at his mission at Cumquia. I wrote all that I thought should be written. My friend (*cette amie*), who is called N., has begged me to tell you that he (*qu'il*) has still La Miette's gun, which the Indians call *ganniaton*, and that he is keeping it to give it back to him when he sees him again, also that he has stowed away carefully the one he gave him in exchange, to give it back to him. If you know where this La Miette is, please let him know what I have just written. He was stopped by the Onnontaguez, on his way to the Flemings. You will have heard all my news. All the Onnontaguez are on the warpath on this side of Cherermons, divided into two bands, one of fifty, which will shortly return, the other of two hundred, with fifty of other tribes. The Sonnonteranus wished me to join with them, saying that they wanted to fight the Onnontatés, Ennicaragi, and French, for they are always thinking that there is hostility between them. The second army return this same month of September to the Ounicanicks Country, from which they say they have carried off five hundred people. They lost two of their own number killed when they carried them off, and twenty-seven when the Touloues and the Illinois caught them There is no hope of peace among the nations on that side. The Sonnonteranu will go there in spring or winter, with all their force, to deliver the Nujanicks.

Kolar spoke to the Iroquois this summer. He said, (1) Why did you go to the fort to treat? (2) Why did you kill the Hurons at Temikariagi? (3) My nephews are going to the Tannontatés; let two of each Iroquois nation accompany them. (4) I am recalling the Christians from the Sault. (5) I will give two black dresses to all the Iroquois nations if those who are at Onnontagué will return. (6) Pannontis is approaching your quarters. Let me know when he comes, I will go to him and ask what he wants. We will see first what he is about, but do not attack or kill him. Twenty Flemish canoes recently passed by Jalkonshiage, on their way to the Hurons, loaded principally with brandy. Zamiuz, Karistatsia his brother, and Onsugiron went with them, but only as middlemen, not taking two of every nation, as Kolar said. That is why I think that Kolar has heard of it. There are still thirty canoes to leave the same place next spring for the Outaouacs. Six Frenchmen joined the Flemings two months since, four in one party and two in another, that the passage to Chambly may not be blocked like the passage to Onontagué here One André

1686.

Fanaverres with two more is gone to seek out the Kekerannoutonons, who, I expect, are the Nippissing Indians, to tempt them to come and live with the Iroquois. We ought to make use of Archinnara Onnecher, who was married in the country. If my brother does not return this winter, I do not know if I shall be here in the spring, for I am not sure if it be not better [*Here follow several lines written in Latin, but which, being misunderstood and miscopied by the copyist, are unintelligible. The purport seems to be that the writer had heard that English missionaries are coming to spread Anglican doctrine, and that he dared not write too much lest he should get his friend into trouble.*] 2½ *pp. French. Endorsed.* From a father living among the New York Indians to a father at Canada. Intercepted. *Copy.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LVIII., No.* 96.]

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be punished for having confided in rogues who will not be more faithful to them than they have been to us.

You know, Sir, they spare neither the Outaouas, our most antient allies, nor the other tribes among whom we have Preachers of the Gospel and with whose cruelties to our holy Missionaries, whom they have martyred, you are acquainted. Are all these reasons, Sir, not sufficiently conclusive to induce you to contribute to designs so pious as those of your Master? Think you, Sir, that Religion will progress whilst your Merchants supply, as they do, *Eau de Vie* in abundance which converts the savages, as you ought to know, into Demons and their cabins into counterparts and theatres of Hell.

I hope, Sir, you will reflect on all this, and that you will be so good as to contribute to that union which I desire, and you wish for.

Finally, Sir, you must be persuaded that I will contribute, willingly and with pleasure, my best to obtain for you the favor you desire from the King my master. I should have wished, Sir, that you had explained your case more clearly, and that you had placed in my hands the proofs or vouchers of your debt, so as to explain it to the King, for so many things pass through the hands of Messrs. his Majesty's Ministers that I fear M. de Lonnoy will not recollect your affair, which he cannot know except through the Intendant who was at Nancy, whose name you do not mention. I shall not fail, Sir, to endeavour to obtain for you some favor from the King my master for the services which you have rendered his majesty. I should wish, Sir, to have an opportunity, on some other more fitting occasion to prove that I am,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant.

M. DE DENONVILLE'S MEMOIR

ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN CANADA AND THE NECESSITY OF MAKING WAR NEXT YEAR ON THE IROQUOIS.

[Paris Doc. III.]

Quebec the 8th 9ber 1686.

Our reputation is absolutely destroyed both among our friends and our enemies. It is no trifling thing, My lord, to reëstablish it in view of the expense and labor and the dreadful consequences of a war, absolutely necessary. But, My lord, when we are certain that it is God's business and the King's glory that are in question, and that all those to whom they are committed have head and heart occupied only with zeal to perform their duty so as to have nothing wherewith to reproach themselves, we labour untroubled, confident that Heaven will supply the defects of our understanding and abilities, more especially having you as our Protector near to King with whom all things are possible, his piety being the foundation and motive of all his undertakings.

I annex to this Memoir, the duplicate of the letter of June last in which I advised My lord of the expedition of the Iroquois against our allies the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina in the Saguinan.[1] I have learned since that the English had more to do with that expedition than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their intrigues, My lord, reach a point that without doubt it would be much better that they should have recourse to open acts of hostility by firing our settlements, than to do what they are doing through the Iroquois for our destruction.

1 The Country between Lakes Erie and Huron was thus called. Paris Doc. Iii. 84.

I know, beyond a moment's doubt that Mr. Dongan has caused all the Five Iroquois Nations to be collected, this spring, at Orange to tell them publicly, so as to stimulate them against us, that I want to declare war against them; that they must plunder our Frenchmen in the Bush which they can easily effect by making an incursion into the country, and for that purpose Mr. Dongan caused presents of arms and ammunition to be given them by the merchants, neither more nor less than if it were himself who was to make war. There is no artifice, therefore My lord, that he did not employ to persuade them of their destruction, unless they destroyed us.

Father de Lamberville, Jesuit Missionary at Onontagué, one of the five villages, being advised of the wicked designs of the English, set all his friends to work to avert the storm, and enjoining them to report everything to him, he obtained from them that they would not budge until he had seen me. During his absence Mr. Dongan sent an express to the Iroquois to notify them to march without delay and fall on the Colony, ordering Father de Lamberville's brother, who had remained as hostage to be brought to him, thinking to deprive us of all our missionaries among the Iroquois. At the same time, he sent emissaries among our savages at Montreal to debauch them and draw them to him, promising them Missionaries to instruct them, assuring them that he would prevent Brandy being conveyed to their villages. All these intrigues have given me no small exercise all summer to ward off this blow.

Mr. Dongan wrote me, and I answered him as a man may do who wishes to dissemble, and who cannot yet get angry, much less crush his foe. I thought it better to temporise and answer Mr. Dongan by eluding rather than exhibiting one's chagrin without having the power to injure his enemy. The letters which I rec^{d} from him and my answers, copies of which I send, will advise you of my conduct in this conjuncture. Mr. Dongan, notwithstanding works secretly with all the artifices in the world, to debauch our Frenchmen and Indians. Col. Dongan's letters will sufficiently explain his pretensions which embrace no less than from the Lakes inclusive to the South Sea. Missilimackinac belongs to them. They have taken its elevation. They have been there treating with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them there very well on account of the excellent trade they made there in selling their goods for beaver which they purchase much dearer than we. Unfortunately we had at the time but very few French at Missilimackinac. M. de la Durantaye on arriving there would pursue the English to plunder them; the Hurons ran to escort them after saying many bad things of us. M. de la Durantaye did not overtake the English, who met on their road the Senecas going to meet them to escort them through lakes Erie and Ontario until they were beyond the risk of being attacked by us.

Thus you see, My lord, that the Senecas and the English understand each other charmingly, and are in perfect harmony and this alliance is made particularly with the army whom M. de la Barre went against, for at the time of his march the Senecas ran to Orange to find Colonel Dongan to beg him to take them under his protection, giving themselves over to him by a public Acte which was registered and sent to England, and, then, he caused poles with the arms of England to be planted in all their villages.

Nevertheless, previous to that time we had missionaries there, the first before any Englishman had an idea that there were Senecas there. I annex to this letter a memoir of our Right to all that Country of which our registers ought to be full, but of which we can find no trace. I am told that M. Tallon had originals of the entries of possession (*prises de possessions*) of many discoveries made in this country, which our registers ought to contain. Doubtless he has given them to my late lord, your father.

Father de Lamberville having given me an account of all the Colonel's intrigues which tended to take the Hurons away from us and to draw off the Outawas, I entrusted him with presents to gain over the principal and most intriguing of the Iroquois to secure the friendship of the young men

who were disposed to be out of humor with us. He arrived in very good season, for all the Nations, assured by Mr. Dongan that the good Father would not return, had assembled and were marching, but his return woke up the Father's party, who by means of secret, which are called here "underground" presents, dispelled the storm.

All the summer has been spent in comings and goings to get back the prisoners, the Outawas wishing to demand them of the Iroquois without my participation, according to the promises of the Senecas to restore them, provided I did not demand them. In fine the Hurons and the Outawas resolved to repair to Cataraqui, and the Onontagués alone have given up their prisoners, the Senecas saying that theirs did not wish to return home. Father de Lamberville returned here in the latter part of September, he gave me an account of all his cares, and of all his troubles and fatigues. Whatever affection he may have for the mission where he has been stationed fifteen or sixteen years every year in danger of being killed by the Iroquois, he admits himself that nothing is to be done for the mission unless that nation be humbled. This, My lord, is so true that the Iroquois have no other design than to destroy all our allies, one after the other, in order afterwards to annihilate us; and in that consists all the policy of Mr. Dongan and his Traders, who have no other object than to post themselves at Niagara, to block us; but until now they have not dared to touch that string with the Iroquois, who dread and hate their domination more than ours, loving them not, in truth, except on account of their cheap bargains.

Mr. Dongan caresses considerably those deserters of ours whom he requires to execute his designs for the destruction and ruin of our trade by promoting his own. This wakes up our restless spirits and obliges me to manage them, until I shall be in a position to treat them more severely. You will notice, My lord, by a letter of the Colonel's how desirous he is for something from the King which he says is due to him. He is a very selfish man, who would assuredly govern himself thereby if you thought proper; but the fact is he is not the master of those merchants from whom he draws money.

Father de Lamberville has returned with orders from me to assemble all the Iroquois nations next spring at Cataraqui to have a talk about our affairs. I am persuaded that scarcely any will come, but my chief design is to draw [them] thither, (the Jesuit Father remaining alone for he must this year send back his younger brother,) in order that he may have less trouble in withdrawing himself. This poor Father knows, however, nothing of our designs. He is a man of talent, and who says himself that matters cannot remain in their present state. I am very sorry to see him exposed, but if I withdraw him this year the storm without doubt will burst sooner on us, for they would be sure of our plans by his retiring.

I have advices, notwithstanding, that the Five Nations are making a large war party, supposed to be against the Oumiamis and other savages of the Bay *des Puans* who were attacked this year, one of their villages having been destroyed by the Iroquois; on receiving notice thereof the hunters of those tribes pursued the Iroquois party whom they overtook and fought with considerable vigor, having recovered several prisoners and killed many of the Iroquois, who without doubt pant for revenge. I sent them word, to be on their guard and to have their women and children removed to a distance when they will be required to march to join me I say nothing to you of what they have done to the Illinois whom they spare not, having since two years committed vast destruction on them.

Nothing more, My lord, is required to convince you that we cannot hesitate, and that the Colony must be put down as lost if war is not waged next year; they destroy on all sides our allies who are on the point of turning their backs on us if we do not declare for them. The Iroquois plunder our canoes whereever they find them, and no longer observe appearances. Nevertheless, My lord, in the deranged state of the Colony, war is the most dangerous thing in the world; nothing can save us but the troops you will send and the redoubts which it is necessary for us to build. Yet, I dare

not begin to work at these, for if I make the least movement for these Redoubts, I will assuredly draw all the Iroquois down on us, before I am in a condition to attack them.

The copy I transmit of the orders I have issued for our next year's expedition will advise you of all the measures I have adopted to ensure the success of our plans. The distance is terrible and success is in the hands of God. If you will be pleased, My lord, to take the trouble to read all these orders with the Map which I send, you will perceive all my projects. I have overrated a little the number of the force I shall have with me, in order to give a little more character to our expedition. I cannot draw more than eight hundred militia, one hundred of the best of whom will be required to manage the fifty canoes for convoys. These will do nothing else than come and go during our expedition to transport provisions for our troops and for those whom we shall station during the winter at the Post which we must occupy either at Niagara or near the Senecas, to serve as a retreat for those of our Indians who will be desirous to harrass them during the winter and the following year. Without this nothing effectual will have been done to humble this Nation, for to be satisfied in driving them from their villages and then to retire, is not accomplishing any great thing, as they immediately return and re-establish themselves in their Villages.

As you, My lord, are perfectly acquainted with the ruinous condition of this Colony, you understand very well the deplorable consequences of this war which require that the settlements be contracted, and it is here we must anticipate many difficulties; for in truth the establishment of the Colony would have to be almost begun over again, and this it is which causes me repeat the demand that I have already made for regular troops to support our *habitans*, and to occupy the posts necessary to be guarded, without which I cannot preserve many points very requisite to be protected; among others Chambly, where I should like to station a strong post, because it is the most important pass to reach the English by lake Champlain. That post will moreover always be a subject of uneasiness to the Indians who would incline to cross the River Richelieu thence to our settlements on the River St. Francis; in addition to which, communicating as it does with that of la Prairie de la Madelaine, would secure, in some sort, all the country from Sorel unto la Prairie de la Madelaine. Reflect again, My lord, if you please, how important is that post of Bout de l'Isle de Mont Real, that of Chateaugué, that of la Chesnaye and that of l'Isle Jesus.

I say nothing, My lord, of all the other settlements that are isolated and without communication, which we must endeavor to secure from insult. Those details, My lord, require considerable troops, which could not fail to greatly advance this country by laboring to draw (*resserer*) the Colony closer together and make it more compact, by means of forts around which clearances would be made.

All this, My lord, is no trifling work to be prepared. For what certainty can there be of destroying so powerful an enemy as that Nation which has assuredly two thousand men under arms independent of a large number of other tribes their allies, estimated at twelve hundred? The vast extent of forest into which they will retreat and where Indians alone can pursue them; the uncertainty of the strength of the Indians which we shall have with us; the difficulty of rendezvousing so far off—all these considerations ought to make us reflect on the means of sustaining ourselves in case we should not meet that success we may desire, and which cannot come without a manifest interposition of Heaven for the success of projects so scattered.

It is very certain that were I in a position to be able to send a strong detachment to the Mohawk Country by the River Richelieu whilst I was proceeding against the Senecas, not only should I create considerable alarm among the English which would keep them at home, but I would obtain a great advantage over the Iroquois by separating and pillaging them and laying waste their corn fields at both ends of the Iroquois towns. It would be very desirable that I could destroy all the corn in the same year, so that the one could no longer support the other; this would reduce them to great wretchedness and would put a burthen on the English, if they sought a refuge there for means to

live. Had I a sufficiency of troops I should not fail to undertake that enterprize, but having only what I have, I must attack one after the other, and endeavour to raise another army, which it is impossible to effect at first. 'Tis true, were all done at once it would be much better, and promote our expedition and dishearten our enemies considerably.

I am very sorry, My lord, to witness all the expence necessary for the support of Fort Cataracouy, merely with a garrison of fifty men. It is very unfortunate that the lands thereabout are not better, so that it might support itself. I am not yet sufficiently well informed of the environs to be able to write you with sufficient accuracy all that could be effected there; notwithstanding it is of great consequence to preserve that Post at the entrance to the Lake, though the Posts in this Country do not command the passages so completely that the Savages cannot avoid them, two or three leagues either above or below. Yet that Post, and one at Niagara would render us entire masters, and keep the Iroquois in great check and respect, and give us immense advantages in our trade with the Illinois and Outtawas; that road being shorter, and much less difficult than the one we take, in which there is an infinitude of portages and rapids, much more dangerous than those on the Cataracony side.

The letters I wrote to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye, of which I sent you copies, will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at that of the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Taronto. These two Posts will block the passage against the English, if they undertake to go again to Michilimaquina, and will serve as retreats to the Savages our allies, either while hunting or marching against the Iroquois.

I send you again, My lord, copy of the orders I have issued for the assembling, marching and repairing of our Savage allies to Niagara with Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye. You will, also, see, My lord, the orders I have issued for marching the Illinois in the rear of the Iroquois. It looks very well on paper, but the business is yet to be executed. Many difficulties may be encountered as well in regard to the nature of the Savages who are little accustomed to obedience and the prosecution of a design during several months, which are required to reach the rear of the Senecas from their country. Chevalier Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of July last, has taken charge of all these matters. I gave him twenty good Canadians, with eight canoes loaded with one hundred and fifty muskets, which was all I could collect in the country. He carries powder and lead and ether things for the trade. Had the guns you sent me arrived I should have given him a good number. He left at the end of August and calculates to arrive at Fort St. Louis[1] before the departure of the hunters. He could not assure me of the number of Savages he could bring with him, but I'm certain he will make great exertions to succeed in this affair in which he will participate largely if the Indians will allow themselves to be governed and led by him. I cannot sufficiently praise his zeal for the success of this enterprize. He is a lad of great enterprize and boldness, who undertakes considerable. He left Fort des Illinois last February to seek after M. de la Salle at the lower end of the Mississippi. He has been as far as the sea, where he learned nothing of M. de la Salle except that some Savages had seen him set sail and go towards the South. He returned on the receipt of this intelligence to Fort St. Louis des Illinois, and thence to Montreal, where he arrived in the beginning of July with two Illinois Chiefs, to whom I had made some presents, and to another who had not come. They promised me wonders. Nothing remains but the execution which is in the hands of God, for according to what I'm told of the temper of these Savages, a mere nothing sometimes is only necessary to cause them to change their minds. He will have about twenty good Canadians with him to march at the head of the Indians, which he hopes will encourage them. He will have to walk three hundred leagues over land, for those Savages are not accustomed to canoes (*ne sont pas gens de Canot.*)

1 Now Peoria, Ill.

I should have greatly desired to shorten my letters to you. But, My lord, as it is necessary to inform you of the state of our affairs and to render you an account of my conduct, I thought I would send you all the orders as I had issued them, so that I might be corrected if I fail in any respect, being very anxious to satisfy you.

I receive letters from the most distant quarters; from the head of the River Mississippi, from the head of Lake Superior, from Lake des Lenemyngon[1] where they propose wonders to me by establishing posts for the Missions and for the Beavers which abound there. But in truth so long as the interior of the Colony is not consolidated and secured, nothing certain can be expected from all those distant posts where hitherto people have lived in great disorder and in a manner to convert our best Canadians into banditti. All these distant posts cannot maintain themselves except from the interior of the Colony, and by a secure communication with them from here. Whilst we have the Iroquois on our hands, can we be certain of anything? Solicited by the English, they daily plunder our canoes and openly declare they will continue (to do so) being unwilling that we should carry ammunition to the Savages, their enemies and our allies.

The principal affair at present is the security of this Colony which is in evident danger of perishing whether the Iroquois be let alone or we make war without having a decided advantage over them, and however decided ours may be, the people separated as they are will always be in danger. Yet My lord, if you aid us with troops, war will be the least inconvenience, for if we do not wage it, I do not believe that the next year will pass away without the whole trade being absolutely lost; the savages, our friends, would revolt against us, and place themselves at the mercy of the Iroquois, more powerful because better armed, than any of them. The whole of the Hurons are waiting only for the moment to do it. Had I not by the care of Father de Lamberville fortunately avoided the war this year, not a single canoe would have come down from the forests without having been captured and plundered in the river of the Outtawas. We should have lost a great number of good men.

This, My lord, is a long narrative about the state of the affairs of the country with the Iroquois which absolutely require that we wage war without longer delay. Every person sees its necessity so clearly that those concur in it now, who had been hitherto the most opposed to it. I hope that on the sketch I give you of our wants, you will aid us both in men and other necessaries. In regard to troops, My lord, I had the honor to ask you for Regulars, for in truth the employment of people picked up anywhere is very unwise. It requires time to make them fit for service and on their arrival they will have to take arms in their hands and drill. If you propose to send us some it would be well to have them arrive about the end of May which is the season when the North West winds prevail in our River. For that reason, the ships ought to leave Rochelle in the month of March. Sieur Dambour, one of our best ship captains that come to Canada, can give good advice thereupon.

Our march cannot begin before the fifteenth of May, for we must let the sowing be finished, and the storms before that time are furious on our river and Lake Ontario. I say nothing of the risks to be incurred that the harvest will not be saved next year on account of the war, nor of the necessity of making store-houses. By sending us troops, many things will be done of which we dare not dream if you do not send any.

A few days since a man named Antoine L'Epinart, an old resident among the Dutch, at present among the English, came to Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal in search of a child he had boarding with the Jesuits. He reports that the English kept watch three months this summer, our deserters having told them that I would attack them for having armed the Iroquois against us. He also says that the Iroquois are drawing to them the Loups (Mohegans) and other tribes toward the Andastes, with whom they are forming alliances; he believed the Iroquois had evil intentions toward us—that

1 Most probably, Lake Aleminipigon of the old maps; now L. St. Ann, north of Lake Superior.

access to the ocean during the entire winter, take care that the Iroquois be informed of whatever concerns them. They knew, last year, of the change of Governor and that you were sending troops, long before our arrival in this country. I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most
obliged and most obedient servant,
The M. DE DENONVILLE.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir on the Present state of affairs in Canada, and the Necessity of waging war, next year, against the Iroquois.

Quebec, 8th 9ber, 1686.

Our reputation is absolutely lost both with our friends and our enemies; to reëtablish it, My Lord, is no trifling matter in point of expense, trouble, and the grievous consequences of a war that is absolutely necessary. But, My Lord, when every one is convinced that God's interest and the King's glory are therein at stake, and that the hearts and heads of those entrusted therewith are occupied only with thoughts of effectually performing their duty so as to be free from self reproach, all labor with confidence under the conviction that Heaven will supply any defects in our knowledge and ability, especially when we have you for our protector near the King, with whom all things are possible, his Majesty's piety being the foundation and motive of all his undertakings.

I annex to this Memoir the duplicate of the letter of the month of June last, in which I advised your Lordship of the expedition of the Iroquois at Saguinan against our allies, the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina. I have learned, since then, that the English have a greater hand in those expeditions than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their artifices reach a point, My Lord, when it were much better that they had recourse to acts of hostility on the coast, by burning our settlements, than to do what they are instigating the Iroquois to perpetrate against us for our destruction.

I know beyond a particle of doubt, that M. Dongan hath caused all the Five Iroquois Nations to be assembled this spring at Orange in order to tell them in public, so as to excite them against us, that I wished to declare war against them; that they must plunder our Frenchmen in the woods whom they could easily overpower on their entering the country, and with this view Mr. Dongan caused his merchants to make them presents of arms and ammunition, neither more nor less than if it were he who was to carry on hostilities. Add to this, My Lord, that there is no artifice, he has not recourse to, in order to persuade them of their ruin, if they did not master us. Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit missionary of the Onnontaguez, one of the Five Nations, being advised of the evil designs of the English, set all his friends to work to avert this storm; and taking upon himself to give them an account of every thing, obtained a promise from them that they would not stir until he had seen me. During his absence, M. Dongan sent an express to the Iroquois to notify them that they must march,

without delay, to attack the Colony, giving orders to bring him Father de Lamberville's brother,[1] who had remained as it were a hostage, calculating thus to deprive us of all the Missionaries among the Iroquois. He was sending people at the same time, to our Montreal Indians to debauch and draw them over to him, promising them Missionaries to instruct them, and assuring them that he would prevent the introduction of Brandy into their villages. All these intrigues have given me during the whole of this summer not a little trouble in order to avert this storm. M. Dongan has written me, and I have answered him as a man may do who wishes to dissimulate, and does not yet feel himself in a condition to get angry, much less to overcome his enemy. I thought it better to temporize and to reply to M. Dongan by concealing rather than evincing any chagrin, not being in a position to be able to injure an opponent. The letters I have received from, and the answers I have sent to, him (copies whereof I transmit you) will explain to you my conduct in this rencontre. Meanwhile, Mr. Dongan labors secretly, by all possible artifices to seduce our Frenchmen and Indians from us.

Colonel Dongan's letters will notify you sufficiently of his pretensions which extend no less than from the lakes, inclusive, to the South Sea. Missilimakinac is theirs. They have taken its latitude; have been to trade there with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them cordially on account of the bargains they gave, by selling their merchandise for Beaver which they purchased at a much higher price than we. Unfortunately we had but very few Frenchmen at Missilimakinac at that time. M. de la Durantaye, on arriving there wanted to pursue the English to pillage them. The Hurons were hastening to escort them after having expressed a great many impertinences against us. Sieur de la Durantaye did not overtake the English who met the Senecas on their way to join, and escort them through Lakes Erie and Ontario, until they should be beyond all danger of an attack from us. Thus you easily perceive, My Lord, that the English and the Senecas understand each other wonderfully well, and are perfectly agreed; and this union dates particularly from the year that M. de la Barre went against the latter, for whilst he was on his march, the Senecas ran to Orange to see Colonel Dongan to request him to take them under his protection, giving themselves up to him by a public instrument which was recorded and sent to England, and then he caused posts with the English arms to be set up in all their villages. Yet we have had Missionaries there previous to that time, before an Englishman had cognizance that Senecas were in existence. I annex to this letter a Memoir of our Rights to the entire of that Country, of which our registers ought to be full, but no memorials of them are to be found. I'm told that M. Tallon has had originals of the entries into possession *(prises de possession)* of a great many discoveries that have been made in this country, with which our registers ought to be loaded. Doubtless, he will have given them to My late Lord, your father.

Father de Lamberville, having given me an account of all the intrigues of the Colonel who aimed at carrying the Hurons away from us and drawing the Outawas to himself, I loaded him with presents to gain over the greatest intriguers among the Iroquois chiefs, in order to secure the favor of all the young men who were intending to march against us. He arrived very opportunely, for all the Nations, under M. Dongan's assurance that the good Father would not come back, were assembled and marching; but his return revived the party of the Father who dispelled this storm by means of secret, called here "under-ground" presents.

The entire summer was spent in coming and going for the purpose of releasing prisoners, the Outawas wishing to make application for them to the Iroquois without my participation,

[1] Rev. Jacques de Lamberville.

agreeably to the promises of the Senecas to surrender them provided I did not make the demand. The Hurons and Outawas finally resolved to repair to Cataraqui, and the Onnontaguez only have surrendered their prisoners, the Senecas saying theirs were not willing to return home. Father de Lamberville came here in the last days of September to give me an account of all his troubles and fatigues. Whatever partiality he may entertain for the Mission where he has, for fifteen or sixteen years, been daily exposed to destruction at the hands of the Iroquois, he admits, himself, that nothing is to be effected for those Missions, if that nation be not humbled. So perfectly true is it, My Lord, that the Iroquois have no other design than to destroy all our allies, one after the other, in order finally to annihilate us, and in that consists the entire policy of M. Dongan and his merchants whose sole object is to post themselves at Niagara, to intercept us. But up to this time they have not dared to touch that string with the Iroquois, who fear and hate their domination more than ours, loving them, in truth, for their cheap bargains only.

M. Dongan caresses considerably our deserters whose services he requires in order to execute his designs which contemplate nothing less than the destruction and ruin of our trade by pushing his own. That wakes up our restless spirits *(libertins)*, and induces me to manage them until I shall be in a position to check them more severely.

You will perceive, My Lord, by one of the Colonel's letters,[1] that he asks something from the King which he says is his due. He is a very selfish man and, should you consider it proper, would assuredly govern himself accordingly. But the secret is, he is not master of those merchants from whom he draws money.

Father de Lamberville has gone back with orders from me to assemble all the Iroquois nations next spring at Cataraqui to talk over our affairs. I am persuaded that scarcely any will come, but my principal object is to attract [some of them] to that place whilst the Jesuit Father remains alone, as he must send back his younger brother, this year, in order to experience less trouble himself in withdrawing. That poor Father, however, knows nothing of our designs. He is a man of talent and says, himself, that matters cannot remain in their present state. I am very sorry to see him exposed, but should I withdraw him this year the storm will, without doubt, burst sooner upon us, for the Iroquois would surely discover our plans by his retiring.

Meanwhile, I have advices that the Five Nations are forming a large war party, it is supposed against the Oumiamis and other Indians of the Bay des Puans who have been attacked in the beginning of this year, one of their villages having been destroyed by the Iroquois. On receiving notice thereof, the hunters of those tribes pursued and overtook the Iroquois party and fought them with considerable vigor, having recovered several prisoners and killed many of the enemy, who, without a doubt, pant for revenge. I sent the Western Indians word to be on their guard and, when they will be required to march to join me, to cause their women and children to be removed to a distance.

I say nothing to you of what they (the Iroquois) have done to the Illinois, whom they spare not, having within two years destroyed a vast number of them.

Nothing more is required, My Lord, to convince you that the case admits not of any hesitation, and that the Colony must be put down as lost, if war be not waged next year. The Iroquois destroy our allies on all sides, who are on the point of turning their backs on us if we do not declare in their favor; plunder our canoes wherever they find them, and no longer

[1] See III., 460. — Ed.

observe appearances. Nevertheless, My Lord, war is the most dangerous thing in the world in the actual deranged state of the Colony. Nothing can save us but the troops you will send, and the redoubts which it is necessary for us to build. Yet I dare not begin to work at them for, if I make the least movement towards these Redoubts, I will assuredly draw all the Iroquois down on us, before I am in a condition to attack them.

The copy I transmit of my orders for our next year's expedition, will make known to you all the measures I have adopted to insure success to our plans. The distance is terrible and victory is in the hands of God. If you will be pleased, My Lord, to take the trouble to read al. these orders, with the accompanying Map, you will understand all my projects. In order to give a little more character to our expedition, I have overrated somewhat the number of the force I shall have with me. I cannot detail more than eight hundred militia, one hundred of the best of whom will be required to manage fifty canoes for convoys. They will do nothing but go and come during our expedition, in order to transport provisions for our troops and for those whom we shall station, during the winter, at the post we must occupy either at Niagara or near the Senecas, to serve as a retreat for those of our Indians who will be desirous to harrass them during the winter and the year following. Without this, nothing effectual will have been done towards humbling that nation, for to confine ourselves to driving them from their villages and to come away after that has been effected, is not accomplishing any great things, as they immediately return and reëstablish themselves in those same localities.

As you, My Lord, are perfectly acquainted with the ruinous condition of this Colony, you understand very well the deplorable consequences of this war. The settlements will have to be concentrated, and herein it is that we must expect many difficulties; for in truth the establishment of the Colony would have almost to be begun over again. This it is that causes me to renew the demand I have already made for Regular troops to support our Militia and to occupy the posts necessary to be guarded. Otherwise, I will not be able to preserve several points that are very requisite to be protected; Chambly among the rest, where I should like to station a strong party, because it is the most important pass on the route to the English by Lake Champlain. That post will, moreover, be a constant source of uneasiness to such Indians as would wish to cross the River Richelieu and then proceed to our settlements on the River St Francis; communicating as it does with la Prairie de la Madelaine, it would also secure, in some sort, the entire country between that settlement and Sorel. Reflect, again, My Lord, if you please, how important is the post at the end of the Island of *(du Bout de l'Isle de)* Montreal, that of Chateaugué, that of la Chesnaye and that of Isle Jesus.

I do not mention to you, My Lord, all the other separate and isolated settlements which we must endeavor to secure from insult. All those details, My Lord, require considerable troops, which cannot fail to greatly advance this country by contributing to render the Colony more compact, and to bring it closer together by means of forts around which clearances would be made.

This, My Lord, is no trifling matter for which preparations are required. For what certainty can there be of destroying so powerful an enemy as that Nation, which has assuredly two thousand men under arms exclusive of a large number of other tribes, their allies, who are estimated at twelve hundred? The vast extent of forest into which they will certainly retreat, and where Indians alone can pursue them; the uncertainty of the force of the Indians we shall have with us; the difficulty of rendezvousing so far off, are considerations that ought to make us reflect on the means of sustaining ourselves in case we should not meet that

success we may desire, and which we cannot secure without a manifest interposition of Heaven in favor of such a variety of projects.

Were I in a position to be able to send a strong detachment to the Mohawk country by way of the River Richelieu, at the same time that I was proceeding against the Senecas, 'tis very certain that I could not only create considerable alarm among the English, which would keep them at home, but obtain a great advantage over the Iroquois by separating them and pillaging and laying waste the corn fields at both ends of their cantons. It would be very desirable that I could destroy all their corn in the same year, so that it would be out of the power of the one any longer to support the other. Thus they would be reduced to great misery, and become a burthen to the English, should they apply to them for means to live. Had I a sufficiency of troops I would not fail to undertake such an enterprise, but having only my present command, I must attack those Indians in detail and endeavor to effect some other year what it is impossible to accomplish in the first. 'Tis true, were all done at once, it would be much better and essentially promote our expedition and considerably dishearten our enemies.

I am very sorry, My Lord, to witness all the expense required for the support of Fort Cataracouy, with a garrison of merely fifty men. It is very unfortunate that the lands thereabout are not better, so that it might support itself. I am not yet sufficiently well acquainted with the environs to be able to write you with sufficient accuracy respecting all that can be done there; nevertheless, it is of great consequence to preserve that post at the mouth of the Lake, though posts in this country do not command passes so completely as to prevent the Indians avoiding them some two or three leagues either above or below. Yet that post, and one at Niagara would render us entire masters of the Iroquois; keep them in great check and respect, and give us immense advantages in our trade with the Illinois and Outtawas; as that route is shorter, and much less difficult than the one we usually take, in which there is an infinite number of portages and rapids, much more dangerous than those on the Cataracouy side.

The letters I have written to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye, of which I send you copies, will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at that of the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Taronto. These two posts will block the passage against the English, should they attempt to go again to Michilimaquina, and serve as retreats to our Indian allies either while hunting, or while marching against the Iroquois.

I send you, also, My Lord, copies of the orders I have issued for the assembling and marching of our Indian allies and for their repairing to Niagara with Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye. You will see, also, My Lord, the orders I have issued for marching the Illinois in the rear of the Iroquois. It looks very well on paper, but the business remains yet to be done. Many difficulties may intervene from the nature of the Indians, who are little accustomed to obedience and to the prosecution of a design during several the successive months that are required to reach the rear of the Senecas from their country. Chevalier de Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of last July, has taken charge of these matters. I have given him twenty good Canadians with eight canoes loaded with one hundred and fifty muskets; all I could collect in the country. He carries some powder and lead and other articles of trade. Had the guns you sent me arrived, I should have given him a good number of them. He left at the end of August and calculates to

arrive at Fort St. Louis[1] before the hunters will have set out. He could not assure me of the number of Indians he will be able to bring with him, but I am certain he will make great exertions to succeed in this affair, in which he will participate largely if the Indians will allow themselves to be governed and advised by him. I cannot sufficiently praise his zeal for the success of this expedition. He is a lad of great enterprise and boldness, who undertakes a great deal. He left the Fort of the Illinois last February, to look for M. de la Salle at the lower end of the Mississippi; has been as far as the sea, where he learned nothing of M. de la Salle except that some Indians had seen him set sail and proceed southward. On the receipt of this intelligence he (de Tonty) returned to Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois, and thence to Montreal where he arrived in the beginning of July with two Illinois chiefs, to whom I have made some presents, as well as to another who had not come. They have promised me wonders. Nothing remains but the execution, which is in the hands of God; for according to what I am told of the temper of those savages, sometimes a mere nothing only is necessary to cause them to change their minds. He will have about twenty good Canadians with him to march at the head of the Indians; this he hopes will encourage them. He will have to march three hundred leagues overland, for those Indians are not accustomed to Canoes.

I should have greatly desired to have made my letters to you more brief. But, My Lord, as it is necessary to inform you of the state of our affairs, and to render you an account of my conduct, I thought I would send you all the orders as I had issued them, so as to be corrected if I fail in any respect, being very anxious to give you satisfaction.

I am in receipt of letters from the most distant parts; from the upper Mississippi, from the head of Lake Superior, from Lake des Lenemyngon,[2] where they propose wonders to me were I to establish posts for the Missions, and for the Beavers which abound there. But in truth, so long as the interior of the Colony is not consolidated and secured, no certain reliance can be placed on all those distant posts where, hitherto, people have lived in great disorder, and in a manner to convert our best Canadians into banditti. All these posts at a distance cannot maintain themselves except from the interior of the Colony, and by sure communication with it. Whilst we have the Iroquois on our hands, can we be certain of any thing? Solicited by the English, they daily plunder our canoes and openly declare they will continue so to do, as they are unwilling that we should carry ammunition to the Savages, their enemies and our allies.

The principal affair at present is the security of this Colony which is in evident danger of perishing if the Iroquois be let alone, and we make war and have not a decided advantage over them; and however decided our advantage may be, the people, separated as they are, will always be in danger. Yet, My Lord, if you aid us with troops, war will be the least inconvenience; for if we wage it not, I do not believe the next year will pass away without the whole trade being absolutely lost; our friendly Indians revolting against us, and placing themselves at the mercy of the Iroquois, more powerful, because better armed than any of them. The whole of the Hurons are waiting only for the moment to do so. Had I not by Father de Lamberville's care, fortunately avoided war from the very beginning of this year, not a single canoe would have come down from the forests without having been taken and plundered in the River of the Outtawas. We should have lost a great number of good men.

[1] Peoria, Ill. [2] Lake Aleminipigon of the older Geographers; now Lake St. Anne, north of Lake Superior. — Ed.

This, My Lord, is a long narrative about the state of the affairs of the country with the Iroquois which absolutely require that we wage war without any longer delay. Every person sees its necessity so clearly that those concur in it now, who had been hitherto the most opposed to it. I hope that on the sketch I give you of our wants, you will aid us both in men and other necessaries. In regard to troops, My Lord, I had the honor to ask you for Regulars, for in truth the employment of people picked up here and there is very unwise. It requires time to make them fit for service, and on their arrival they will have to take arms in their hands and fight.

If you propose to send us any, it would be well to have them arrive at the end of May, which is the season when the Northeast winds prevail in our River. To do that, the ships ought to leave Rochelle in the month of March. Sieur Dambour, one of the best of our ship captains that come to Canada, can give advice thereupon.

Our march cannot begin before the fifteenth of May, for we must let the sowing be finished, and the storms before that time are furious on our river and on Lake Ontario.

I say nothing of the risks to be incurred of the loss of the harvest next year on account of the war, nor of the necessity of building storehouses. If troops be sent us many things will be done of which we dare not dream if you do not send any.

A few days since a man named Antoine L'Epinart, an old resident among the Dutch, at present among the English, came to Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal, in search of a child he had boarding with the Jesuits. He reports that the English kept guard three months this summer, our deserters having told them that I would attack them for having armed the Iroquois against us. He also says, that the Iroquois are attracting the Mohegans *(Loups)* and other tribes towards the Andastes,[1] with whom they are forming alliances; that he believed the Iroquois had evil intentions towards us; that the English who had been to the Outtawas had been well received and invited to return with merchandise, and had well nigh procured from the Iroquois the restitution of their prisoners, by which means they will be more attached to them than to us; that the Merchants of Orange had urgently entreated Colonel Dongan to request the Senecas to surrender the prisoners; that the Colonel had convoked a meeting of the Five Nations who went to see him; that it is the general belief that the Colonel will obtain satisfaction of the Iroquois whereby the English will attract to themselves both the Outtawas and the Hurons; and that their cheap bargains will ruin our trade. The said Antoine L'Epinart assures moreover, that a Company of fifty men was formed to go to Missilimakina; that their canoes were purchased, and that the too low state of the waters had prevented them starting; that they were waiting only for the rain to raise their rivers, and that the Senecas had promised to escort them.

I have heard of Sieur de Lhu's arrival at the post of the Detroit of Lake Erie, with fifty good men well armed, with munitions of war and provisions and all other necessaries sufficient to protect them against the severe cold, and to render them comfortable during the whole winter wherever they will entrench themselves.

M. De la Durantaye is collecting people to fortify himself at Michilimaquina, and to occupy the other passage at Taronto, which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. In this this way our Englishmen will find some body to speak to.

All this cannot be accomplished without considerable expense, but still we must maintain our honor and our property.

[1] See note 2, p. 227.

The Oumeamis and other Indians of the Bay des Puans have expressed much joy to me on being told that Sieur du Lhu was posted at the Detroit, but I am very sorry to hear that Tonty has learned on the road that these same savages had quarreled with the Illinois, which might prevent the latter attacking the Senecas in the rear, as we had projected. It would, in truth, be an afflicting circumstance to see our allies devouring one another instead of uniting with us to destroy the common enemy. But it is useless to be vexed at it. Nothing remains but to be prepared for every thing that may happen, and to rely only on ourselves.

If God give us the advantage, the people will rouse to our aid. My Lord ought to place no reliance on the changeable disposition of a people without discipline, or any sort of subordination. The King must be master in this country if he would effect any sort of good, and success therein cannot be secured without expense.

The M. DE DENONVILLE.

French Right to the Iroquois Country and Hudson's Bay.

Memoir in proof of the Right of the French to the Iroquois country and to Hudson's Bay.[1]

The French were the first discoverers of New France, otherwise called Canada and all the circumjacent countries. Francis I. sent out Verazzano, a Florentine, in 1523, who discovered from the 33d to the 47th degree, and Jacques Cartier of Saint Malo, in 1534 and 1535, who discovered the Island of Newfoundland and ascended the River Saint Lawrence up to the Saut Saint Louis.

These facts are proved by all the Relations that have been written since, and particularly by those of Champlain, pages 9 and 10, and of L'Escarbot, pages 3 and 29.

These discoveries having been made, the French have always continued in the design of maintaining themselves therein. To secure those countries, the same King Francis granted a Commission in 1540 to Sieur de la Roche Robertval.

Although King Henry III. found himself greatly occupied by the Civil Wars, he did not wish to abandon the right he possessed over North America. On the 12th January, 1598, he appointed the Marquis de Costenmeal and de la Roche his Lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, La Brador, the River of the Great Bay or River Saint Lawrence, River of Norembegue and countries adjacent to said provinces and rivers. There is one thing very remarkable in these letters patent: They mention that those countries were not inhabited by any subjects of Christian princes. L'Escarbot gives them at length; page 434.

Sieur de Mons likewise was appointed Lieutenant-general in the said Countries on the 8th 9ber, 1603. Next, Sieur Champlain succeeded Sieur Damons and labored more successfully than all his predecessors to discover all the interior of the country. He says himself, that from 1604 up to 1620 he has been more than 500 leagues into the interior of New France; that he defeated the Iroquois, explored *(reconnu)* and took possession of their River, and

[1] Referred to, supra, p. 297. — ED.

Translated from the Dutch by
A. J. F. van Laer.

Col. Mss. 35:171

Brethren:

I had a great desire to see you and have undertaken this journey only to meet you, in order that we might confirm the old friendship and join heart and hand together for the preservation of our brethren. I am reliably informed that the French in Canada intend to frighten our brethren, the Sinnekes, in order to make peace or war, hearing that they have already sent a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition to Cadarachqui.

I did not wish the Brethren to begin war with the French, nor to treat with them in any way, without first notifying me, for I regard the Brethren as subjects of the King of England and do not wish to let pass any opportunity to do what it is proper for me to perform for their preservation. Therefore, I desire that you will keep a watchful eye on them and will not permit them to land anywhere on your side of the lakes and that from time to time you send me notice of what the French are doing. And if the French attack the Brethren, I do not want you to stay in your castles, but want you to burn them. You will also not permit the French to erect any houses or forts on your side of the lakes. It is territory of his Majesty; the Brethren have delivered it over to his Majesty and subjected themselves to this government.

I desire further that the Brethren keep a watchful eye on the surroundings of Onyagere and will not allow any forts to be built there by the French. Also, that you will seek to induce as many of the far nations of Indians to dwell among you as possible, which I now say in particular to the Sinnekes, because I hear that the French are more angy against you than against the rest.

Now Brethren, Maquas, Oneydes, Onnondages and Cajouges, we must not permit the French to come on your side of the lake, nor to do any damage to our brethren the Sinnekes, but if necessary you must take up the hatchet and join them with heart and hand; let their war be your war and their peace be your peace, and when I see that the French start the war, you will see what I shall do. I wish the Brethren to be very careful not to start the war without cause and, also, that whatever agreements and treaties the French may propose be concluded in this city, when I shall take care that they be for your best interest, being better informed about the French nation than you, for I am unwilling that hereafter any treaty between the Brethren and the French or any other Christian nation be made except in this place. I, who represent the King of England, have the same concern for you that I have for all parties; therefore, I should not like the Brethren to act as they did last.

I shall send Arnout to bring the French Father or Jesuit hither and shall have one of our Fathers, who is a very good man, go to the Maquas castles to learn the language, and I have sent to England for more such persons.

Was given to the Sinnekes.

35:1116

Sch[ee]d.

Ick hadde een groot Regente om u te seggen, ende het doen
Voyagie aengenomen alleen om u te ontmoeten
dat myn ende, vrindschap, Confirmeren, ende hart &
hant te samen voegen voor de Conservatie van onse
Religie. Ick can u derhalven geinformeert dat de
Prince Elect Maria Vermelmen sijn ende broeder
de Cardinael Borg te male kort om tot de Roomsche
Coninck, ende onse Catholijcke Religie, bekeert dat sy
alreede een Considerabele quantiteyt Munitie &
ammunitie de selve te doen tot Zaracque
Ick can u niet bergen dat de Prince de Parma
met de Franse Hulp Troupen noch op geen
manieren [illegible] Effectuijs sonder myn ende
de rest te na sien. want ick sie de Prince
als de Coninck van Engelant ondersteunt, ende wil
ook geen occasie voorby laten Hunlieden ende
dat eenpaer te doen myn te Confirmeren voor haer
Conservatie. Derhalve begeere dat gy een

wenden

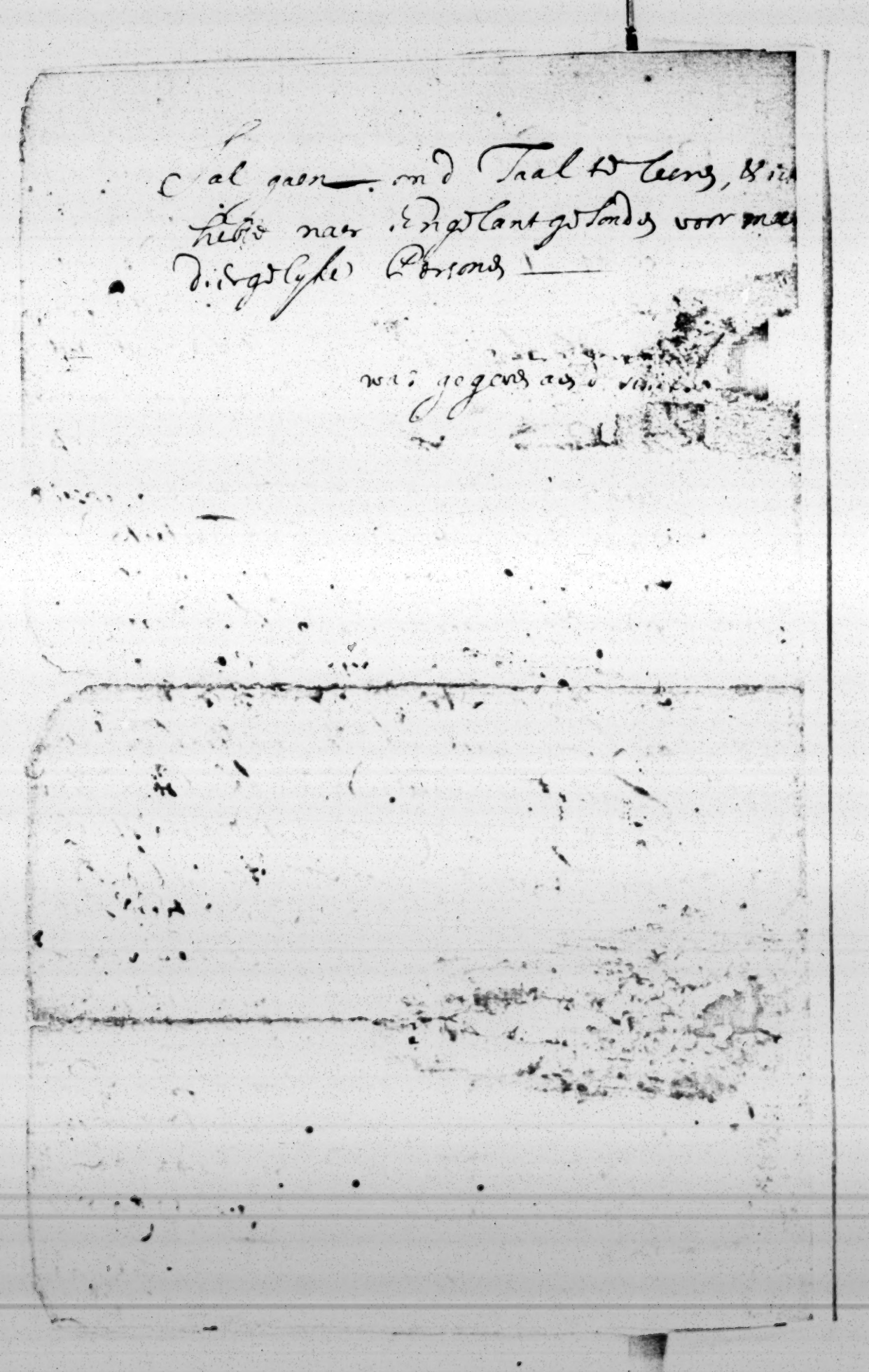
Waarinde ooghe ontrent haer salle hebben
't haer meit tot haer dat sy Landts Ergens
op [illegible] van d Lande, & Wordt mede
Landtschap van tyde tot tyde wat d'franchi[illegible]
& indien d'franchi d' Bisd[illegible]
met hebbe dat gy in t Eyndt salt blyven
maer haer Stranden, nochte gy & sullen
niet Vermitteren dat d'franchi eenige huyse
off steden gerechten off t' Lyde van d Lan
dt. tyende d Comitenij van Zyrixee: die
Raedt. Lebbende. salle oock Borgen syn mae;
& hier dit gedruckt ende voorpe

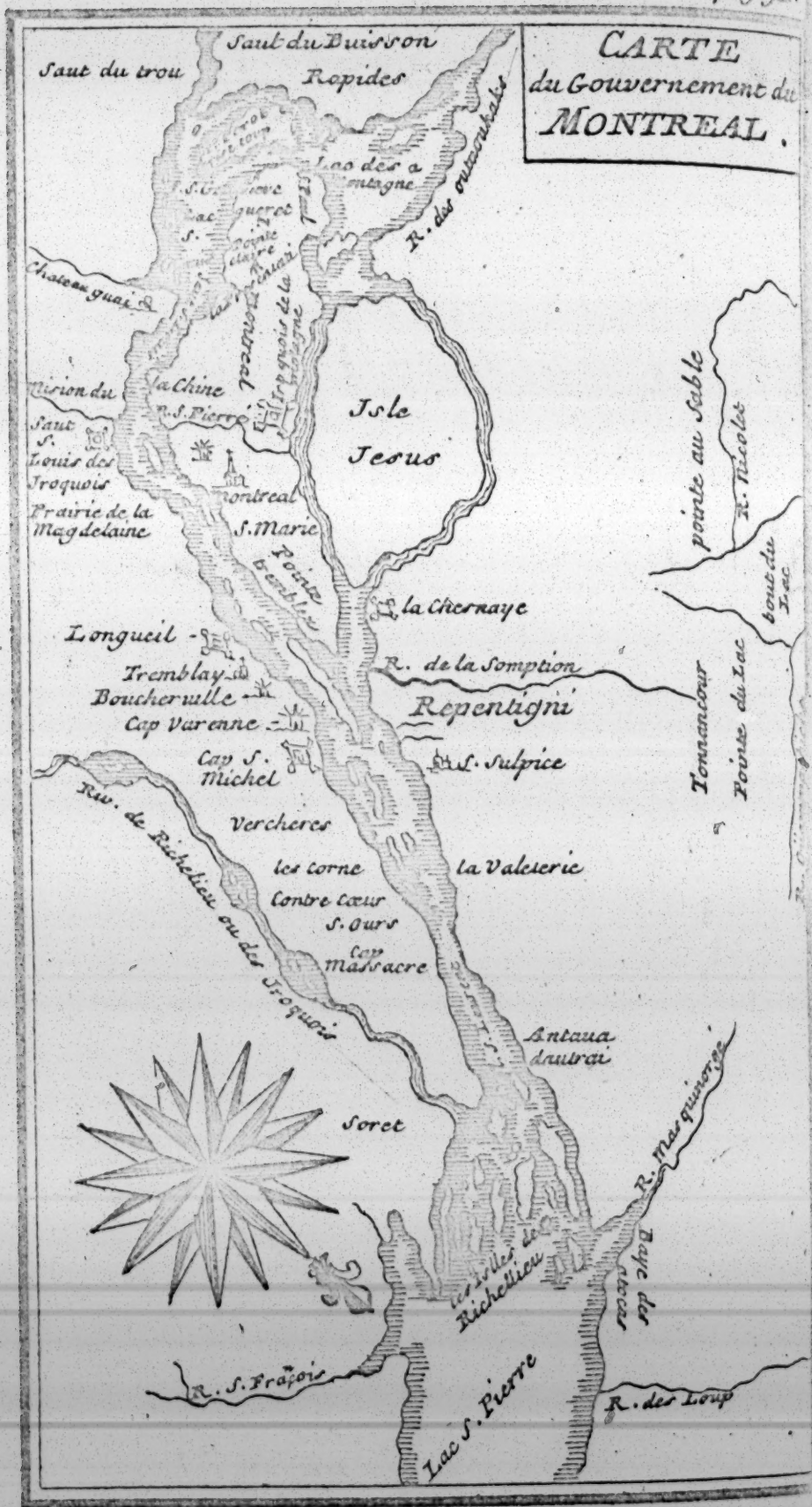
Item Begeert Wordt dat d Pr: een via lieden
ontrent ons gaen salle Leeren & niet tot
dattien eenige stadt alaer gestimt worde v.
franc, & mede dat gy datt Lant van d
Vijve natien van ons & Enckele en andere
te woon als mogelyck is, t gene dattien
nu met Particulieren nie schade wegens d
oorloge is om dat [illegible]
open & stondt syn als oyt Bef[illegible]

Item Procc. Ghemaeckt ons aen
Majesteyt
Sy maken niet te Recht dat d'franch op & Lyde
Lant Lake Comen, noch dat sy eenige Pr
Ditte & dry ick ende Pr: d Hinne Lee, &
Loot

Soo moetra. blyckes, d' Cyll in d' hant neme
& voegs by hair hart & hunt & cael haer
oorlogh jow oorlogh zyn, & haer vrede jow
vrede, & wanneer ick sall hoir datt d' franse
dy oorlogh beginne, ay sall sien watt datt
ick doen sall Item ick hebbe dat d' broders
seer voortic hiigh hulle dy zyn om geen be=
ginnen van dy oorlogh te zyn sonder oorsaek,
& meede datt watt accords & tractaets d'
franse hulle, Verbonden, dat zy in dese stadt
gedaen zy, wanneer ick sall dragen
dat het voor e Cyll zal zyn, & ick
beter kennist ontrent d' franse natie, als
gy. — want ick sie oorsaeklick dat emy
tractaet in t'aenstaende tusschen Br. & d' franse
ofte eenige andere Christe natie, gemaekt sall
worden, dat zy in dese Staette, ick die de
Coningh van Engelant Schipper ontrent Scille
& Silue, large ons ick als ick heb voor al
tyden, d' Hollanders niet gerne hebben datt
d' Fr. ons doen: en Seede —
Ick sall arment vinden voor d' franse Vad.
of Jesuit om hem herwaerts te brengen
& hebbe een van ons Vaders die de Be=
goede man is die naer d' magaes Castelli
sal gaen

Cal gaen — mid Taal te leeren, die
hebbe naer Engelant gestandig voor mee
dingelijke Persoons —




CARTE
du Gouvernement de
MONTREAL.
Saut du Buisson
Saut du trou
Rapides
Lac des a
R. des outaouabas
Chateau guai
Isle Jesus
la Chine
Pointe au Sable
R. Nicolet
Saut S. Louis des Iroquois
Prairie de la Magdelaine
Montreal
S. Marie
la Chesnaye
Longueil
Tremblay
Boucherville
Cap Varenne
R. de la Somption
Repentigni
Tonnancour
Pointe du Lac
Cap S. Michel
S. Sulpice
Riv. de Richelieu ou des Iroquois
Vercheres
les Cedres
la Valeserie
Contre Cœur
S. Ours
Cap Massacre
Antaua d'outrai
Soret
R. Masquinongé
Baye des Cedres
les Isles de Richelieu
R. S. François
Lac S. Pierre
R. des Loup

XII. LETTRE.

Gouvernement de l'Iſle de Montreal.
Détail de toutes les côtes de ce gouvernement.
Pluſieurs actions paſſées entre les François & les Iroquois.
Etabliſſement des Iroquois Chrétiens à Montreal.

MADAME,

J'aurois bien beſoin ici de la délicateſſe de votre eſprit & de votre politeſſe pour écrire juſte. J'avouë ma temerité d'avoir entrepris de vous faire un détail du plus beau Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-France. Que diront les Dames de la Cour, quand elles verront que je vous mets à la tête d'une lettre qui ne parle que d'Iroquois. Les Muſes du Parnaſſe avec qui vous avez beaucoup de liaiſon, vont encor bien plus ſe déchaîner contre moi que les premieres. Elles diront que je ſuis un impoli, un indiſcret, un * Caraïbe; car

* Les Caraïbes demeurent à la Dominique, diſtante de douze lieuës de la Quadaloupe, lieu de ma naiſſance & de ma demeure.

rien n'eſt plus haſardeux pour un homme comme moi, que de ſe montrer à des yeux à qui nul défaut, nulle imperfection n'échape. Mais étant ſous vos auſpices, Madame ; j'eſpere qu'elles auront quelque indulgence pour un homme d'un Nouveau Monde.

La beauté du Gouvernement de Montreal ne conſiſte pas tant en ſon agreable ſituation qu'aux mouvemens militaires que l'on y fait, lorſque nous avons la Guerre avec les Iroquois. Je ne vous raporterai point d'abord pluſieurs circonſtances qui feroient connoître avec quelle intrepidité l'on a ſoûtenu les irruptions de cette Nation, qui eſt devenuë la plus cruelle & la plus redoutable de toute l'Amerique. Trouvez bon, Madame, que je vous conduiſe juſques à l'Iſle de Montreal. Je ne laiſſerai pas de vous entretenir de quelques actions particulieres qui ſe ſont faites ſur ſes côtes. Permettez-moi en même temps d'entrer dans des particularitez qui regardent generalement ce païs.

Les Iſles de Richelieu qui ſont au nombre de plus de cent, ſont le commencement de ce Gouvernement. Elles ſont à la tête du lac ſaint Pierre, en remontant le fleuve, toutes remplies d'arbres, en-

d'autres de Noyers dont le fruit à plûtôt le goût de l'amande que celui de la noix. On en conserve en Hiver qui se mangent en cerneau. Il y a beaucoup de vignes, la chasse du Gibier y est considerable, sur tout celle des Rats musquez qui se fait au mois d'Avril. Ces animaux font leurs cabanes de terre sur le bord du fleuve, l'odeur du musc les fait reconnoître ; ils sont beaucoup plus gros que les deux poings, ils ont la queuë plate qui leur donne la facilité de nager. La chair en est délicate ; mais il faut leur faire jetter un boüillon auparavant que d'en manger. La peau a un duvet que les Chapeliers mêlent dans les chapeaux ; leurs testicules sont veritablement du musc, tel Chasseur en tuëra à sa part sept à huit cens. Les Cerfs & les Chevreuils ont été détruits dans tous ces quartiers, ils étoient autrefois par bandes de deux à trois cens.

Lors que l'on a quitté cet Archipel qui sert de retraites aux Iroquois, on trouve du côté du Sud la Seigneurie de Sorel. Tous les habitans de ce gouvernement sont renfermez dans des Forts, palissadez de pieux, de douze à quinze pieds, pour être à l'abri des Iroquois ; de sorte qu'il y a trés-peu de maisons à la campagne. Le Fort de Sorel est à l'embouchure

de la riviere de Richelieu, qui ſe décharge dans le fleuve ſaint Laurent. C'eſt par cette riviere que l'on apelle encore la riviere des Iroquois, où les premiers François accompagnez des Montagnais & des Algonkins les ont été chercher juſques dans leur païs pour leur livrer combat.

Monſieur Champlain qui a été le premier Gouverneur du Canada, voulant donner à ſes alliez des preuves de ſon eſtime & de la valeur de la Nation Françoiſe, ſe mit à leur tête, il entra dans cette riviere & pouſſa juſques à un lac qui porte aujourd'hui ſon nom.

Mais avant de vous parler de ce combat, il faut vous repreſenter, Madame, de quelle maniere les Algonkins diſpoſerent l'ordre de bataille. Ils conſultent ordinairement leurs Jongleurs ou Devins, pour ſçavoir l'évenement de leurs entrepriſes, ce ne ſont que des fourbes & des Impoſteurs qui ne laiſſent pas de rencontrer quelquefois juſte, car l'on tient que le Manitou * leur parle.

Aprés qu'ils eurent apris à peu prés le ſuccés qu'ils pouvoient eſperer, les Chefs prirent des bâtons de la longueur d'un pied autant qu'il y avoit de Combattans, & en firent de plus gros pour marquer ceux

* Le diable.

que l'on choiſiroit pour Chefs. Le grand Chef arrangea tous ces bâtons en raſe campagne, ſelon ſon caprice, & montra à ſes gens le rang & l'ordre qu'ils devoient tenir dans le combat, par les mouvemens qu'il faiſoit avec ces bâtons. Les Chefs de guerre & les autres fort attentifs ſur lui ſe mirent en ordre, & ſe mêlant les uns parmi les autres, reprirent leur rang; ce qu'ils firent juſques à trois fois pour en ſavoir mieux l'exercice. Toutes ces meſures priſes on continua la route, & on n'eut pas plutôt doublé un Cap du Lac Champlain, que l'on découvrit les Iroquois qui venoient en guerre, ce ne fut pour lors que des cris & des huées de part & d'autre. Monſieur de Champlain fit tenir les canots un peu au large. Les Iroquois mirent pied à terre & commencerent à abatre des arbres avec des haches de pierre, entre leſquels ils ſe batricaderent. Nos Algonkins arrêterent leurs canots avec des perches, à la portée d'une fléche de leurs barricades, & détacherent du monde pour leur demander s'ils vouloient ſe battre, les Iroquois répondirent qu'il faloit attendre le jour pour ſe mieux connoître. Toute la nuit ſe paſſa en danſes & chanſons de guerre, mêlées d'une infinité d'injures & de reproches que l'on

ſe fit de part & d'autre. Mr. de Champlain qui avoit mis des François dans chaque canot ne parut point, crainte d'être aperçû des ennemis. Le jour étant venu on fit la décente en ordre de bataille. Les Iroquois qui étoient environ deux cens hommes, ſortant de leurs retranchemens marcherent à petit pas, avec un air tout-à-fait grave, ayant à leur tête trois grands Chefs, qui avoient des panaches ſur leurs têtes. Les Algonkins n'eurent pas plûtôt débarqué, qu'ils coururent deux cens pas au devant des Iroquois, ils apellerent dans le moment Mr. de Champlain par de grands cris & s'ouvrirent en deux pour lui donner paſſage. Il ſe mit à leur tête, marchant vingt pas devant, pendant que les François avoient coupé dans le bois devant le jour. Cet objet nouveau ſurprit les Iroquois, ils firent alte pour le conſiderer. Mr. de Champlain voyant qu'ils balançoient à tirer, coucha en joüe ſon arquebuſe qui étoit chargée à morte charge, jetta par terre deux de ces Chefs & bleſſa un troiſiéme. Ce ne fut auſſi-tôt que des cris affreux de la part des Algonkins, les fléches volerent tout d'un coup de part & d'autre. Les Iroquois ne pouvoient comprendre qu'étans couverts de cuiraſſes tiſſuës de fil de coton, & de bois à l'épreu-

ve de la fléche, leurs Chefs avoient pû tomber morts ſi ſubitement. Mr. de Champlain rechargea ſon arquebuſe, & donna encore dans le corcelet du troiſiéme qu'il jetta à la renverſe. Le combat s'opiniâtra ; mais les Iroquois perdant courage de voir leurs gens tuez ſi vîte, dont les plaies leur paroiſſoient ſi extraordinaires, prirent la fuite, & abandonnerent le champ de bataille. On ſe ſaiſit de douze guerriers, on fit un grand butin de bled d'Inde, de fléches, carquois & d'haches d'armes ; on danſa & on chanta pendant trois heures la chanſon de la victoire. Tel fut le premier combat où nos alliez connurent l'utilité qu'il y avoit d'être de nos amis.

Ce n'eſt pas, Madame, la coûtume de remporter une victoire ſans qu'on ne la ſignale encore par des marques authentiques. Les Algonkins firent un diſcours aux priſonniers, par lequel ils leur reprocherent toutes les cruautez qu'ils avoient exercées contr'eux en differentes actions, & en firent chanter un pour voir s'il auroit du courage pendant qu'on allumoit un grand feu pour le brûler. Il dit ſa chanſon de mort d'un ton aſſez triſte, car il eſt ordinaire que ces Guerriers ſe laiſſent brûler ſans jetter une larme. Cha-

cun prit ſon tiſon & le lui paſſoit ſur le corps, avec une tranquilité auſſi grande que feroit un Peintre qui couche ſes couleurs ſur un tableau, ils lui donnoient quelquefois du relâche pour lui laiſſer prendre haleine; & lui jettoient de l'eau pour le rafraichir; ils lui brûlerent le bout des doigts, ils lui enleverent la peau de la tête, lui faiſant dégouter de la gomme toute chaude & lui percerent les poings, dont ils tiroient les nerfs avec des bâtons. Ce ſuplice eut duré plus long-tems ſi Mr. de Champlain n'en eut témoigné de l'indignation. Ils lui caſſerent la tête d'un coup d'arquebuſe. Ils ne voulurent pas en demeurer-là; ils lui ouvrirent le ventre, jetterent ſes entrailles dans le lac, lui couperent la tête, les bras & les jambes, & ſe reſerverent la chevelure, le cœur fut mis en pluſieurs petits morceaux qu'ils firent manger à un de ſes freres & à ſes camarades. Ce ſuplice n'eſt pas extraordinaire parmi eux; ce ſont les loix de la guerre, & lorſque les Iroquois nous prennent des priſonniers, ils leur font ſubir le même ſort. Nous avons eû cependant trop d'indulgence pour les leurs, ils en ont abuſé, & ils ont crû que c'étoit un effet de notre timidité. Ce qui nous a obligé dans la ſuite d'uſer de repreſailles en toute rigueur.

Depuis que la Colonie s'eſt augmentée on a établi à quinze lieuës dans la riviere de Sorel le Fort de Chambli, qui eſt dans un lac du même nom, où il y a toûjours un détachement de Soldats commandé par un Capitaine. C'eſt un poſte avancé qui tient en bride les Aniers qui eſt une des cinq Nations Iroquoiſes, voiſine de la Nouvelle Angleterre ; mais quelque précaution que l'on prenne, ils paſſent au travers des bois avec autant de facilité qu'ils feroient dans la plus belle campagne. Cette Nation ſeroit preſentement détruite ſi on ne l'avoit pas trop ménagée.

Les Iroquois du Saut & de la Montagne de Montreal, nos Concitoyens, dont je vous parlerai dans la ſuite, firent tout ce qu'ils pûrent pour engager les Aniers de ſe joindre à eux, pour reconnoître & adorer enſemble le veritable Dieu du Ciel & de la terre, ou pour me conformer à leur expreſſion, afin de faire enſemble la priere. Ceux-ci firent auſſi de leur côté tous leurs efforts pour les détourner de prendre ſi à cœur les interêts des François. Nos Iroquois ne pouvant rien gagner ſur l'eſprit de ceux ci, vinrent à d'autres extrêmitez, & jurerent en même-tems leur perte.

On fit pour cet effet en 1693. un par-

ti de ſix cens hommes, compoſé d'habitans, de ſoldats, des Algonkins des Trois-Rivieres, des Hurons de Lorette, des Abenaguis du Saut de la Chaudiere & de nos Iroquois, commandé par Meſſieurs Mantet, Courtemanche, & la Noüe, trois Officiers ſubalternes.

On partit le vingt-cinq Janvier de la Prairie de la Magdeleine, nos François couperent dans les terres pour ſe rendre au lac Chambli. pendant que les Sauvages chaſſerent chemin faiſant, car c'eſt l'uſage d'en agir ainſi, lors que l'on va en guerre. Les fatigues du voyage furent grandes. Il falut paſſer à travers les forêts, marcher en raquetes, coucher ſur la nége, chacun portant ſes munitions de guerre & de bouche. On ne fait point ici la guerre autrement, à moins que le Gouverneur general ne marche à la tête de tout le païs en canots & en bâteaux.

On arriva le 16. Février à la vûë d'un des petits Forts des Aniés. La Noüe s'en rendit maître, & Mantet fit main baſſe ſur un autre, & on les brûla tous deux. Courtemanche gardoit les priſonniers que l'on avoit faits dans les bois. On alla deux jours aprés à un troiſiéme Fort de plus grande conſequence, où l'on entendit la nuit un grand bruit. La Noüe crût qu'il

étoit découvert. C'étoit un parti de quarante Guerriers qui chantoient leurs chanſons de mort, pour ſe diſpoſer à ſe rendre chez les Onneyouts, autre Nation Iroquoiſe qui formoient auſſi un autre parti. Les Aniés qui n'avoient pû encore apprendre que deux de leurs Forts venoient d'être pris, furent bien étonnez d'entendre tout-à-coup dans le temps le plus tranquille un bruit d'armes à feu, c'étoit à qui ſortiroit de ſa cabane pour ſçavoir ce que c'étoit. On avoit eu le ſecret d'ouvrir les portes du Fort, les Aniés ſe mirent auſſi-tôt en état de ſe battre, trente de nos Sauvages perirent au premier abord, la hache d'armes à la main; mais quelque reſiſtance que les Aniés puſſent faire il falut ſuccomber. On mit le feu aux pieux du Fort, aux cabanes, aux vivres, à tout ce que l'on ne pouvoit emporter, & l'on fit main baſſe ſur trois cens Guerriers.

Nos Sauvages ſe recompenſerent bien des peines & des fatigues qu'ils avoient eu pendant le voyage, ils bûrent tant d'eau-de-vie qu'ils oublierent aiſément le paſſé. Nos François repreſenterent en vain à nos Sauvages qu'il faloit caſſer la tête à tous ces priſonniers, ils s'embaraſſerent même peu de ce que Mr. le Comte de Frontenac leur en avoit donné l'ordre, &

comme ils ne ſe laiſſent ordinairement gouverner que par leur caprice, & ſelon les mouvemens de leur interêt, qu'ils ne connoiſſent pas toûjours bien, il n'y eut pas moyen de les y reſoudre. L'Iroquois Chrétien ne pardonne ordinairement non plus à l'Iroquois, notre ennemi, qu'un Algonkin pardonneroit à celui-ci. Choſe étrange La Plaque Chef de guerre de la montagne de Montreal tombant un jour ſur ſon Pere dans un combat, lui dit. Tu m'as donné la vie, je te la donne aujourd'hui; mais ne te retrouve plus ſous ma main, car je ne t'épargnerois pas.

Il fallut donc partir avec tous ces priſonniers que l'on mit au milieu de la marche, les François les plus alertes étant à l'arriere-garde. Un Sauvage donna avis que les Anglois les pourſuivoient en toute diligence, les François ſe trouverent embarraſſez plus que jamais. On pria derechef nos alliez de précipiter la marche, pour n'être pas obligez de ſe retrancher au milieu des bois où les ennemis pouvoient nous affamer. Il n'y eut pas moyen d'en être écouté. On fit à la hâte un Fort à quatre Baſtions entaſſé d'arbres les uns ſur les autres, entourez de pieux. Pluſieurs Sauvages & François voulurent aller au-devant des ennemis pour les empêcher

pêcher de se fortifier. Ils les poussérent jusques à trois fois d'un retranchement où ils avoient fait alte ; mais l'on battit la retraite trés-mal à propos, ce qui causa du desordre. Nous perdîmes huit hommes & nous eûmes quinze blessez. Nos Alliez se rendirent à la fin aux pressantes sollicitations qu'on leur fit d'avancer incessamment, pour n'être pas exposez d'abandonner tous les blessez dans les bois, si malheureusement les Anglois qui étoient au nombre de sept cens faisoient venir du renfort. On passa avec beaucoup de promptitude la riviere d'Orange sur les glaces, pendant que les Anglois poursuivoient assez lentement. Le transport de chaque blessé que vingt hommes portoient dans un brancard étoit fort difficile. Plusieurs de nos Sauvages quitterent pour chasser, & beaucoup de prisonniers deserterent ; la disete des vivres fit prendre son parti à la plûpart plutôt que de manger toûjours des souliers sauvages, que l'on faisoit boüillir. Depuis ce temps-là cette Nation des Aniés est devenuë la plus petite des cinq Nations Iroquoises, & presentement c'est celle qui nous fait le moins d'ombrage, quoiqu'elle soit voisine des Anglois.

Lorsque l'on a passé Sorel en montant

le fleuve on trouve S. Ours qui en eſt à quatre lieuës. Le Seigneur de cette terre eſt le premier Capitaine des troupes de la marine. C'eſt un Gentilhomme des plus qualifiez du païs, il fait des preuves de cinq cens ans de nobleſſe. Quoique ce païs-ci ne ſoit pas ſujet aux Ouragans il y en eut un à S. Ours en 1695. Il s'éleva tout-à-coup un vent du côté du Nord du milieu des bois, qui paſſant à travers le fleuve fit un ravage d'arbres de l'autre bord de la largeur de cinq à ſix arpens, qui a penetré plus de cent lieuës de long dans les terres, c'eſt un ſi grand abatis que les arbres ſe trouvent pêle-mêle, les racines en haut. Les melons ſont excellens à Saint Ours.

Toute cette côte eſt habitée Nord & Sud juſques à Montreal, la ſituation en eſt belle; mais il n'y a pas grande ſureté dans tous ces quartiers quand nous avons la Guerre avec les Iroquois.

Vercheres qui eſt à quatre lieuës au deſſus en a reſſenti de cruels effets. Je ne ſçaurois paſſer ſous ſilence l'action heroïque de Mademoiſelle de Vercheres. Vous verrez, Madame, que la Nouvelle France ne laiſſe pas de produire des Heroïnes.

Tout le Canada étoit dans des allarmes continuelles à cauſe des irruptions fre-

quentes que les Iroquois faiſoient dans le Gouvernement de Montreal. Il y eut un parti de quarante à cinquante Guerriers qui entourerent le Fort de Vercheres en l'année 1692. Ils étoient cachez dans de petits buiſſons aux environs, ils n'eurent pas plutôt fait leurs cris de guerre, qu'ils donnerent précipitamment ſur vingt-deux habitans qui travailloient à la campagne. Cette Demoiſelle qui n'étoit qu'à deux cens pas du Fort, ſur le bord du fleuve ſaint Laurent voulut s'enfuir. Deux Iroquois tirerent en même temps ſur elle qui la manquerent. Il y en eut un autre qui la pourſuivit juſques à l'entrée du Fort où il crût l'avoir arrêtée par ſon mouchoir de col qui lui reſta dans les mains. Elle conſerva aſſez de preſence d'eſprit pour fermer la porte du Fort ſur l'Iroquois qui n'oſa riſquer d'y entrer à cauſe du bruit qu'il y entendoit. Toutes les femmes qui voyoient enlever leurs maris ſans eſpoir que l'on pût les ſauver, faiſoient des cris pitoyables, penetrées de douleur de ce qu'ils ſeroient infailliblement brûlez par ces Barbares; il eſt vrai qu'il n'y en eut que deux d'exempts de ce ſuplice. Mademoiſelle de Vercheres prévoyant d'ailleurs, que toutes ces lamentations pourroient faire connoître aux Iroquois

qu'il n'y auroit perſonne à garder le Fort (car il n'y avoit pour lors qu'un Soldat) renferma toutes ces femmes. Elle monta auſſi-tôt ſur un Baſtion où étoit le Soldat, elle ôta ſes coëfures & mit un chapeau ſur ſa tête, & un fuſil ſur l'épaule, faiſant pluſieurs mouvemens militaires à la vûë des Iroquois, leur donnant à connoître par là que l'on étoit ſur la défenſive, & faiſant même feu ſur eux. Comme ils perſiſtoient à entourer le Fort, rangeant la nuit les paliſſades, elle chargea elle-même un canon de huit livres de bale, s'étant ſervie d'une ſerviete pour tapon qu'elle tira ſur eux. Ce coup les épouvanta de fraieur, il rompit toutes leurs meſures & en même temps fit un ſignal à tous les Forts Nord & Sud du fleuve depuis S. Ours juſques à Montreal, dont le circuit eſt de plus de vingt lieuës, de ſe tenir ſur leurs gardes. Chaque Fort ſe répondant donc de l'un à l'autre au premier ſignal de celui de Vercheres, juſques à Montreal, on détacha cent hommes pour lui donner du ſecours, qui arriva peu de temps aprés que les Iroquois ſe furent éclipſez dans les bois.

Je ne peux auſſi paſſer ſous ſilence l'action que fit Madame ſa mere deux ans auparavant. Les Iroquois cauſant pour lors

beaucoup de desordres à la côte du Sud du Gouvernement de Montreal, vinrent à Vercheres. Cette Dame s'ennuyant de se voir investie dans son Fort, se jetta dans une Redoute qui en est separée de plus de cinquante pas. La mort d'un nommé l'Esperance qui y fut tué d'un coup de fusil par un Iroquois, l'obligea de ne pas perdre de temps, parce qu'il ne restoit plus que deux ou trois personnes. Elle prit son fusil, de la poudre & des bales, se rendit à la redoute à la faveur d'un chemin couvert. Elle n'y fut pas plûtôt qu'elle se battit avec toute l'intrepidité que le plus aguerri soldat auroit pû faire. Le choc dura deux fois vingt-quatre heures, & Mr. le Marquis de Crisasi vint à son secours, qui manqua d'un moment les Iroquois qui avoient quitté prise.

Je mandai il y a deux ans l'action de Mademoiselle sa Fille à Monsieur le Comte de Pontchartrain, qui est le Protecteur des Canadiens. Elle écrivit aussi à Madame la Comtesse de Pontchartrain, pour la suplier de l'être aussi des Canadiennes. Cette action d'une fille qui n'avoit pour lors que quatorze ans, parut trop belle & trop extraordinaire pour ne pas esperer qu'elle pourroit lui meriter quelque grace de Sa Majesté : Pour ne pas entrer dans

un détail de toutes les circonſtances qu'il fallut encore donner à la Cour pour confirmer une choſe que l'on avoit cachée juſques alors, je vous dirai, Madame, que Madame la Comteſſe de Pontchartrain a pris les interêts de cette Demoiſelle avec tant de generoſité, qu'elle lui à procuré pour toute ſa vie une penſion.

Je ne vous parlerai point de toutes les autres terres où il s'eſt fait pluſieurs coups de main avec les Iroquois, parce que cela me meneroit inſenſiblement à un trop grand détail.

Boucherville qui eſt un fief des plus conſiderables de ce Gouvernement, même de tout le Canada, eſt aſſez recommandable. Il y a dans cette Paroiſſe un bon Fort, & prés de cinq cens habitans.

Longueville qui eſt à deux lieuës au deſſus, eſt la plus belle maiſon de campagne de la Nouvelle France. Il ſe trouve beaucoup d'Iſles entre ces deux terres.

Le Fort de la prairie de la Magdeleine qui eſt tout vis-à-vis Villemarie, (c'eſt la ville de Montreal) me donne lieu de vous donner une idée d'un des plus rudes combats qui ſe ſoit donné dans le Canada.

Monſieur de Callieres qui étoit pour lors Gouverneur de Montreal, ayant reçû des avis que les Iroquois n'attendoient

que le moment de faire des courſes de toutes parts, jugea qu'ils attaqueroient Chambli, où ils avoient déja eu cinq de leurs Eſpions tuez par de nos Algonkins, où qu'ils couperoient à travers les bois pour tomber ſur la Prairie de la Magdeleine. Il détacha pour le premier endroit Mr. de Valletenne ancien Capitaine, & trois autres avec *Routine* Chef des Themiskamingues, des Habitans, des Hurons de Loretre, & quelques Iroquois du Saut & de la Montagne de Montreal. Le fameux Aurioüaé dont je vous parlerai dans la ſuite étoit auſſi de la partie.

Nos troupes camperent à l'entour du Fort de la Magdeleine qui eſt à trente pas du Fleuve, ſur un lieu eſcarpé, au milieu de deux Prairies, les habitans furent poſtez à la droite d'un moulin avec des Outaoüaks qui étoient venus en traite de Michilimakinak, & les Officiers étoient tout vis-à-vis ſur une hauteur. Les ennemis arriverent à ce Fort, ils ſe gliſſerent le long de la petite riviere nommée la Fourche, & d'une ravine, à la faveur de laquelle ils vinrent fondre tout-à coup ſur les habitans qu'ils mirent en deſordre, & tuërent pluſieurs Outaoüaks. Mr. de S. Cirque qui commandoit en l'abſence de Mr. de Callieres ne pouvant comprendre

que le grand nombre de perſonnes qu'il apercevoit au Camp des habitans fuſſent les ennemis, ne fut point averti de cette ſurpriſe, quoiqu'une ſentinelle avancée eut tiré un coup de fuſil. Le grand bruit qu'il entendit au camp, l'obligea de marcher droit à eux le long du bord du fleuve. Les Anglois & les Iroquois qui étoient cachez firent une décharge de mouſqueterie ſur lui, dont il reçût un coup à la cuiſſe. Mr. Des Cairac fut bleſſé à mort, & Mr. d'Hoſta fut tué. Ce fut un grand deſordre. Les Soldats donnant tête baiſſée ſur les ennemis, les pouſſerent un peu trop loin, parce que les plus alertes tomberent dans une embuſcade proche de la ravine, où Mr. Domergue Lieutenant fut tué.

Les Anglois firent ce qu'ils pûrent pour emporter le Fort d'emblée; mais Mr. de S. Cirque les attaqua ſi vivement, qu'oi qu'il eut la veine cave coupée; qu'il leur fit quitter priſe, aprés leur avoir tué beaucoup de monde.

Monſieur de Vallerene qui avoit été juſques alors dans l'inaction, voulut auſſi donner aux Sauvages des preuves de ſon experience. Il pourſuivit les ennemis à la piſte, à la tête de cent quatre-vingt hommes. Auſſi tôt qu'il les eût joint, il leur livra combat. Il fit un retranchement à la

faveur de deux gros arbres renverſez par terre, il fit ranger tout ſon monde en ordre. Les ennemis qui n'obſervoient point d'ordre dans leur marche, crûrent les intimider beaucoup par les hurlemens qu'ils vinrent faire à la portée du piſtolet. Trente de nos gens tomberent auſſi-tôt ſur eux. Les Aniés & les Anglois revinrent par trois fois à la charge. Les Loups leurs alliez plierent. Routine fit paroître beaucoup d'ardeur, & voulant les entourer, il fut lui-même repouſſé. Il falut en venir aux mains de part & d'autre. Les ennemis eurent d'abord tout l'avantage ſur nous, parce que nos jeunes Habitans qui n'étoient pas encore bien aguerris, furent ébranlez.

Monſieur de Vallerene voyant qu'il étoit beaucoup inferieur en nombre, montra une contenance ſi fiere, que nos Chefs Sauvages ranimerent leurs gens avec une telle intrepidité, qu'aprés s'être acharnez pendant deux heures contre les ennemis, ils leur firent abandonner le champ de bataille, s'emparerent de leurs Drapeaux & du Bagage, & les pourſuivirent dans des païs marécageux, entrecoupez d'arbres renverſez, juſques à ce que ſe trouvant eux-mêmes accablez de fatigues, Mr. de Vallerene fut contraint de faire faire alte

& de ſe retrancher par un grand abbatis d'arbres. La déroute des ennemis fut donc generale, & l'on ne rencontroit dans les bois que des traces de ſang.

Les Aniés eurent du malheur plus que les autres, car il n'en réchapa que vingt de cent qu'ils étoient. Les Loups qui avoient plié d'abord ne perdirent pas tant de monde. Les Anglois perdirent deux cens hommes, outre quantité de bleſſez. Nous perdîmes dans cette attaque & à la Prairie quarante hommes, & autant y furent bleſſez.

Je dois vous parler ici du fameux Aurioüaé, grand Chef de guerre, le fidelle ami de feu Mr. le Comte de Frontenac. Il ſe ſignala beaucoup dans cette occaſion, & eut la meilleure part à cette Victoire avec Mr. de Vallerene.

Aurioüaé, qui étoit le Chef des Onneyouts, fut arrêté au Fort Frontenac en 1687. avec quarante Guerriers, dans un Feſtin qu'on leur fit exprés. On avoit ſujet de ſe plaindre des Tſonnontoüans, qui malgré la Paix pilloient indifferemment tous les François qui alloient en traite chez nos Alliez. On les fit paſſer en France, où ils furent mis aux galeres. Monſieur de Frontenac revenant pour la ſeconde fois en Canada, repreſenta à la

Cour que ſi on lui rendoit Aurioüaé, ſon arrivée pourroit faire quelque impreſſion ſur ſa Nation, & que ſa preſence calmeroit beaucoup les eſprits qui étoient fort irritez de cet enlevement.

Aurioüaé ne fut pas plutôt à Quebec, qu'il inſpira au Comte de Frontenac d'envoyer aux Iroquois quatre Députez, pour les avertir qu'ils étoient tous deux de retour : il les exhortoit d'envoyer quelqu'un ſaluër leur Pere qu'ils ávoient perdu depuis ſi long-temps, & de le remercier en même temps des bontez qu'il avoit eû pour eux en les faiſant délivrer de l'eſclavage. Les cinq Nations Iroquoiſes envoyerent en Ambaſſade Gagniêgoton, qui preſenta cinq Colliers au Comte de Frontenac ; & Aurioüaé les chargea de ſon côté de huit Colliers qu'il prononça lui-même. Il faut vous dire auparavant ce que c'eſt qu'un Collier.

Nous apellons Colliers des grains de Porcelaine enfilez, d'environ deux pieds de long, ſur trois à quatre pouces de large, arrangez d'une telle maniere qu'ils font diverſes figures. C'eſt leur écriture pour traiter de la Paix, pour faire des Ambaſſades, pour déclarer leurs penſées, pour apaiſer les Procez, pour faire quelque entrepriſe, pour juger, condamner ou ab-

ſoudre ; ils ſervent d'ornemens aux jeunes Guerriers lors qu'ils vont à la guerre, ils en font des bracelets & des ceintures qu'ils mettent ſur leurs chemiſes blanches. Ces Porcelaines viennent de la côte de Manathe, en la Nouvelle York. Ce ſont des Bourgos ou Colimaçons, qui ſont blancs & violets, tirant ſur le noir, qu'ils ſçient avec une pierre à fuſil, dont ils font des grains un peu longs & qu'ils perçent ; cela auſſi tient lieu de monnoye.

Le Député qui porta la parole d'Aurioüaé, parla aux Iroquois en ces termes.

Le premier Collier.

Eſt pour eſſuyer les pleurs des cinq Cabanes (ce ſont les cinq Nations Iroquoiſes) & leur faire ſortir de la gorge ce qui pourroit y être reſté de mauvais ſur les méchantes affaires qui ſe ſont paſſées, & pour eſſuyer le ſang dont ils ſont couverts.

Le ſecond Collier doit être diviſé en deux.

La premiere moitié eſt pour leur témoigner la joye qu'Aurioüaé a eû d'aprendre que les Outaüaks ont promis de ramener aux Tſonnontoüans les priſonniers qu'ils avoient ; l'autre moitié pour leur dire qu'il eſt bien aiſe qu'ils l'ayent averti de dire à *Onontio* qu'ils avoient recommandé à leurs

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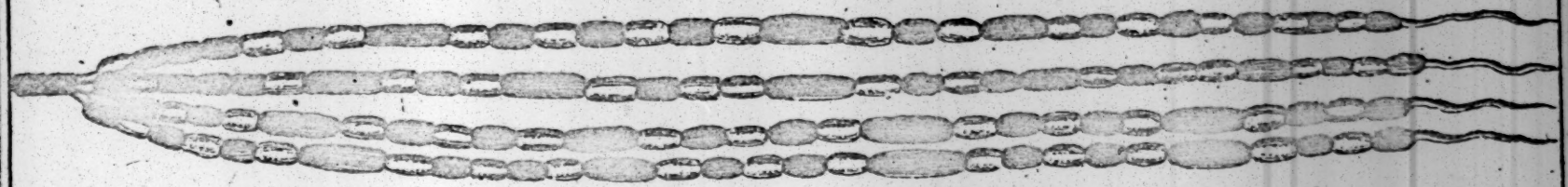
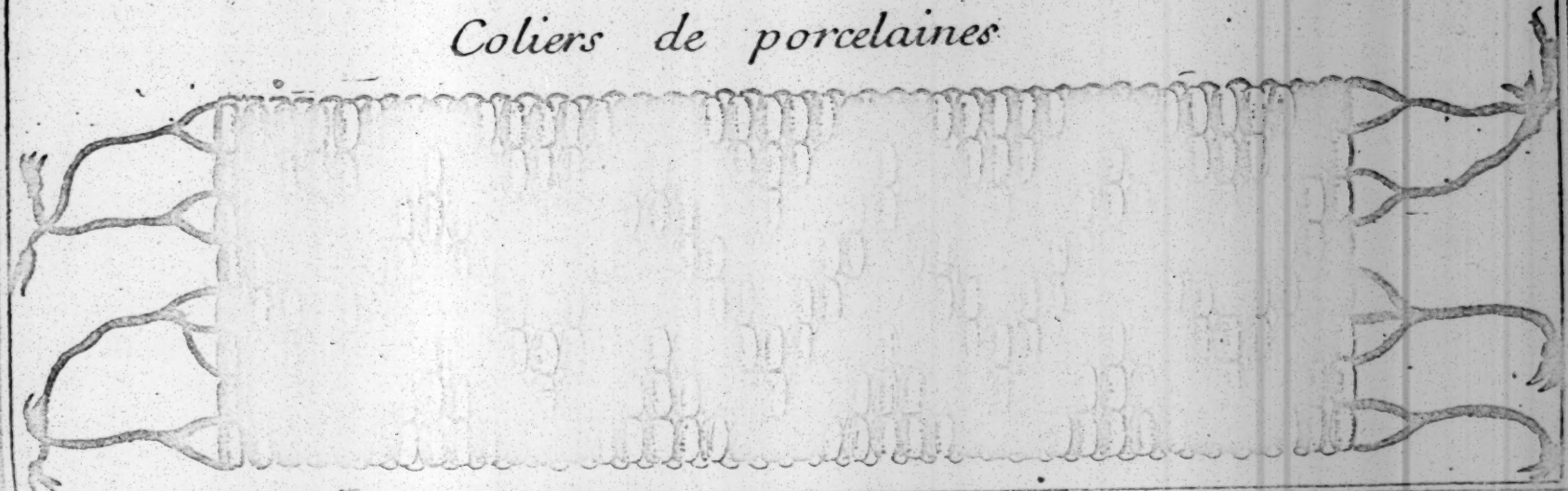
Branches de porcelaines



Coliers de porcelaines



leurs gens qui étoient partis des l'Automne pour aller en guerre, de conſerver la vie aux priſonniers qu'ils pourroient faire ſur les François, & qu'*Onontio* lui a promis de ſon côté que ſi les François en faiſoient quelques-uns des leurs, ils en uſeroient de même juſques à ce qu'il eut réponſe des gens qu'il envoyoit aux cinq Nations.

Le troiſiéme Collier.

Remercie les cinq Nations d'avoir envoyé prier *Onontio* de le renvoyer avec ſes Neveux ſur les glaces, & les prie de mettre tous les priſonniers François entre les mains des Onnontaguez, afin que ſi les affaires s'acommodent ils les puiſſent rendre.

Le quatriéme Collier.

Eſt pour leur dire qu'il void bien qu'ils l'ont oublié, auſſi-bien que leur ancien pere *Onontio*; puiſqu'ils n'ont point envoyé de leurs Notables pour le chercher & pour parler à leur Pere, & qu'ils lui auroient fait plaiſir d'en envoyer ſeulement un.

Le cinquiéme Collier.

Eſt pour dire à toutes les Nations qu'il

deſire voir des Notables à Montreal, qu'il eſt comme un homme ivre, & qu'il a perdu l'eſprit de voir qu'ils n'envoyent perſonne pour le chercher, & qu'il ſouhaiteroit que ceux qui avoient accoûtumé de faire les affaires avec lui, vinſſent afin qu'ils puiſſent connoître la bonne volonté qu'*Onontio* à pour toute la Nation, & les bons traitemens que lui & ſes Neveux en ont reçû depuis qu'ils lui ont été remis entre les mains.

Le ſixiéme Collier.

Eſt pour lier les bras des cinq Nations, afin de les attirer à Montreal, & qu'aprés cela ils le r'aménent avec eux.

Le ſeptiéme Collier.

Pour leur dire que c'eſt à ſa priere qu'*Onontio* a envoyé pour accompagner ſes gens le Chevalier d'O, un des plus conſiderables Officiers qu'il eut, qui même eſt fort connu d'eux, que ce Collier eſt auſſi pour les exhorter à ne point écouter les Anglois qui leur ont renverſé l'eſprit, & à ne ſe point mêler dans leurs affaires, n'y être en peine de ce qu'*Onontio* a commencé à les châtier, parce que ce ſont des Rebelles à leur Roi legitime, que le *Grand Onontio* de France protege, (ils

dpellent ainſi le Roi) que cette guerre ne les regardent point, qu'ils peuvent bien connoître par ce que les François ont fait en enlevant Corlard, où ils n'ont fait aucun mal aux gens de leur Nation, qu'ils ont renvoyez, ſans même en vouloir retenir de priſonniers.

Le huitiéme & dernier Collier.

Eſt pour dire que lui Aurioüaé eſt frere de tous les François, mais particulierement de Colin, qui a eû un trés grand ſoin d'eux pendant leur voyage de France, & depuis leur retour en ce païs, qu'ils ne ſont tous deux qu'un même corps, & que ne voulant point les aller trouver, à moins qu'ils ne le viennent querir, quoi qu'il ſoit en pleine liberté de le faire, il le ſepare en deux, & leur en envoye une moitié pour les engager de le venir trouver en toute aſſurance, puiſque ils ſeront auſſi libres que lui; qu'il ne veut point quitter ſon pere auquel il veut être toûjours uni. Qu'ils prennent donc courage & viennent à Montreal où ils le trouveront avec *Onontio*, qui conſerve toûjours pour toute la Nation & pour lui la même amitié dont il leur a donné tant de marques pendant dix années.

Les Iroquois laiſſerent Aurioüaé à ſa

liberté ; ayant fait tous leurs efforts pour l'engager de venir dans ſa patrie; mais ſon attachement aux François étoit ſi grand, qu'il ne voulut jamais s'en ſeparer. Il déclara même la guerre aux Iroquois lorsqu'ils prirent les armes contre nous, à la ſollicitation des Anglois, il a porté lui ſeul le fer & le feu dans le centre de ſon propre païs, il étoit quelquefois quatre à cinq mois ſans revenir à Quebec. On tiroit ſouvent d'aſſez mauvais préjugez de ces ſortes d'abſences. On le voyoit cependant revenir victorieux avec quantité de chevelures d'Iroquois, qui ſont les marques les plus éclatantes de la valeur d'un homme : il mourut en 1697. aprés avoir donné dans toutes les occaſions les plus grandes épreuves de ſa fidelité. Mais lors qu'étant à l'article de la mort on lui dit que JESUS-CHRIST étoit mort pour le ſalut des hommes, aprés avoir été crucifié par les Juifs. Que n'étois-je là, repartit Aurioüaé, j'aurois vangé ſa mort, & je leur aurois enlevé la chevelure.

Il eſt temps, Madame, de vous parler de l'Iſle de *Montreal*, qui eſt au 45. degré latitude Nord. Elle à environ quatorze lieuës de long, ſur quatre dans ſa plus grande largeur. Une Montagne fort élevée lui donne ſon nom : la Ville s'apelle

Villemarie ; elle eſt ſur le bord du fleuve qui à une lieuë de largeur. Sa ſituation eſt trés belle, & il eût été à ſouhaiter que l'on eût établi la Capitale de la Nouvelle France dans un endroit auſſi avantageux ; on y compte prés de deux cens feux; Meſſieurs du Seminaire de ſaint Sulpice à Paris en ſont les Seigneurs. Cette Conceſſion leur fut accordée en 1644. Ils ont Haute, Moyenne & Baſſe Juſtice. Depuis 1701. juſques en 1714. que j'en ſuis ſorti, elle a augmenté de la moitié, avec une belle enceinte qui l'a met à l'abri de l'inſulte des Iroquois.

Cette Ville eſt un quarré long, entouré de grands pieux de dix-huit à vingt pieds de haut. Il y a un petit Fort revêtu de terraſſe, dont les batteries enfilent les ruës d'un bout à l'autre. De ſorte que ſi les Iroquois ſoûtenus même des Anglois, s'en rendoient jamais les maîtres, ils ne pourroient pas y tenir. Elle ne craint point d'être priſe par la force du canon, puis qu'il eſt moralement impoſſible d'y en amener au travers de plus de cent lieuës de Forêts. Il n'y a donc qu'un coup de main à craindre : mais comme les grands mouvement ne ſe font point ici que l'on n'ait auparavant le temps d'en être averti par des Eſpions, on eſt à l'abri de ces ſortes de ſurpriſes.

Messieurs de saint Sulpice qui sont les Curez primitifs, ont une grande Eglise de pierre de taille. Messieurs d'Urfé & de Quelas (familles Illustres) ont jetté les premiers fondemens de l'établissement de cette Communauté, qui a été gouvernée dans la suite par des personnes de qualité. Le revenu qu'ils tirent de cette Isle est assez considerable, il le seroit encore davantage si le quartier dela Chine, qui en fait la plus belle côte, n'avoit pas été ruïné tout-à coup par douze à quinze cens Iroquois qui vinrent y faire une irruption en 1689. dans le temps que l'on croyoit qu'ils venoient demander la paix. Rien ne fut plus touchant, ils brûlerent cinq lieuës de païs, ils passerent au fil de l'épée tout ce qu'ils trouverent, nous perdîmes plus de mille hommes, ils ouvrirent le ventre des femmes enceintes dont ils mangerent les enfans, & en firent crever d'autres avec de la poudre.

Nous y avons un Convent de Recolets, une Communauté d'Hôpitalieres dont l'établissement a été fait en 1669. Elles sont d'un grand secours aux habitans, principalement à nos Soldats.

Les Filles de la Congregation qui sont au nombre de cinquante-quatre, rendent aussi de grands services par l'instruction

& l'éducation des Filles qui n'en ſortent que trés bien élevées, elles s'établirent à Montreal en 1671, & elles ont des maiſons particulieres dans les grandes Paroiſſes du païs.

Je ne peux paſſer ſous ſilence un trait de vertu tout-à-fait extraordinaire d'une Demoiſelle qui fait ſon ſejour dans cette Communauté. Mademoiſelle le Bert fille unique du plus riche commerçant du Canada, ayant mené une vie extrêmement retirée dans la maiſon de ſon pere, crût que Dieu demandoit d'elle un plus grand receuillement, elle ſe retira pour cet effet il y a ſept à huit ans aux filles de la Congregation. Elle a un petit appartement où elle eſt renfermée de murailles, n'ayant communication que par une fenêtre qui donne dans la Chapelle. On lui apporte à manger par une petite ouverture qui eſt à la porte de ſa chambre. Cette fille eſt gouvernée par Mr. Seguenau Eccleſiaſtique de ſaint Sulpice. Le genre de vie qu'elle méne ne conſiſte point dans ces ſpeculations abſtraites d'Oraiſon mentale, elle y employe cependant deux heures par jour; elle s'occupe tout le reſte du temps à des Ouvrages dont elle fait preſent aux Communautez.

Elle couche ſur la dure, elle ne voit

que ſon Directeur & ſon pere, une fois ou deux l'année, elle a cependant l'eſprit fort aiſé & fort docile, elle s'eſt fait un nouveau temperamment dans cette ſolitude, de ſorte qu'elle auroit de la peine à vivre d'une autre maniere.

La maiſon des freres Hôpitaliers, que l'on pourroit apeller en Canada un Palais, ſi elle étoit finie, eſt le plus beau bâtiment que l'on y voye. Mr. Charon ayant gagné beaucoup de bien dans le temps que le Caſtor étoit fort cher, l'a fit bâtir il y a quelques années pour ſe retirer du commerce de la vie, il établit pour lors une petite Societé de Freres, pour avoir ſoin des vieillards infirmes, ou incurables, qu'il a retiré dans cette maiſon.

Il y a dans le Gouvernement de Montreal depuis Sorel, Nord & Sud du fleuve, juſques au bout de l'Iſle, plus de trente Seigneuries. Le climat eſt un peu plus doux qu'à Quebec. On remarque que le Printemps y commence quinze jours ou trois ſemaines plutôt, l'on y fait des ſemences de meilleure heure, & l'Hiver y vient auſſi plus tard. Les melons y ſont excellens, & ont de la peine à venir en maturité à Quebec, on y a des prunes, des pêches, de la renete blanche & griſe en quantité; les pommes de calvile y ſont

en abondance. Tel aura dans ſon jardin des deux à trois cens arbres fruitiers, & nous n'en ſçaurions avoir à Quebec qu'avec bien de la peine ; cependant il n'y a que ſoixante lieuës de difference Nord & Sud.

La maiſon de Mr. l'Abbé de Bellemont de la maiſon de ſaint André en Dauphiné, qui eſt à un quart de lieuë de la Ville eſt un des plus beaux endroits du païs. Il eſt de la Communauté de ſaint Sulpice. Il a dépenſé plus de cent mille francs à former une Miſſion d'Iroquois, qui ont quitté leur païs pour adorer le vrai Dieu. Il en eſt le pere & le ſoutien ; ſa maiſon eſt un Fort de pierre à quatre Baſtions ; il a une Chapelle de cinquante pieds de long ſur vingt-cinq de large, dont les murailles ſont revêtuës d'un lambris, ſur lequel il y a pluſieurs Ornemens, comme d'Urnes, de Niches, de Pilaſtres & de Pieds-d'Eſtaux, en façon de marbre rouge vené de blanc. Les cabanes des Iroquois qui ſont plus de cent vingt, joignent ce Fort, & ſont entourez de paliſſades. Mr. de Bellemont qui ſçait parfaitement bien leur langue, les inſtruit lui-même, il leur fait un catechiſme les jours ouvriers aprés qu'ils ont entendu la Meſſe de grand matin. Ils ſe rendent le ſoir à la Chapelle,

où ils font la priere en commun, ils chantent les jours de Fête la grande Meſſe & les Vêpres en leur langue, il emploie tout ſon bien à l'entretien de cette Miſſion, qu'il a partagé en deux. L'autre moitié qui eſt de cent ſoixante perſonnes, eſt à quatre lieuës de la Ville, du côté du Nord. Les Chefs s'apercevant que le libertinage commençoit à corrompre les mœurs des jeunes Guerriers, par la proximité de la Ville, où ils s'amuſoient à boire à l'excés, engagerent il y a un an Mr. de Bellemont de faire une ſeconde Miſſion au Saut au Recolet, où les plus libertins demeurent, dont un Eccleſiaſtique prend le ſoin.

Quelque policée que puiſſe étre une petite Ville comme celle ci, il eſt bien difficile d'y empêcher quantité d'abus qui ſe commettent, par une Nation qui eſt l'appui & le ſoutien de toute la Nouvelle France, que nous ne pouvons même trop ménager.

Le penchant qu'ils ont à aimer l'eau-de-vie, les fait tomber dans de ſi grands excés, qu'ils ne ſont plus maîtres de leur paſſion. J'en ai vû de cruels exemples, entr'autres un fils qui étoit ivre, donner des coups de coûteaux à ſon pere: un mari s'en retourner ivre à ſa cabane, & toute ſa famille fuir à droit & à gauche pour

éviter d'être poignardez. L'Iroquois boit d'un propos déliberé pour avoir le plaisir de s'enivrer, & vendroit s'il pouvoit sa femme & ses enfans pour boire de l'eau-de-vie: quand il veut se vanger de son ennemi il s'enivre, & il est à couvert par-là du reproche que l'on pourroit lui faire en disant, j'étois ivre, je ne sçavois ce que je faisois.

Il y a deux ans que je vis une bande de ces gens ivres courir aprés un Algonkin, qui se trouva fort heureux d'être auprés du corps de garde. Ils s'étoient reprochez de part & d'autre quelques veritez qu'ils auroient tû dans un autre temps Cet Algonkin étoit fort railleur, ils se jetterent sur lui au nombre de vingt, sans armes ni coûteaux; mais l'un lui mangea l'oreille, l'autre le nez, & c'étoit qui se ruëroit sur ce pauvre miserable qui avoit tout son corps déchiré des coups de dents, qu'ils lui avoient donné pour avoir chacun sa piece. La Sentinelle vint au secours qui fût lui-même battu & desarmé; la garde y accourut qui eut assez de peine à délivrer l'Algonkin.

Nous avons un autre Fort d'Iroquois à trois lieuës de la Ville, du côté du Sud, que l'on apelle Iroquois du Saut.

Ce Saut est une chûte de cascades dans

le fleuve, large d'une demie lieuë, ſur trois quarts de longueur. Ce paſſage eſt trés-dangereux, & à moins que les Canoteurs ne ſoient fort adroits il leur eſt trés difficile de s'en tirer. Cependant on le franchit, & tous les Sauvages qui viennent de quatre à cinq cens lieuës faire la traite à Montreal ſont obligez d'y paſſer. Les Jeſuites gouvernent la Miſſion du Saut.

Les Iroquois du Saut & de la montagne de Montreal ſont pour ainſi dire une ſixiéme Nation, que la Religion & le commerce avec les François ont réünis depuis trente ans. Les mœurs de ces gens ſi fiers & ſi cruels ont été adoucis ſans doute par le Baptême, avant & aprés la guerre déclarée contre les Iroquois non Chrétiens. Ils ont donné des marques d'humanité, & quand ils ont vû que ceux-ci en abuſoient, ils ont fait connoître que le Chriſtianiſme n'inſpiroit aucune lâcheté.

Les Iroquois convertis qui ſont reſtez chez eux pendant la Guerre, ont toûjours eu ſoin que leurs enfans n'entendiſſent point parler de ſuperſtitions & des coûtumes de leur païs, en leur faiſant ſucer la Foi avec le lait, ils font en ſorte que leurs enfans devenant grands ne demeurent plus au païs, de crainte qu'ils ne ſe perdent. Nous avons eû parmi ces nouveaux Chrétiens

ciens le *Grand Anier*, Chef de cette Nation, la *Cendre-chaude*, Chef des Onneyouts, *Paul* Capitaine auſſi, & Chef de la priere, & le *Borgne*. Ces gens ont fait des actions en Paix & en Guerre, qui meritent que je vous en parle.

Le grand Anier ſe fit Chrétien aprés avoir dompté la Nation des Loups. Il apprit de lui-même à prier Dieu, étant à la chaſſe d'Hiver dans les bois. Il prêcha la Foi dans ſon païs, & il l'emporta ſur les Anciens de ſa Nation, qui ne vouloient pas que l'on vint demeurer à Montreal.

Il emmena lui ſeul cinquante de ſes gens dont une partie vît encore & ſert de pierre fondamentale à l'Egliſe du Saut. Il avoit fait pluſieurs belles actions contre les Tſonnontoüans. Il s'attiroit l'affection de tout le monde par ſa pieté & par ſa valeur. Il fut tué par un parti d'Algonkins & d'Abenaguis de nos amis, commandé par un Officier François, s'étant attaquez les uns les autres à l'improviſte à la pointe du jour ſans ſe connoître. Cette perte affligea ſenſiblement le païs. Nos Iroquois ne laiſſerent pas d'emmener avec eux des Abenaguis qu'ils garderent quelque tems. Les Chefs de cette Nation voulant qu'on leur rendit leurs gens, envoyerent pour cet effet un Collier de condoleance pour

conſoler les Iroquois du malheur qui étoit arrivé à quelques-uns des leurs, qui avoient été tuez dans cette conjoncture, & voici de quelle maniere ils s'énoncerent.

Mon frere qui prie (car, enfin c'eſt le nom dont nous t'apellons) depuis que la priere & l'obéïſſance à * *Onontio* notre Pere commun nous ont heureuſement réünis. Je vais te trouver par ce Collier pour te dire que ceux que tu gardes encor comme Eſclaves ſont mes parens; & pour te prier de me les rendre. Ne croi point que j'aye l'eſprit *malfait* de ce qui leur eſt arrivé. Voila ce que c'eſt que la Guerre. Les amis ſe tuent ſouvent les uns les autres avant de ſe reconnoître. Ce ſont des malheurs qui accompagnent la Guerre, & que l'on ne peut éviter; mais tu aurois l'eſprit mal fait, ſi aprés avoir pris pour ennemis tes Alliez mes parens, & les avoir menez chez toi comme Eſclaves, tu t'opiniâtrois à les garder lorſque tu connois que tu as tort. Je meſure ton eſprit ſur le mien. Si ce qui t'eſt arrivé m'étoit arrivé, & que j'euſſe pris pour ennemis tes parens, je ne m'aperceverois pas plutôt de ma faute, que je leur donnerois la liberté & te les rendrois. Ne croi point, mon frere, que je te trompe, lorſque je te dis qu'ils ſont

* Mr. le Comte de Frontenac.

mes parens. Les François peuvent bien rendre témoignage comme quelques uns de ceux que tu as tuez ou pris les ont accompagné, aussi bien que nous, lors que nous étions allez contre les Anglois, & cela fort peu de jours avant que ce malheur arrivât. Je ne te dis rien de la perte que tu as faite d'un de tes braves, c'est le Grand Anié, quoique je la ressente vivement. Je suis occupé à le pleurer avec deux braves que j'ai aussi perdus dans cette triste rencontre. Mon frere l'Iroquois *qui prie*. Pleurons les braves qui ne sont plus, sans que leur mort nous renverse l'esprit, & separe nos cœurs que la priere & l'amitié unissent depuis si long-tems. L'on eût égard, Madame, à leur priere, & on rendit leurs prisonniers.

La *Cendre Chaude* étoit un des deux Capitaines qui gouvernoit la Nation des Onneyouts. Avant qu'il fut Chrétien il avoit fait brûler le pere Brebeuf Jesuite; mais aprés son Baptême, il fut prêcher la Foi aux Iroquois, il commença par les Aniez, & parcourut les cinq Nations Iroquoises. Son exemple & son autorité en convertit quelques-uns, son éloquence confondit les Anciens; il prêchoit les Dimanches dans la cabane où il assembloit la jeunesse. Quand la Guerre fut

déclarée ; il alla avec Mr. le Marquis de Denonville, qui étoit pour lors Gouverneur general, aux Tſonnontoüans où il fut tué combattant genereuſement contre les ennemis.

Paul étoit un Huron qui avoit beaucoup d'ardeur pour la Guerre, & qui ſoûtenoit bien la Foi. Dieu l'a récompenſé en lui donnant une fille qui a vécu comme une Religieuſe. Elle avoit à l'âge de treize ans avec l'innocence d'un enfant la ſageſſe d'une perſonne de trente ans, elle eſt morte vierge. Sa mere la voyant belle & bien faite, craignit que ce don de la nature ne fut peut être un jour la cauſe de ſa perte, elle engagea ſon mari de prier unanimement le Seigneur de permettre qu'il lui arrivât quelque maladie qui pût lui ôter ſa beauté. Peu de tems aprés il ſe forma une taie ſur ſon œil, & étant devenuë éthique, elle mourut en exhortant ſa mere à être toûjours conſtante dans la Foi. Aprés qu'elle eut donné une couverture de tafetas à l'Egliſe, avec ſes colliers, bracelets & ornemens, elle entra dans l'Egliſe le jour de Noël, où elle dit à Notre-Seigneur au pied du Crucifix, qu'elle lui avoit donné tout ce qu'elle poſſedoit, & que n'ayant plus que ſon corps & ſon ame, elle les lui offroit, afin qu'il l'enlevât de ce monde.

Le Borgne, ou en Iroquois *Sogareſſé*, a été mis en priſon chez les Anglois, parce qu'il étoit trop ami des François, & qu'il prenoit trop les interêts de notre Religion. Il regretoit en mourant de ce que Dieu ne lui avoit pas fait la grace d'être martiriſé par les Anglois, il prenoit le ſoin des enfans dans la Miſſion, il les catechiſoit, il leur faiſoit faire les prieres. Sa femme a été auſſi fervente que lui, & elle a demeuré prés d'un an en priſon chez les Anglois avec ſa mere. Si elle eut voulu ſe démarier on l'en auroit fait ſortir; mais elle aima mieux demeurer en priſon que de perdre la Foi & de ſe ſeparer de ſon mari.

La réputation de Catherine Tekakoüita Iroquoiſe, eſt trop recommandable dans ce nouveau monde pour paſſer ſous ſilence ce modéle de vertu & de ſainteté. Sa memoire eſt en grande veneration, on remarque que beaucoup de perſonnes ont reſſenti des effets admirables de la pieuſe confiance qu'elles ont eu en elle en differentes occaſions. Quoiqu'il en ſoit. * Il y a vingt ans que l'on vît parmi les Iroquois une fille de vingt-cinq ans, dans laquelle les meilleures qualitez des Algonkins & des Iroquois s'étoient réünies; elle étoit née d'une Algonkine & d'un Iroquois. Sa me-

* En 1680.

re avoit été priſe aux Trois-Rivieres. Il y a quarante ans, dans la grande déroute de cette Nation. Elle fut conduite aux Iroquois qui lui donnerent la vie & la marierent, elle avoit été Baptiſée aux Trois-Rivieres par les Peres Jeſuites, elle n'oublia jamais au milieu d'une Nation infidéle les devoirs du Chriſtianiſme. Tekakoüita qu'elle eut dans la ſuite a été ſans doute la récompenſe de la vie Chrétienne qu'elle avoit toûjours menée. Cette fille a vécu parmi les Iroquois dans une innocence qui ne ſe peut expliquer, juſques à l'âge de vingt-deux ans, elle eut la petite verole dans ſa tendre jeuneſſe qui la diſgracia beaucoup. Elle conſerva toûjours avant ſon Baptême une pudeur naturelle qui lui donnoit de l'averſion pour les plaiſirs des ſens, & même pour le mariage, car elle ne voulut jamais ſe marier. Ce n'étoit pas pour être plus libre dans ſes actions; mais pour ſe conduire uniquement par la Providence, & pour vâquer plus librement aux exercices de pieté.

On ne remarquoit point en elle les vices auſquels ſont ſujettes les filles Sauvages qui n'aiment que le libertinage, elle ne donnoit point dans toutes leurs viſions, & les ſonges qui occupent ſi fort leur imagination, & dont ils ſont une divinité.

Catherine tekakoüita Iroquoise du Saut S. Louis de Montreal en Canada morte en odeur de Sainteté.

Son plus grand defaut étoit de ſouffrir qu'on l'habillât trop proprement, ce qu'elle ne faiſoit que pour paſſer le temps ou pour complaire à ſes parens, qui vouloient l'obliger à ſe marier. Quand ils la preſſoient de ſe déterminer, elle ſe cachoit derriere une caiſſe de bled d'Inde, où elle s'enfuyoit dans les champs.

Un mal qu'elle eût au pied qui l'obligea de demeurer dans la Cabane, ne contribua pas peu à ſa converſion. Le Pere Jeſuite qui étoit alors dans le village des Aniez, qu'on apelle Gandaoüaqué, entra par haſard dans ſa Cabane. Il lui parla de la Foi & l'exhorta de venir prier : elle obeït. Sa devotion fervente fit avancer ſon Baptême qui fut ſolemnel dans la Chapelle de ſon Village le jour de Pâques. Il s'en trouve pluſieurs qui ſe contentent d'être Baptiſez ſeulement, & ne font preſque aucune fonction du Chriſtianiſme : ainſi c'étoit beaucoup à cette fille de ſe ſoûtenir au milieu de tant de mauvais exemples. Mais ce qui étoit admirable eſt qu'elle reſiſtoit courageuſement à toutes les tentations & à tous les efforts que l'on faiſoit, pour l'empêcher de ſuivre les exemples des Chrétiens les plus fervens. Un jour elle fut touchée de celui-ci.

Les ivrognes vouloient obliger une

femme Chrétienne à boire de l'eau-de-vie: ils l'attirerent adroitement dans la cabane & firent ce qu'ils pûrent pour lui en couler dans la bouche : elle la leur cracha au nez par trois fois, & en fit autant toutes les fois qu'ils la preſſerent d'en boire. L'exemple de cette bonne Chrétienne confirma Tekakoüita dans ſes bonnes réſolutions. On remarqua en elle pendant deux ans une perſeverance admirable au milieu de cette Babilone. Le Pere Jeſuite qui l'inſtruiſoit des miſteres de notre Religion, lui dit qu'elle ne vivroit jamais en repos dans ſon païs, & qu'elle y ſeroit toûjours en danger de ſe perdre : elle conçût qu'il avoit raiſon. Il y avoit déja du tems qu'elle étoit reſoluë de venir demeurer à Montreal : elle cherchoit quelque occaſion favorable pour y décendre ſans que l'on en eut le moindre ſoupçon. C'étoit la coûtume de ce tems-là parmi les Iroquois de ſe viſiter au retour de la chaſſe : les uns venoient à Montreal en paſſant, & les autres alloient aux Anglois, & paſſoient à Anié pour voir leurs parens, & pour tâcher d'inſpirer à quelqu'un de devenir Chrétiens. Cette viſite annuelle réüſſiſſoit aſſez & pluſieurs quittoient Anié pour venir demeurer avec leurs parens au Saut, proche Montreal.

Un Capitaine d'*Onneyout* nouvellement Baptisé, qui fut tué depuis à la Guerre contre les Tsonnontoüans, fit un Voyage exprés en son païs pour y aller prêcher la Foi. Il passa d'abord à Anié où aprés avoir prêché en pleine assemblée plus par son exemple que par ses paroles, il procura à Tekakoüita une occasion pour se rendre à Montreal. Quand elle fut arrivée au Saut, elle prit la résolution d'y vivre en parfaite Chrétienne. Elle eut voulu choisir un état dont elle n'avoit qu'une idée confuse qui étoit celui des Vierges. Cet état est trop relevé pour être proposé à des Sauvages qui sont si charnels ; c'est pourquoi on ne lui parloit que du mariage, afin de l'engager à rester au Saut. Elle embrassa d'abord l'une de ces propositions, qui étoit de se fixer dans ce lieu ; mais elle ne pouvoit se resoudre à se marier. Elle demeura dans cet état demandant à Dieu de lui inspirer qui lui seroit le plus agreable. On dit que l'union étroite qu'elle avoit avec une femme Onneyoute eut servi beaucoup à lui faire embrasser l'état de perfection. Celle-ci étoit Baptisée depuis long-tems ; mais elle ne s'étoit convertie que depuis deux ans. Le sujet de sa conversion fut un accident qui lui arriva à la chasse. D'une bande de

douze chasseurs parmi lesquels étoit son mari, il n'en revint que deux, les dix autres moururent de faim & furent mangez par ceux qui resterent en vie. C'est ce qui arrive souvent aux Algonkins & aux autres Nations, & ce qui n'est pas ordinaire parmi les Iroquois, parce que outre la chasse, ils ont encore le bled d'Inde, & viennent chercher des vivres quand la viande leur manque. Ceux dont je parle n'eurent pas cette précaution : Ils crûrent qu'en montant le long du Saut dans la riviere des Outaoüaks ils y trouveroient des bêtes. Le contraire leur arriva. Ils avoient avec eux un vieillard mourant qu'il falloit porter. Il demanda lui même qu'on le tuât. On ne voulut pas le faire sans prendre conseil. On demanda à l'Onneyoute qui étoit Baptisée, ce que disoit la Loi Chrétienne là-dessus. Celle-ci apprehendant qu'on ne la tuât aussi à son tour n'osa répondre ; la crainte de la mort, ses ivrogneries, & la vie dereglée qu'elle avoit menée pendant sept ans depuis son Baptême lui causerent d'étranges peines d'esprit : elle fit cependant des reflexions assez fortes pour comprendre qu'elle avoit manqué de fidelité aux lumieres & aux graces de Dieu : elle promit de mener une vie toute opposée, si

elle pouvoit ſe retirer de la cruelle conjoncture où elle ſe trouvoit. Le vieillard mourut ſur ces entrefaites, & fut mangé. Un enfant mourut quelque temps aprés qui le fut encore, & ſucceſſivement pluſieurs autres, juſques à ce qu'ils furent arrivez à un Village d'Algonkins qui leur donnerent des vivres pour ſe rendre chez eux. Ce deſaſtre toucha vivement cette femme qui changea de vie : elle a vécu dans la ſuite en bonne Chrétienne, & a perſeveré pendant vingt ans. Son mari mourut au retour de cette chaſſe, accablé de miſere.

Cette veuve & Texakoüita vécurent deux ans enſemble dans des excés de penitence qui ſont connus de tout le Canada. Le Pere Jeſuite qui les conduiſoit, voyant qu'il étoit temps de parler, leur découvrit l'excellence de l'état de virginité, & leur dit que Dieu nous avoit fait maître de ces deux états, que c'étoit à nous de choiſir. Texakoüita embraſſa celui-ci avec une telle ferveur qu'elle en fit vœu le jour de l'Annonciation, & mourut vingt jours aprés. Pluſieurs filles ſauvages l'ont imitée dans la ſuite, malgré les deſordres que ces dernieres guerres ont cauſé parmi ces nouveaux Chrétiens.

Pendant que j'étois en Canada, plu-

ſieurs perſonnes malades des fiévres, avoient une grande confiance à Catherine Tekakoüita; mais depuis deux ans que j'en ſuis ſorti, j'ai appris que pluſieurs malades avoient été guéris par ſon interceſſion, & l'on a connu manifeſtement qu'il y avoit quelque choſe d'extraordinaire dans les graces que l'on obtenoit du Ciel en s'adreſſant à elle. Ce n'eſt pas, Madame, autrement mon fait de faire des Vers; mais j'ai crû ne pouvoir me diſpenſer de faire ceux-ci à ſa gloire.

De ta grace Seigneur, la lumiere éternelle
Eclaire, quand tu veux, change, choiſit, appelle
Les plus ſauvages cœurs & les attache à toi.
Ainſi l'on voit paſſer par elle
Celui d'une Iroquoiſe animé plein de zéle
De la nuit de l'erreur au grand jour de la foi.

Quoique nos Iroquois ayent quitté toutes leurs ſuperſtitions, ils ont cependant conſervé pluſieurs de leurs coûtumes qui regardent le civil. En effet, un Iroquois qui a ſa famille à part, ne laiſſe pas d'avoir une Cabane chez ſa mere, où il à droit d'être nourri. Il eſt aſſuré d'y trouver ſon plat de viande. Lorſque ſa mere vient à mourir, ſes Tantes maternelles qu'il appelle dans cette rencontre du même nom de Meres, ne peuvent auſſi lui refuſer

ſon

ſon plat. Si celles-ci viennent encore à mourir, toutes ſes propres Sœurs tiennent leur place. S'il n'en à point, il a les mêmes prétentions chez les parens de ſa Mere. On à ſoin de lui garder dans cette Cabane ſa portion, ſur tout quand il y à quelque choſe de bon, ſon penchant le portant ordinairement à y demeurer la plus grande partie de la journée, parce que ſa Mere & ſes Sœurs lui ſont plus cheres que ſa Femme. Celle-ci lui porte dans ſa cabane ſon plat de viande. Elle doit y porter ou faire porter dans certaines ſaiſons de l'année vingt ou trente charges de petit bois ſec que l'on coupe proprement, & qui eſt deſtiné à faire boüillir la chaudiere quand on n'a pas le tems d'allumer de gros bois.

L'affection qu'il à pour la cabane de ſa Mere & de ſes Sœurs ſe rallentit, lorſqu'il commence à avoir pluſieurs Enfans; de ſorte qu'il n'en fait plus qu'une avec ſa femme, qui n'a pas de plus grande conſolation que celle d'avoir beaucoup d'enfans. C'eſt le moyen le plus efficace pour l'attacher auprés d'elle. Elle aime ſi tendrement ſes enfans, qu'elle leur donne à teter juſqu'à trois à quatre ans. Il eſt vrai qu'ils ſont extrêmement délicats dans ce bas âge; mais ils deviennent dans la ſuite du tems fort robuſtes.

L'Iroquois à une troiſiéme cabane qui eſt celle où ſon pere eſt né, où l'on ne manque pas de lui preſenter ſon plat quand il vient. Cette cabane eſt ſon *Atoni*, comme qui diroit le lieu d'où il eſt né. Il y en à une quatriéme qui eſt celle de ſon camarade où il va ſouvent, car chacun à le ſien. Ils ſe regalent ſouvent les uns les autres. On fait toujours honneur à l'ami de ce qu'il y a de meilleur lors qu'il vient, & même ſans être invité.

Le *Saut* eſt compoſé des cinq Nations Iroquoiſes, des Aniez, des Onneyouts, des Onnontaguez, des Goyogoüins, & des Tonnontoüans. Ils ont une même langue, avec quelque difference de mots & de finales : ils ont eû connoiſſance du Deluge & faiſoient décendre du Ciel le premier Homme, où plutôt la premiere Femme, dont les décendans ne durerent que juſques à la troiſiéme generation. Le Deluge étant venu les bêtes ſe changerent en Hommes ; ils ont retenu les Noms de ces animaux par chaque Famille, & nous en voyons encor aujourd'hui trois parmi les Aniez, celle de la Tortuë, celle de l'Ours, & celle du Loup.

On compte plus de mille Iroquois à la Miſſion du Saut, qui a une grande vûë au milieu du Fort, car le Village eſt un eſpece

de Fort ; entouré de pieux de dix-huit pieds de haut. La Famille la plus nombreuse de ces trois tient ordinairement un côté de ce Village ; & les deux autres ont le reste. Il doit y avoir autant de cabanes d'un côté que de l'autre. Si la Famille la plus grande ne peut occuper tout le rang de la ruë, une partie d'une autre Famille se joint au bout, & le reste se met vis-à-vis les cabanes de cette Famille.

Chacun est maître dans sa cabane ; qu'ils apellent communement leur feu. Ils sont tous égaux, de sorte qu'il n'y a ni Gouverneur ni Chef qui puisse prescrire des Loix à qui que ce soit.

Chaque état à ses occupations ; les jeunes gens ont soin de faire les cabanes. Ils vont à la chasse ou à la Guerre contre les Iroquois non Chrétiens. Les vieillards s'occupent à la pêche, à faire des plats, des écuelles, à traiter ou regler les affaires, soit pour l'ordre du Village, soit pour la Guerre, & pour la Paix, les femmes abbatent le bois, travaillent à la campagne & font le ménage.

Les vieilles se rendent venerables aux jeunes filles par leur travail & par l'assiduité qu'elles ont à veiller, se donnant certaine autorité par une vie exacte de reproches.

Chaque Famille à ordinairement un Ancien, où pluſieurs qui prennent le ſoin des affaires domeſtiques ; comme il s'eſt acquis de l'experience & de l'eſtime, on lui conſie tout ce qui regarde l'interêt commun.

Ces Anciens s'aſſemblent ſouvent, ſoit pour entretenir l'union, ſoit pour les affaires qui ſurviennent. Quand elles ſont d'importance & qu'elles regardent le bien public, ils font des cris autour du Fort, pour avertir que tout le monde ait à s'aſſembler dans une cabane. Les femmes y écoutent ſeulement, & les hommes déliberent. Un Ancien expoſe pour lors le fait dont il s'agit, & dit ſon ſentiment ſans être interrompu ; celui d'une autre Famille dit le ſien juſques à un troiſiéme. Si quelqu'un veut dire aprés ſon avis, on l'écoute. L'aſſemblée finie, chacun ſe retire ou s'entretient familierement dans les cabanes de ce qui a été propoſé. Ils tombent ſouvent dans le même ſentiment ; & mettant toujours les choſes au pis, ils ne ſe voyent point trompez dans leurs deſſeins & entrepriſes. Si le ſuccez a été ſelon leurs deſirs, ils ont pris en cela leur ſûreté contre ce qu'ils craignoient, s'il n'a pas été tel ils ne laiſſent pas d'être contens.

Les Anciens donnent avis de tout ce qu'il y a à faire, soit pour quelque festin, ceremonies ou autres coûtumes particulieres, & personne ne les contredit jamais. Ils se laissent conduire entierement par le Gouverneur general qui les fait venir à Montreal lorsqu'il s'agit de quelque affaire qui regarde le païs, & ils executent les ordres avec docilité. Nous les regardons comme le soutien de la Nation Françoise, ils se joignent avec nous dans les partis de Guerre, ils sont pour lors plus cruels ennemis des Iroquois non Chrétiens que nous ne le serions nous-mêmes, n'épargnant point leurs parens quand ils tombent sous leurs mains.

La Foi seule les engage de rester parmi nous. La sage conduite des Jesuites qui les gouvernent, les entretient dans une union si grande, que rien au monde n'est plus touchant que de voir la ferveur de ces nouveaux Chrétiens. Ils ne font ensemble qu'un même esprit par toutes les pratiques de vertu & de pieté qui les unissent. Ils chantent la grande Messe & disent leurs prieres en la langue Algonkine, pour éviter une jalousie qui auroit pû naître entre les cinq Nations. Les hommes se tiennent d'un côté de l'Eglise & les femmes de l'autre. Il y a un Chef de la

priere qui eſt comme le grand Chantre ; qui eſt au milieu, tout de bout. Chacun ſe répond alternativement, & l'on y entend ſouvent des Chœurs de muſique.

Le grand commerce de toute la Nouvelle France ſe fait dans la ville de Montreal, où abordent des Nations de cinq à ſix cens lieuës, que nous apellons nos Alliez. Ils commencent à venir au mois de Juin en grandes bandes. Les Chefs de chaque Nation vont d'abord ſaluër le Gouverneur, à qui ils font preſent de quelques Pelleteries, & le prient en même tems de ne pas ſouffrir qu'on leur vende trop cher les marchandiſes, quoiqu'il n'en ſoit pas le maître, puis qu'un chacun diſpoſe du ſien comme il le juge à propos. Ils tiennent une Foire ſur le bord du fleuve, le long des paliſſades de la Ville. Des ſentinelles empêchent que l'on n'entre dans leurs cabanes, pour éviter les chagrins qu'on leur pourroit faire, & pour leur donner la liberté d'aller & venir dans la Ville, où toutes les boutiques leur ſont ouvertes. C'eſt à qui fera valoir ſon talent. Les plus fortes amitiez ne laiſſent pas de ſe refroidir dans ces momens. Le mouvement tumultueux qui regne pour lors, & l'envie que l'on à de faire ſon profit, diſſipe cette ouverture de cœur, & à

peine le fils reconnoit quelquefois ſon pere. L'un attend au paſſage un Sauvage qu'il voit chargé de Caſtors, l'autre l'attire chez lui & compoſe du mieux qu'il peut. Celui-ci qui eſt auſſi rafiné que le Canadien ſur le fait de la traite, examine attentivement ce qu'on lui montre.

Ce commerce dure trois mois à pluſieurs repriſes : On y voit des peaux d'ours, de loups cerviers, chats ſauvages, pecans, martes, pichioux, loutres, loups de bois, renards argentez, peaux de chevreuils, de Cerfs, de Squenontous & d'Orignaux vertes & paſſées, ſur tout du Caſtor de toutes les eſpeces.

On leur vend de la poudre, des balles, des capottes, des habits à la Françoiſe, chamarez de dentelles d'or faux, qui leur donnent une figure tout-à-fait croteſque, du vermillon, des chaudieres, des marmites de fer & de cuivre, & toute ſorte de quinquaillerie.

La Ville reſſemble pour lors à un enfer, par l'air affreux de tous les Sauvages qui ſe matachent plus que jamais, croyant par là ſe mettre ſur leur propre. D'ailleurs les hurlemens, le tintamarre, les querelles & les diſſenſions qui ſurviennent entr'eux & nos Iroquois augmentent encore l'horreur de ces ſpectacles ; car

quelque précaution que l'on prenne pour empêcher les Marchands de leur donner de l'eau-de-vie, il y a quantité de Sauvages qui ſont ivres morts.

Quoique les Canadiennes ſoient en quelque façon d'un Nouveau Monde, leurs manieres ne ſont pas ſi biſarres ni ſi ſauvages qu'on ſe l'imagineroit. Au contraire ce ſexe y eſt auſſi poli qu'en aucun lieu du Royaume. La Marchande tient de la femme de qualité, & celle d'Officier imite en tout le bon goût que l'on trouve en France. Il eſt difficile de trouver une plus grande union que celle qui eſt entre les femmes d'Officiers.

Les Dames de Quebec n'aiment pas tout à fait les manieres des Montrealiſtes : les premieres ſont beaucoup ſur la reſerve, principalement les Conſeilleres. Ces états qui ſont differens, forment differens caracteres d'eſprit : les Montrealiſtes ont à la verité des dehors plus libres, mais comme elles ont plus de franchiſes, elles ont plus de bonne foi, & ſont trés-ſages & trés judicieuſes.

Le Canadien a d'aſſez bonnes qualitez, il aime la guerre plus que tout autre choſe, il eſt brave de ſa perſonne, il à de la diſpoſition pour les Arts, & pour peu qu'il ſoit inſtruit il aprend aiſement ce qu'on

lui enſeigne ; mais il eſt un peu vain & préſomptueux ; il aime le bien, il le dépenſe aſſez mal à propos. Ceux que l'on apelle des Coureurs de bois, qui alloient il y a quelques années en traite aux Outaoüaks; ceux-ci dépenſent fort vite ce qu'ils ont gagné en peu de temps, & rien ne leur coute quand ils ont dequoi. Quand je blâme le Canadien d'avoir trop d'attache au bien il eſt un peu excuſable, car le païs de Canada n'eſt pas riche, chacun en cherche ſelon ſon induſtrie, & ſans le commerce du Caſtor la plus grande partie ne pourroit vivre du revenu de ſes terres.

Sa Majeſté fait ſubſiſter une bonne partie du païs, ſoit Convens, ſoit particuliers, par des penſions & des gratifications. Quatre cens mille francs qu'il envoye tous les ans, ne laiſſent pas d'être d'un grand ſecours. Les Officiers qui ſont mariez ne ſoûtiennent leurs familles que de leurs apointemens; leurs femmes ſont à plaindre quand ils viennent à mourir : les Troupes ſont d'un détachement de la Marine, compoſées de vingt-huit Compagnies. Les premieres qui arriverent en Canada étoient du Regiment de Carignan-Salieres, & de vingt-quatre Compagnies qui y étoient, on en fit repaſſer en France au bout de trois ans, & les quatre qui demeurerent furent

composées de 75. hommes chacune: Il y eut plus de trois cens personnes de ce Regiment qui s'établirent dans le païs. Ces quatre Compagnies furent encor reformées quelques années aprés, dont la pluspart des reformez firent des habitations. Celles-ci furent remplacées la même année par quatre autres Compagnies. Les Officiers qui ne voulurent point passer en France eurent des concessions de terre, & quelques liberalités que Sa Majesté leur fit.

Le Canada fut long-temps sans Troupes, joüissant d'une profonde Paix, qui dura vingt ans. Je ne suis pas surpris, Madame, si les Canadiens ont tant de valeur, puisque la pluspart viennent d'Officiers & de ces Soldats qui sortoient d'un des plus beaux Regimens de France. Le païs s'est beaucoup augmenté depuis ce temps-là.

On y compte presentement quinze mille habitans. * L'étenduë de la Colonie est depuis le haut de l'Isle de Montreal jusques à l'Isle Percée, à l'embouchûre du fleuve saint Laurent. De l'un à l'autre il y a environ 180 lieuës. Ce fleuve est sans pareil, non seulement par son étenduë, mais par tous les lacs qu'il forme. Sa source est bien loin au Nord-Oüest, dans des Savannes & des Marais, où se forment

* En mil sept cens.

plusieurs rivieres, qui se reüniſſant font le lac des *Aſſiniboels*, duquel ſort une grande riviere, qui aprés avoir par un grand détour passé dans le lac des *Chriſtinaux*, puis dans celui *d'Alemipigon*, vient enfin se jetter dans le lac *Superieur*, qui a 450. lieuës de tour, sur 70. de largeur. Ce grand & fameux lac tombe dans le lac *Huron*, par un canal de quatorze lieuës de longueur, dans lequel il y à une chute d'eau que l'on apelle le *Saut Sainte Marie*. Le lac Huron qui a trois à quatre cens lieuës de circuit, sur plus de cinquante de largeur, se décharge dans le lac des Iſlinois, connu sous le nom du *Mécheygan*, qui à presque la même étenduë. Le dégorgement de ces deux lacs tombe dans le lac *Herier*, qui a trente à quarante pieds de largeur, sur prés de trois cens de circuit La Navigation y est trés dangereuse par tous ses bords escarpez, qui sont de terre glaise; les Flots venant à se briſer contre rendent l'eau si bourbeuse, que les Voyageurs souffrent & risquent beaucoup. Un détroit de vingt lieuës de long, large d'une portée de fusil boucanier dans le plus reserré, forme le Saut de *Niagara*, qui est une des merveilles de la nature. Sa nape d'eau à dix arpens de face, & sa chute fait un bruit que l'on entend à quinze lieuës loin. Le lac

Ontario, ou Frontenac, qui eſt le plus petit de tous, eſt le dernier de ce fleuve, il n'a qu'environ deux cens cinquante lieuës de tour, ſur trente à trente cinq, dans ſa plus grande largeur, ſa ſortie forme un trés-beau rapide, ſuivi de pluſieurs autres juſques à Montreal. Nous avons dans ce lac le Fort de Frontenac, qui porte le nom d'un Gouverneur-General de la Nouvelle France, il le fit bâtir pour tenir en bride les Iroquois pendant la Guerre dans leurs partis de Chaſſe, & pour les engager en temps de Paix d'entretenir un commerce d'amitié avec les François. Je ſuis avec beaucoup de reſpect,

MADAME;

Vôtre trés-humble, &c.

Fin du premier Tome.

And it is further ordered that Johannes Rooseboom Immediatly After the receipt of these Orders Cause them to be read to all those who go In his Company and that he Send by the first Opportunity fouer Indians in a Canoe to the Ottowaas to give them Notice of their Comeing.

By order in Council
J. Spragge Secr.

Names of the Wawyachtenokse sachems:
Wanamanheet
Pinacee
Pachkanass

Memorandum of what the Wawyachtenokse Indians have said to Robert Livingston, Proprietor of Tachkanik, in the presence of Johannes Wendel and Hendrick Cuyler, Aldermen, in Albany, the 24th of January 1686/7. The speaker was Peter d Wilt accompanied by the Indians of Tachkanik, Roeloff Jansens Kill, Kinderhook, and other River Indians.[1]

1° First, as an introduction, said that they were brethren with the Indians of Tachkanik, Roeloff Jansens Kill, and other River Indians. Give 1 deer skin.

2° Say that if the Indians of Wawyachtenock would come to plant on Tachkanik, the other Indians who live further down will be afraid and could be easily destroyed for they have a very small heart. Give 4 deer skins.

3° Say that they are definitely decided to stay on Wawyachtenok as the other Indians who live further down among the English with whom they are related would be afraid. Give 3 deer skins.

4° Would like to be considered as brethren and to be in a covenant since Tachkanik lays near to them. Give 4 deer skins, and 2 wildcats, and 1 fox.

Translated by Dirck Wessels, Recorder

Answer on the foregoing by Robert Livingston

I understood that some of the Indians of Wawyachtenok would like to come and plant on Tachkanik and to come under this government. Therefore I have made that known to his Excellency who said that the path is open for all good Indians to come here in this government where they will be welcome and well treated if they behave themselves well. As you are decided to stay on Wawyachtenok, that is all right, but if you would like to come and live at Tachkanik or anywhere else in this government, you

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

will be given a tract. Has been returned: 1 half barrel of beer, 1 small barrel of rum, and 1 roll tobacco.

Present:
D. Wessells
Levinus Van Schaick
Hendrick Cuyler
Adr. Gerritse

Proposals made by the Maquase sachems to the Magistrates of Albany, the 18th of February 1686/7[1]

Translated by Arnout Cornelise

Brethren:

We come here to speak with the brethren on behalf of all the tribes of the Maquase, and to clean Corlaer's house that we may freely come to speak of important matters. Give one belt of wampum of 10 high.

2° We are sad when Arnout was sent with some messages to the Indians to the West that he passed by the first and second castles and talks with the sachems at Tionondoge. Do not pass by our door, for we are one people. Give one belt 12 high: thus they count them all so high.

3° We make known that the Governor of Canada and eight or nine sachems of the Dionondadees have asked us through a proposal of the Jesuit who lives at Onondage that we should come to Cadarachqui in the spring when the bark is being peeled from the trees to talk with him and the sachems of the Dionondadees. But the Maquase and the Senecas have rejected this and do not want to go, but the Oneidas, Onondages, and Cayugas have promised to go there, and we come to make our resolution known to the brethren. Give one belt wampum 10 high.

4° Pray that they may not be exiled but can be given hospitality by their friends when they come to make proposals, and to sleep over at those Indians' places.

Answer to the Maquase

We are glad to see the brethren here in Corlaer's house where you know that you can come freely to make any important matters

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

A runner was sent to the People of the Great Mountain, who lived far toward the setting sun. The Senecas were divided in opinion. One large band living west of the Genesee River were friends of the Erie, who were against the League. The band who lived near the Great Mountain, near Canandaigua Lake, were for the League.

known. You will always be welcome. As we see that the brethren are jealous because our messenger goes to the third castle, we never have differentiated between the three families of Maquases, but if it pleases the brethren most, we will come to the first castle of theirs since that is so much the nearer and makes no difference to us. Concerning what you say that the French have ordered you and the other four nations to Cadarachqui, you know well that the Governor General has advised you not to listen to the Governor of Canada when he orders you to come unless you are his subjects and have taken back your land from the great King of England. You and the Senecas have obeyed and, in contrast, in case they listen to the Governor of Canada without Corlaer's permission, the other three nations are very unwise. Therefore you will do well to remind them of their duty that they should not do this. In the meantime we will make your proposal known to the Governor, and when the sachems come here in the wintertime to make their proposals, they will be permitted over at their friends', in the homes of Christians, if they only let them know in time. Give 25 guilders zewant and 1 small barrel of rum

KNOW ALL MEN by these *p*sents yt. wee John harris are held and firmly bounde unto ye Mayor aldermen and Commonality of ye Citty off Albany, in ye Somme of fifty Pounds Courant money of this Province, to be paid unto ye Said Mayor aldermen & Commonality of ye Citty of albany and there Successors, to ye wh Payment, well and truly to be made, wee oblige our Selfs, and each of us, our and Each of our heirs Executors and Administrators, for ye whole and in ye whole firmly by these *p*sents Sealed wth. our Sealls dated ye first day of april anno dom: 1687 Annoq Regn: Regs Jacobi Secdi. Angl. &a

WHEREAS ye abovebound John harris by and with Consent of ye sd Mayor, aldermen and Commonality of ye Citty of albany have obtained his Excel: ye gov: Passe to Trade, Travell and hunt, amongst ye Indians of ottowawa, as by ye Sd Lycence of Capt. Jacob Lokermans beareing date ye 21 day of Sepr. 1686 doth appear who are all to be under ye Command and Conduct of Majr Patrik Magregory,[1] there unto Authorized and Impoured by his

[1] Patrick Magregory came from Scotland to Maryland in 1684. Becoming interested in the fur trade, he moved to New York, and was placed in com-

Excel: Thomas Dongan Capt genl. & governour in Cheeffe, as p his Commission beareing date ye 4 day of decr. 1686 may more fully and att large Appeare, now ye Condition of ye obligation is Such yt if ye abovebound John harris doe not Trade or Traffique wth any of ye five nations of Indians Commonly Called ye Maquase, oneydes, onnondages, Cayouges, and Sinnekes, for any Bevers, Peltry or any oyr Indian Commodities, Provisions only Excepted Then this psent obligation to be Void, Else to be and Remain in full force and Vertue

Sealed & deliverd
in ye psence of
/s/ Albert Rykman
/s/ L. V. Schayk

his
John *H* harris [seal][1]
mark

albu 25 apl 1687
Gov: Dongans Propos: by Akis to the oneydes onnindages & Cayouges.

To ye. oneydes onnondages & Cayouges
Brethern

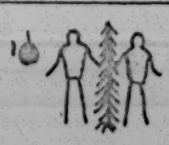
I have had propositions from the Maquase and Sinicas att my house att Albany but have heard nothing from you—I am Sorry the Brethren Should Stand So much in their owne Light.

I heare that Contrary to their promise the Brethren intend to goe and Speak with the Governor. of Canida att Cadaracqui.

I hope it is not true, if it bee you doe ill, wee have given you bread when you wanted it—besides you have putt your selves and yor Land under the great King of England who is able to defend

mand of this expedition in 1686. He was captured by the French, taken to Montreal, and freed in 1687. During the Leisler Rebellion in New York he met his death in March, 1691. O'Callaghan, 3: 395fn. His commission as commander of this party is given, *ibid.*, 9: 318.

[1] Identical indentures were entered into by Patrick Magregory, Abraham Schuyler, and Dirk van der Heyden; Arnout Cornelise Viele and Cornelius Vanderhoeve; Jacob Lokermans, Anthony Brat, and Johannes Brat; Cornelis Gysbertse, Harpert Jacobse, and Gerrit Viele; Cornelis Claese and Andries Carstense; Peter Coeymans and Frederick Claes; Bent Robertson and Hendrik Willems; Solomon Frederikse and Johannes Onderdonk; Jurian Van Hoosen, Willem Hollie, and Symon Schermerhoorn. These are all found in the Livingston Indian Papers.



Messengers invited both bands to join the Confederacy. Both councils listened. After a year they sent messengers to the Mohawk council to say that they would grasp the Tree of Peace.

you from all Enimies—I Should be Sorry you Should make him angry whith the Bretheren for their breaking their promise.
He is Sending you Priests—I desire the Bretheren would not goe to heare the govr. of Canida you. need not fear him. hee will not meddle with any of the Bretheren that live within the great King of Englands Territoryes—hee will protect you in peace where you may Eate Sleepe and hunt in Safety.
I heare the Bretheren are about to joyne with the Maquase and Sinicas against the Twichtwicks—I wish the Bretheren were alikewise in other things—therefore I send the Bretheren a present of powder and Lead—Lett mee desire of you to bee advised by the Maquase and Sinicaes—
I am Sorry that Some of the Bretheren Contrary to their Condicon have been in virginia lett itt bee so no more Lest Such Inconvenienceyes happen as may not bee easily Remedyed.
I take it Verry ill that those Indians that ye Brethren hes given leave to live upon ye Skuylkill and ye Susquehanne should Bring Bever and Peltry to Philadelphia, which is Contrary to ye aggreement the Brethren has made with us, I Desyre of ye Brethren not to Suffer any Indians to live there Longer but on Condition not To trade any where but at albany.
And also that ye Brethren would take Such french and English they Shal fynde goeing up those Rivers without my Lycence, or Pass, and bring them tyed to albany, and there Deliver ym. to ye Magistrates for wh. ye Brethren shall have all ye goods they fynde belonging to Such Persones to themselfs. I am likewise Informed that those that live there are about to Sell ye Land I hope ye Brethren will not Suffer that, being already given by the Brethren to ys. government.

albu 25 apl 1687
gov: Dongans Propos: by akus to ye Maquase & Sinnekes

To ye Maquase and Sinnekes
Brethren I have Seen the Propositions you have made in my house att Albany and am glad the Brethren have overcome their Enimyes.
and I hope they will also prosper in all their undertakeings—I am sorry the Brethren are goeing to warr for fear Some of the Best of our Brethren Should bee lost.

Peace hunting eateing and Drinkeing well being to bee preferred before warr.

but since the Brethren must goe to Revenge themselves upon the farr Indians that kill Som: of the Brethren in their hunting I have sent the Senicas a barrell of powder and some Lead—and halfe a barrell to the Maquase and Lead also.

Brethren it is a great trouble to mee that the onendages Cajugaes and Oneides contrary to their promise will goe to Cadarachqui to the Govr. of Canida. Lett the Brethren advise them not to goe—

I take it very ill that those Indians that the Bretheren has given leave to live upon the Schoolkill and the Susquehanna Should bring Bever and peltry to Philadelphia which is Contrary to the agreement the Brethren has made with us. I desire of the Bretheren not to suffer any Indians to live there longer but on Condition not to trade any where but att Albany.

And also that the Bretheren would take Such French and English they shall finde going up those Rivers without my Lycence or pass and bring them tyed to Albany, and there deliver them to the Magistrates—for which the Bretheren shall have all the goods they finde belonging to Such persons to themselves.

I am likewise Informed that those that live there are about to sell the Land I hope the Bretheren will not suffer that being already given by the Brethren to this governmt.

[(*in another handwriting*)] I am Sorry that some of ye Brethren of the Maquase Contrary to ye Condition, have been in Virginia, lett it be so no more lest Such Inconveniences happen as may not be easily Remedyed.

Answer of ye Maquase & ye Rest of ye Indians westward to the Propositions of his Excell: Thomas Dongan Capt. genl. & govr. in Cheiff & Vice admirall of n: Yorke and ye Territories Depending thereon, Proposed to them in there Castles by Akus Cornelise who went from albany thither on ye. 25th. day of april & arrived here again ye 23th day of mey 1687.

The Maquase answer as follows.

Wee are Rejoyced to see ye Messenger of our Broy Corlaer here

Before this time the Onondaga nation had been approached. The people wanted to join the Confederacy, but they hesitated to say so openly because they feared Adodarho. When, however, Deganawidah's messenger approached them they agreed to grasp the Tree of Peace.

in our Castles, wee thank Corlaer for his good Councills, and shall Endevor to follow ye Same, Butt wee are Engaged wth. ye Sinnekes to warr wth. our Enemies ye Twick Twicks, which wee intend to Pursue wth. all vigor, & to molest no oyr Enemies, but ye Sd. Twicktwichs utterly to Destroy, by which means all Inconveniencies that might happen to be done in Virginia will be Remedyed, Since our Passage thither is now quite anoyr. Course. Wee thank Corlaer for his Present of Pouder & lead, which wee will not fetch wth. out due Respect & thankfull acknowlegements to ye Donor.

As for ye govr. of Canidas Propositions who hath sent for us all to Cadarachqui, wee have Sent an Expresse to all ye Castells westwaerdts to tell them not to goe by any means to Cadarachqui, but on ye Contrare if they had any thing to Say or to Consult, that they should come to Corlaer house in albany instead of hearkning to ye govr of Canida and to goe to Cadarachqui.

Wee have no People liveing att ye Skuylkill or Susquehanne, neither will we admitt of any of our folks goeing to live there, for it is Transported to Corlaer; we have help to winn itt, & if any will sell yt Land itt shal be void & of no Effect, itt being already Conveyed to this Government, and if we finde any french or oyr goeing up those Rivers to trade without Corlaers Pass, We shall bring them tyed to albany, & deliver them to ye Magistrates.

The Oneydes answer

That Corlaer will not take itt ill, that they have not been att his house att albany, they being from home when ye Sinnekes came by; wee thank Corlaer for his Present of Pouder and Lead, & when wee come to albany to fetch ye Same shall shew our Thankfulness

Concerning our Journey to Cadarachqui, wee were intended to goe there to Speak to ye Indians off ottowawa of Peace, But we will hearken to Corlaer's Councill & wholly hearken to ye maquasse our Brethren, & doe what they shall think fitt.

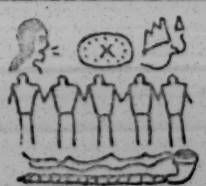
There is a generall meeting of ye Sachims of ye five Nations att a Place called Caninda near to onnondage about ye beginning of June, there we will meet & doe nothing without ye Maquase Vote. Wee are glad yt. ye govr. will Send us Priests, since wee have been Long without a father.

Wee are unanimously ReSolved to make warr upon ye Twich-

twichs, & shall no more goe yt way towards Virginy, but only Pursue our Enemyes the Twichtwichs, & hope yt this shall be ye Last time yt ever any mischeeff shall be done in Virginia.
As for ye Land of Susquehanne wee have no People yt live there, & none is ye owner of ye same butt Corlaer being given for ye Behooffe of this government, & if wee see any People yt comes upon those Rivers without Corlaers Pass, wee shall bring them to albany according to ye. govrs. order.

The onnondages answer.

Broyr Corlaer
Wee have understood your Propositions made to us by akus, & are sorry that ye Sinnekes went So Silent by our Castles when we were abroad, by which means we were frustrate of yt good opportunity to come to Corlaers house, But when ye Sinnekes come doune wee goe long wth. them to fetch our Powder and Lead which Corlaer hath given us, for which wee shall be thankfull. As for our Intended voyage to Cadarachqui, to Speak to ye govr. of Canida and the Sachims of ottowawa, wee can give no Positive answer before our general meeting of all the Nations be over which will be about ye beginning of June next EnSueing within four Dutch miles of our Castles, when we shall Discourse about itt.
Wee doubt not but ye great king of England is Powerfull Eneugh to Protect us, that we may Live in Peace, & wee doe Beleive yt. our king & ye french king know onanother Verry well for they are both of one Skinn meaning they are both white Skinnd, & not brown as they Indians are; wee would Rather live in Peace, butt itt Seems our Indian Enemies doe grutch our Breth: ye Sinnekes liveing in Peace, & we being united wth them are unanimously ReSolved to Ruine the Twichtwichs if it be Possible. Wee Confirm that which we have done about ye Susquehanne, & shall never Tollerate any thing to be done against itt, wee have no People liveing there, & if any English or french come upon



At the Great Council of the Mohawks, when all the people were present, Deganawidah and Hiawatha reported that five nations, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, had agreed to bury their differences and establish a great peace league which was eventually to take in all the tribes and do away with war.

those Coasts without a Pass, wee shall bring them to albany according to Corlaer's order.

Wee shall Be glad to see a Priest here of our Broyr Corlaer

The Cayouges answer

Brother Corlaer

Wee thank you for your good Inclination & Council & for your Present of Powder & lead; we shall come Speedily to Corlaers house at albany and Speake of all matters.

Wee must acknowlege wee were Resolved to goe to Cadarachqui, to Speak wth ye Sachims of ottowawa about Treaty of Peace, ye Rather because we hear that they of ottowawa are intended to Deliver up some oneyde Prisoners; Butt wee Stand not to yt Resolution, but Submitt ourSelfs wholly to ye Issue of a Certain general meeting of all ye 5 nations which shall be held 4 D. mile from onnondage att a Place called Caninda about ye first of June 1687, & what will be Concluded there wee know not only this yt ye onnondages & wee have Solely given over our Votes to ye Sinnekes to doe therein as they Shall see meet, & ye oneydes have given over yr Votes to ye Maquase.

The Land of Susquehanne wee have wonn by ye Sword and as owners of ye Same wee have Transported itt to this government, & that which we have done therein is Irrevocable, & if any Person Should have any Design to buy that land, wee deSyre yt Corlaer may write to them, yt they have no such Thoughts Since itt is annexed to this government under ye great king of England whose Subjects we are, and those few yt dwell there to witt 10 or 12 white minke antient Inhabitants of Susquehanne butt belonging to our Castle whom we have in former times Conquered, amongst whom is one born Cayouger, shall use our Endevor to Send for them home to live in our Castle, & if we finde any Persones upon ye sd. River to hunt or Trade without Corlaers Pass, wee shall bring them to albany according to Corlaers order.

The Cayouges Said further yt ye ottowawas Indians had deSyred ye govr. of Canida to be a mediator between them and ye Sinnekes, & yt he would see to gett ye Indians together to Cadarachqui. Wee are Verry glad yt Corlaer will Send us a Priest whom we shall Treat Civilly, & shall have his Choyes to live where he Pleases; wee must acknowlege yt Corlaer shows himSelf like a Broyr in every Respect, Especially since he gives us Powder &

lead to fight our Enemyes, nu wee look upon itt as iff he fought with us himself.

Concerning ye Sinnekes

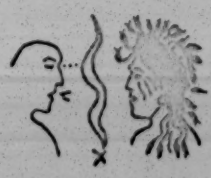
Akus hath Spoke to one of ye Sachims in ye Castle of onnondage, and made ye Proposition of his Excel to him, who Replyed that hee would Communicate ye Same to his Brethren & yt akus might Rest Satisfyed, because he could not come to Sinnondowanne by Reason of ye high water, & ye Lakes yt. were So full, wh. akus did fynde So accordingly; for being gone 12 mile from Cayouge towards ye Sinnekes was necessitate to turn back to Cayouge by Reason of ye high water & great Rain.

This is a true Copy Transl:
p me
Robt: Livingston
Cl.

N: Yorke 16 June 1687

Sr

The Inclosed is come to me out of England. I am Resolvd to observe ye Least title of itt, & I doe not doubt but you will doe ye Same, I have been Informed yt you have Sent for ye Indians yt live on this Side of ye Lake to Speake wth ym. att Cadarachqui, which I could not beleeve till father LamberVille writt Soe to me from onnondage assureing me of ye Truth of itt; which I admire att verry much, they being the king of England's Subjects, & lett me assure you this is not ye way to keep a Right Understanding between us; for if you have any ill Design against any of ye five nations on this Side of ye Lake, ye verry same you must have against me; I hear also yt your Christian Indians of Canida come on this Side of ye Lake to Debauch our Indians away to Canida; I Shal desyre of yu. not to Suffer yt any more for if yu. doe & if I can cach any of them I will Punish them Verry Severely; I am Expecting dayly Priests from England to Putt amongst ye five nations, and as Long as yr Priest Stays att



Deganawidah then said they must find out where the fire of Adodarho burned, for it was he who caused most trouble between the nations of men. "We must seek him out and cure his wicked mind."

onnondage, lett him not Intermedle himself wth any thing but his function and as for ye further Indians it is as free for us to trade yr as is for yu. untill ye meets & bounds be made between our kings. Sr. I am

Your assured friend and humble Servant
T[homas] D[ongan][1]

To ye Governr. of
Canida

NB This Copy was not Sent to ye Indians

Proposal made by 3 Maquase sachems and 4 sachems of Oneida, June 17, 1687[2]

1° We come here for the powder and lead which the Governor has promised to us as we hear daily rumors from the Governor of Canada and it seems that the hatchet hangs above our heads like the sun. Otherwise we would have waited till the Senecas and the others would have come with us. But because of the evil rumors which are confirmed, we will now take advantage of the opportunity to take it along with us. Give 1 fathom wampum.

2° We also come to renew the covenant, and that the chain may be kept clean and may all in the chain join hands. This will be very pleasing to us. Give 1 fathom wampum.

3° We see that the heart of the Governor of Canada is evil, and thank his Honor for the gift of powder and lead. Give 1 belt wampum 16 high.

4° Last night we heard from one of our people coming from Canada further bad news from there. Our hearts have been so upset over that that we could not sleep last night. In the meantime we keep our eyes on the Governor in order to find out what we should do now. But if some one comes to molest us, we will defend ourselves. Give one belt 16 high.

By the Oneida

5° We have understood everything concerning the proposals made for the Governor by Ackes concerning the war of the Wagannaes and the Twightwees. We and the Maquase were not yet completely of one mind then, but now we are of one mind which we

[1] Corrected draft in Robert Livingston's writing. There is a more polished version which was sent by Dongan to the Governor of Canada in O'Callaghan, 3: 465.

[2] Translated from the Dutch.

declare now to you in your presence in the house of Corlaer. Further, we thank his Honor for the powder and lead which is all very fine, but what will we put it in? We cannot just throw it with our hands like a stone. Give 3 beavers.

6° Brother Corlaer, the Governor of Canada calls us children which we now know is not so. Therefore may the tree of peace remain planted here steady and straight and may it not grow sideways so that we can really trust it, and there will not be any evil found in this house. And as I spoke of the tree of peace growing in goodness, thus we ask also that the heart of the Governor may be good and honest, and that it may not be altered by the exchange of letters with the Governor of Canada, but that we will always be supplied with ammunition in case of war so that we can defend ourselves. Give 3 beavers.

Answer on the proposals of the sachems of the Oneidas and Maquase

Brethren, we have heard your proposals concerning the great fear you have of the French which keeps you from sleeping at night, and also that you have heard these bad rumors confirmed daily. We are astonished to see that the brethren are so small of heart and so upset by such running rumors for which we can find no basis. If the Governor of Canada attacks you, you are after all men and not children, you certainly should defend yourselves and keep on the alert. You renew the covenant with Corlaer and ask that the covenant chain be kept smooth and clean. That is very good. And as Corlaer up to this day has never failed to work for your benefit and to take care of you like a father, thus he will always assist you with his fatherly mercy as long as you will behave well and follow his orders which will always turn out to be best for you. We will forward your proposal at the first opportunity.

To the Oneidas:

We are very glad to hear that you and the Maquase are united, and you must try especially to be united in carrying out what he [Corlaer] commands which is always for your good as you have

Deganawidah asked for two scouts to seek out the smoke of Adodarho.

discovered now by experience. He is the one who now gives you so much powder and lead, and because you lack firelocks to put the powder in, Corlaer gives you now 6 firelocks, 3 for each nation. You can really see now that he is a good father and not a stepfather, that you can trust him and therefore be sure not to anger such a merciful father and then the tree of peace will grow straight. For all that the Governor writes to the Governor of Canada is for your good, and if the Governor had not done this the French Governor would have made war on the brethren a long time ago. Therefore be courageous and not weakhearted and you will not lack anything as long as you obey Corlaer. We will send your proposal to the Governor at the first opportunity.[1]

Present
D. Wessells
h: Cuyler
albt. Rykman
Liv: Van Shaik
Joh: wendel

Propositions made by the Cayouges Sachims to ye Magistrates of albany ye 27th. day of June 1687.

1. Wee hear dayly Bad Rumours which Disturbs our heart, Insomuch yt our heart quakes in our body, & there is litle union among our nations, are therefore come here in Corlaers house for

[1] This proposition was considered by the Governor and Council on June 24, 1687. *Cal. N. Y. Col. MSS.*, 2: 166. Two days later a proposition was prepared which was to be delivered to the Iroquois by Akus Cornelise. According to the Duane Report, 1780, it was included in the Livingston Indian Papers but is not found there now. Duane's abstract of that proposition is given here:

> June 26, 1687—Proposition to the Western Indians sent to them from His Excellency the governor general by Akus Cosaliso [*sic*] (Express)—
> Corlaer is informed that the french and Indians are assembled at Cataracqui to war against the Senecas and other nations—they must not be afraid but on their guard; and [(*blank*)] the things [(*blank*)] or their [(*blank*)] and by no means go to the governor of Canada but let him know they are the King of Englands Subjects who will protect them.
> 2. advises them how to Conduct themselves in case of an Attack, says he shall be in a Instant to assist them which he promises to do as soon as possible. That they send their Wives Children and old people to Albany where he promises to provide for them. That if the french should destroy their Corn they must not [(*blank*)] for he will assist them. That he does not Choose they should fight unless [(*blank*)] to great advantage &c. [(*blank*)] That the governor will give them all the assistance he can in case they should be attacked on this Side the Lakes and that withall possible speed &c &c—
> Corelunin—"with this [(*blank*)] four of the Kings [(*blank*)—Coat of Arms] in Case any of the Castles should be without them."

Councill what we shal doe in yt Case, doe give a faddom of wamp.
2. Wee are ashamed to come here in Corlaers house, being Informed that ye oneydes have Divulged that we Should have done ye misheiff Lately committed in Virginia, Butt wee are Innocent, for ye oneydes have done itt, doe give a Bevr.
3. Wee are threatned by ye govr. of Canida, & since yt. ye Land wh. wee Live in is Corlaers Land, & wee and all that live therein are ye king of Englands Subjects, therefore Recommend the whole Case to Corlaer, In whose Care & well mannagemt wee doe not in ye least doubt, doe give a Small Belt.
4. Wee Believe ye. govr. of Canida Endevors to Deceive us and Seing Corlaer & ye govr of Canida doe Exchange Diverse letters, Doe desyre yt Corlaer may Search into ye Bussinesse, yt we may not be cheated. doe give one Bevr.
5. If ye warr should goe on which wee doubt not in ye least, we desyre yt our wifes & Children who will be necessitate to make yr Escape may be Defended here, Recommending them to Corlaers Protexion, doe give a Bevr & a otter.
6. The govr. of Canida hath a Verry wicked Intent; & when he comes to fall upon us, we shal forthwith come here & acquaint Corlaer yr with; & Pray of his Excel: assistence. doe give 2 Bevr.
7. We are now att Present in warr wth ye farr nations, & therefore our Bever hunting unfree & dangerous, & when We be attaqued shall be necessitate to come & fetch Pouder, & if we have no Bevers, desyre wee may have itt for nothing, doe give 2 Bevr.
8. Wee are come according to ye govr. Proposalls made to us by akus in our Castles to fetch ye Pouder & lead, for which Return ye Govr our hearty thanks. doe give 2 faddom wampum.

The said Cayouge Sachims after they had done there Propositions were asked in ye Presence of that Sinneke Sachim yt was sent to fetch ye Pouder, whither any of yr People had been so Dissobedient to Corlaers Command & gone to Cadarachqui, ye Sd. Sachims Replyed no, yt none of there People were gone, but yt. yr. were 3 Sachims off onnondage called Carachkondie, annagogga,

Two men volunteered. The Head Man asked them if they had the cleverness of the animals and birds of the forest, for such they must have if they were to approach the terrible warrior without being caught. They said they would be as clever as herons and cranes.

& aquirachronge, & one Sachim of ye Sinnekes called Canerat, butt none of ye Cayouges, & ye Sd. Sinneke Sachim Received a Reprooff for telling Such Storyes, who made his Excuse yt ye Sd. 3 Cayouge Sachims went along wth him to onnondage wth an Intent to Proceed on ye Journey to Cadarachqui, Butt yn alterd yr Resolution & thought upon Corlaers Commands.
NB one of ye 7 Bevr was given to ye Interpreter ye oyr Six weighd 6½ lb which wth ye otter & wampum was Exchanged for Pouder & wampum & given back.

Answer to ye Cayouges Propositions in albany ye 28th day of June 1687.

1. Wee are Sorry to See ye Brethren Soe much Concerned about ye Evill Rumors of ye french, & ye more to hear yr is no unity amongst ye Brethren, wee doubt not but you will take Corlaers Councel to heart, & aggree unanimously to Obey his Commands, Since he aims att nothing more yn ye wellfare of ym that Putt themSelfs under his Protexion, as ye Brethren have done long agoe, & now again Repeated yt you are ye Subjects of ye greatt king of England; Therefore wee acquaint you of ye great Care yt Corlaer takes of you, Spareing no Trouble nor charge to Send akus again Expresse to all ye nations to lett them know not to be any wise afraid, butt to Stand always upon there guard which now is Recommended to ye Brethren, and that they putt up ye kings arms in yr Castles;
2. We must tell you yt we are glad to hear yt none of your People are gone to Cadarachqui, thogh we were Informed by this Sinneke Sachim yt they were, which wee writt to Corlaer & Probably hath Disturbd him to hear off so unexpected Dissobedience, & wee will hope, yt it also shal be found false yt any of ye onnondages or Sinnekes are gone there; & if ye govr of Canida should Send for you, Corlaer Commands you that you lett him know, yt you are ye king off Englands Subjects, who will Protect you.
3. And if it should happen yt ye french fall upon you, you must not Stay in your Castles, nor keep in great bodyes together, so to Receive great hurt till Corlaer be in a Condition to help you, which Shall be assoon as Possible, & Since you are troubled about yr wifes & Children, Send yr wifes Children & old men hier to albany, where Corlaer will Provide for ym., and as for yr Corn,

if ye french should Burne it or Cutt itt doune, be not Troubled, ye governr will Supply you, for he is So much Inclined for ye Brethrens wellfare yt. he will nott yt you should fight but upon great advantages, till Such time yt Corlaer comes up in Person to Speake with you and all ye Nations, which will be in 20 days time. In Short wee assure you in ye name of Corlaer, yt he will give you all ye assistence he can in case you are attaqued on ys Side of ye lake & yt. assoon as Possible; In ye mean time have a Care of YourSelves & lett some of your Sachims come here att ye time appointed to Speake wth. Corlaer, who hath always a wakeing Eye, & a Ready Penn to make Enquiry of all occurrences. for to day this messenger antho. Lespinard goes expresse wth. a Letter from Corlaer to ye Govr. of Canida, to make narrow Enquiry of all things, whom you must Lett Pass frely, he haveing a Red handcershiff upon his Canoe.

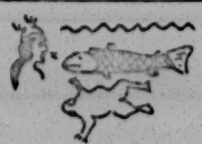
4. Corlaer will be glad to hear yt. ye Brethren have no hand in ye Evill done in Virginia, & Since ye. axes are buryed in his house ye Brethren must have a Care not to doe any mischeeffe there, yt. such Inconveniency doe nott happen that not EaSily might be Remedyed. Wee shal send doune yr. Propositions to ye govr genl. wth. ye first.

Was given them 4 Baggs Pouder
f. 60 gild: white wampm.

Albanye 29 of June 1687
After ye. answer was given to ye Souldiers or young men of onnondage, There cheeffe Capt. called Cannadakte, who hath been at Cadarachqui 20 days agoe, was asked what he had seen there, & how affairs Stood who gave this following Relation.

First yt he see a great many men busy amakeing ye walls of ye fort wth Stone, which is about 3 times as bigg as this fort in albany, & yt there was about 80 Paces of ye wall to be made before it was Compleat,

2. He being in ye fort See great Preparations made for Provision yr being Eight ovens which dayly was four Times heated & yt



After looking them over, the Head Man said that would not do, because the heron and crane would stop at the first river or lake to hunt for frogs and fish.

he see a horse mill within ye fort; & while he was there yr came 20 Canoes from Canida loaded wth. Provisions; & So dayly Continue.

3. That he See a Room full of Indian Shoos & great Store off ammunition of Pouder Lead & gunns.

4. That he see about a hundred men in ye fort, but no Indians belonging to ye french, butt mãy troops Expected.

5. Ye Sd. Indian Capt. seeing all these Preparations for war askd ye Jesuit wh. formerly lived at oneyde & yn at Cadarachqui what ye meaneing of all this was. Ye father answerd yt ye govr. of Canida was Intended to goe to onjagaro 40 D: miles from ye Sinnekes by ye way all Cadarachqui & there Speake wth. ye. Indians of Dowaganha & oyr nations (& he beleeves yt yt ye govr. of Canida is there this day) who will Speake wth. ye Indians in ye Presence of a greatt many of his Souldiers, whereupon ye. Sd. Indiann Replyed yt that was not ye way to Speake to ye Indians in ye Presence of so many Souldiers. there must be anoyr Design, Said farther yt he see 3 Sloops Such as are here upon ye Road & 10 Boats about 18 foot long as he demonstrated, & were bussy about makeing of more.

And ye govr of Canida Says he is like ye Divel never quiet then in yt Place & then In anoyr.; & yt what he now Relates is ye truth & may be noted doune he haveing Seen it himself.

Albu. 29 Juny 1687

Account of Presents given by ye Onnondages which were weighd in ye Court house 23 whole Bevr. weig 26 lb.

15 halfs 10 lb.

Besides 3 otters

Given them Back again 10 Baggs Pouder

is	9 lb.		
100 lb. Lead	3		
80 loaves	1 ¼	19¼	
60 gild in Strung wampum	4		
a hogg	2		
Rest lb.		6 ¾	10 lb.

To
His Excellency Francis Lord Howard
His Majtiee: Leiut. and Governor Genll: of
Virga: [at Albany (?)]

July 2d: 1687

May it please yor: Excellency

On Fryday the 24th: of June came to my house George Smith the Interpretr and brought with him a Chickahominy Indian, who was aboute three yeares Since, carried away by the Seneca's, and now made his Escape from them, upon Examination he declared, that at the head of James River, was aboute three hundred Seneca's, and that they had taken a Resolution, to destroy all our Neighbouring Indyans, and had under debate, whether it were not Convenient, for them first to destroy all the out plantacons of the English, to facilitate theire destroying the Indyans, and had carried theire Women and Children, on the other side the Mountaynes and Intended to build a ffort on the head of James River.

My Lord upon this News, I Imediatly wrott to the Severall Comandrs, on the ffronteers, to give them Notice of the Intelligence, and Ordered them to give Notice to all the Inhabitants, to be Vigilant & Stand upon theire Guards.

On the 27th. June I reced an Express from Collo: Browne, Comandr of Surry County, which Informed me, that very morneing a ptie of the Seneca's came to the Waynoake Indyan Towne, and there tooke away Six Indyan Women & a boy, and made an Attempt on their Fort, and presently Came on the Northside the Blackwater, enterd into Severall Englishmens houses, & Robbed & plundered them of all that was good in the houses, & threw the ffeathers out of the bedds and Carried away the tickings, which hath put all our Fronteers into a great Consternation, upon which I wrote to the Councell, to meete, that wee might Consider of the best way and Method to Secure the Peace of this his Majties: Countrey, and pevent the Rapines of the faithless Enemy.

Accordingly Collo. Cole, Collo. Page and Collo. Leare mett, & wee haveing Considered all the Circumstances, and the great Terrors, & Indeede Hazards the Fronteers are in, and the officrs of the Militia's of all the Counties, but Henrico & Charles Citty, al-

Again the Head Man asked for two scouts to seek out the smoke of Adodarho. Two men volunteered, saying they would be as clever as humming birds.

leadging that they had no Comissions, & that without, the People would not obey Comands, Thereupon It was by the Councell Concluded, that the best way for the Security of the Peace, of this his Majties: Country and the preservation of the Inhabitants, was to Issue Comissions, to the Severall Cheife Comanders, of all the Fronteer Counties, that had not Comissions, to Impower them to put the Militia of theire Respective Counties into a Posture of Defence, and to that End to Traine a good Troope of Horse in each County to be in a readiness, to defend them from the Violence of these Savage Monsters, the Commission to be in force untell yor: Excellency's returne.

The Councell have also ordered, that the Inhabitants, shall soe demeane themselves, that they doe Comitt noe Acts of Hostility on the Indyans, unless they first assault them, in theire Houses and properties, and if the Indyans doe that then as the late Act directs, to pursue and destroy them, otherwise the people would have been in a Sad distracted Condition to see theire Estates destroyed before theire faces.

My Lord I thought it my Duty to give yor: Lordshipp this accounte and hope yor. Excellency will approve of this procedure of the Councell, which is done to the best of our Judgments, for his Sacred Majties. Service, and the preservation of this his Country. This with my most humble Service to your. Excellency, with my Prayers for yor: Health & prosperitye. I am

Yor: Excellency's most humble Servt
/s/ Nathaniell Bacon

The Gentlen: of the Councell with
me present theire most humble
Service to yor: Excelly.

To his Honor the Governor[1]

We received this night two ambassadors from the Maquase country, the one named Sesten and the other Javochu, who have received news from the Senecas' country from messengers who have travelled by foot from castle to castle that the Senecas' country is being besieged by the French and the Indians. They have been fighting one another for a whole day on the hillside and had to flee to the castle, fighting all the way from the lake up to

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

their castle where they are now besieged. The Maquase ask his Excellency to please give the order so that the Indians who have promised to help them should now come, for they say that it is now time. They have given wampum thereon to his Excellency so that this will be done quickly.

Scheanhegtade — Your humble servant
July 2, 1687 — the commissary of Scheanhegtade
Urgent! — Ryer Jacobse

N: Yorke July the 4th: 1687
Propos made by his Excel Tho Dongan govr genl. to Sadogaree ye genl. of ye Sinnckes & Some of ye Cayouge called Dihonsarest or Ja Romeetho & onnondage Indians & Carrhadgigoe

I have Sent Akus Expresse to all ye nations westward to acquaint to Putt up ye kings arms upon all ye Castles, & withall to forbid any of your People, goeing to Cadarchqui or any where else where ye french shal send for you. & fyndeing you here I acquaint you wth ye Same & yt all ye 5 nations be united together; & obey Such orders & Instructions as you shall Receive from me from time to time; for you must not halt & be Sometime on one Side & Sometime upon anoyr: & if ye french should attaque you must Not Stay in your Castles nor in great Companyes together least you Should Suffer great hurt, but in Small Companies together & doe not fight least upon great advantages, till further orders from me; & Since I Am Informd yt yr are a great many nations of Indians yt are in warr wth you, be not Troubled at yt. You shal have al ye help of al our Indians Nations also & if yr Corn Should be Destroyd, I shal take care to Supply yu you shal not want Provisions nor ammunition when your Bevr & Peltry shal faile you or any thing else yt Shal be necessary for you.

I have given leave to mr. Gideon & Salvay & his Company being french that Run away from Canida[1] to goe up by ye way of

[1] Gideon Petit "is from Rochelle. . . . Since he has been here [Canada] his trade has been always with the English. . . . Another named Salvaye . . . has also disappeared. He is a man of activity whom M. de la Barre and M. de Frontenac employed as an envoy to the English. . . . a knave who pretends to be honest." Denonville to Seignelay, June 8, 1687. O'Callaghan, 9: 326.

After looking them over, the Head Man said that would not do, because the humming bird is always hungry and is always looking for flowers.

Susquehanne & trade amongst ye Indians They have my Passe & you must tell yr People to do them No harme being gone upon Discovery.

[& if any french comes with Bevr. to yr Countrey wth a Design to bring them here You must lett them Passe freely whither they have my Pass or not, for yt weakens ye Power of ye french, and ye more they come in yt frindly way wth Beyr. the Better]

[You must not Suffer ye french to make any fort or Castle att onnyagaro or any where on yt Side of ye Lake, but hinder them as much as you can][1] & keep a watchfull Eye be not Drunk nor Sleepie least you Should be Surprised unawars, & Send me word from time to time how all affares goes wth you yt I may take Sufficient orders accordingly.

Was given them by his Excel

3 gunns
3 fatts of Rom
6 lb. Pouder
3 Barrs lead
1 Roll Tobacco

Proposál made [to Dirck Wessels] in the [Maquase] castle of Caignowage 1687, the 4th of July by the sachems[2]

Brother Corlaer, this is to ask you to help us and to take us in your arms, we poor ones who are now proposing to you. We ask for help, much of it, and in a hurry. Give 1 fathom wampum. Brethren, we intend to stay here and to live and die here, for where can we run. There is a great crowd of Indians who would pursue us everywhere anyway. Therefore, please be certain to heed us and to especially aid us in making our proposal.

Message to the Maquse sachems at Cachanuage from his Excellency, Thomas Dongan, Governor, sent the 7th of July 1687[3]

The Governor General has received your message with the fathom wampum sent by Sett and another Indian and has sent to the Indians of Schacktekook to come and help you.

His Excellency desires to speak with 2 of your sachems in Albany

[1] Material in brackets was cancelled in the original document.
[2] Translated from the Dutch. Material in brackets supplied from Robert Livingston's comment on reverse side of document.
[3] Translated from the Dutch.

and therefore I have been sent to come bring you in all urgency. Give 1 belt wampum.

By order of his Excellency
Robert Livingston

Proposition Sent by his Excellentie Tho: Dongan gov: genl. to ye Maquase by heeman albv. ye 8 of July 1687

Brethren
I am come here upon ye Rumor of this Bussinesse of ye french, but could never Believe, yt they would have come on this Side of ye Lake, to warr wth our Brethren ye Sinnekes, on Sight off this you are to Send Post from Castle to Castle, that ye oneydes, onnondages and Cayouges, march up wth. all Speed to assist the Sinnekes, and tell them not to Stay in yr Castles, and you are wth. al your Strenth likewise to march up, to assist them likewise. The north Indians & River Indians I shall gett together assoon as I can
I intend to be at Shinnectady my Self wth. all Speed, to hear from you, from time to Time, & if you should Be prest hard doe not Stay in any Castles, But Retire this way, and if you See any Danger, Send doune your old men women and Children & lett al ye Rest of ye Brethren doe ye Same and they shall be Provided for, Send by ye Posts one of these Belts of wampum to Each nation. I will make all Preparations I can to assist you as much as ye Shortnesse of ye Time will ꝑmitt me if need be.

Albany, July 8, 1687
Report of P. Olinder concerning the French and the Senecas[1]

To the Commissaries of Schenectady
Hethori with his 3 Maquase who have been in a battle bring the news here that the Seneca have already been in battle and that the Senecas have lost 70 men and 200 of the Frenchmen have

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

Again the Head Man asked for two scouts who would seek out the smoke of Adodarho. Two men volunteered, saying they would be as clever as the white crane.

been killed and 100 of the French Indians are dead. Those Seneca have brought the news to Cayuga. The Cayuga ask for help from the house of Maquase and Onondage, and now we Maquas ask our brother what to do about it. Because they have sent me a belt of wampum, I will send this belt back to Cayuga. We have no news from Akus. Thus we are daily anxious.

Pieter Van Olinder.

Propositions to ye Indians of Skachtekook by his Excell: Tho Dongan Capt. genl. & govr in Cheeffe albany ye 9 of July 1687.

Brethren, I am glad to See you here.

Upon a Report yt ye french are DeSigned to warr with our Brethren ye Sinnekes & ye oyr 4 nations on this Side of ye Lake, which I hardly can Beleeve, itt being Contrare to ye Covenant Chain Between ye king of England & ye king of france, and Lately Concluded; The Maquase have Sent to me & I hear they have likewise Sent to you DeSyreing off you to help them make up there Castle. Butt I desyre you to goe as farr as Shinnechtady and make hutts for yr. Selfs there as I Shal appoint you for a short time, where you shall stay till you have further orders from me, but if any of yr People are Inclined to goe to ye Maquase you may. I intend to be yr my Self monday next—& I Shal take care yt. you shall want for nothing [This assistance which I now Desyre you to doe to ye Maquase will Strenthen the Covenant chain Between you & them & Satisfy them yt your heart is good, Being willing to assist them Thogh I Value verry litle all these Rumors yett I Intend to Stay here and at Shinnechtady to see what will become of itt, in ye mean time yt ye Brethren look out & be upon ye guard].[1]

was given them 10 gunns
3 Bags Powder
40 Barrs lead
Some Biskett about 30 lb.

They made answer they were willing to Obey his Excel Commands & would march forthwith.

[1] The bracketed material was cancelled in the original, but has been retained here as an indication of Dongan's initial reaction to the idea of a threat of a French attack upon the Iroquois. It was, of course, an attitude that could not be conveyed to the Indians without harmful effects.

Propositions made by his Excell. Tho Dongan Capt Genl. & govr &a to ye Maquase oneyde onnondages Cayonges & Sinnekes & Sent to ym. by Akus & Daniel Janse Shinnectady ye 14 of July 1687.

Brethren

I am Sorry of a Report yt. I have heard since my comeing to Shinnectady yt I should keep a Correspondence wth. ye governr. of Canida to yr. Prejudice; Brethren you doe me wrong in thinking soe for when he warrs wt. you he warrs wth. me. The Contents of ye Sd. Letter yt I sent to him by antho ye Baker[1] was all most on your Behalfs; Therefore lett me Desyre of you not to be Suspicious, but Beleeve Such messages as I have Sent to yu from Time to Time, & further I assure you if yu. want any ammunition or arms for yr Selfs or your wifes or Children's maintenance I shall furnish ym. & I am come wth yt Intent as farr as this Place: I have sent up as many north Indians as are att home & I have Sent up for all ye River Indians & ye minnesinks to march up for yr. assistance; I am in Pain & in a great deal of Trouble to hear how ye Brethren doe, Therefor I command & Desyre of yu. not to keep yr Castles nor Engage many att a Time, for fear of being Lost; Be not Scrupulous if yu. be forced Send downe yr wifes & Children here & yr Selfs likewise may come in time of need where yu Shall be welkom & Supplyed with what you want. Send me word from time to Time how things goes, & if any Proposalls of a Peace be, Doe not Conclude upon any thing butt make a Cessation of arms & Send me word; Referr it to me I will make a Better Peace for yu. then you can make yr Selfs—I know ye french Better then you; and In ye time of ye Parle & Speakeing wth them, doe not Trust them, keep yr Eys open, for they are People yt. take all advantages, as you See now, by yr Invading of you on ye king of Englands Territoryes, Contrary to ye Covenant chain newly made by both kings, & Sent by me to ye govr. of Canida. I am Sendeing one home to ye king of England to give him an acct. of ye french govr. Proceedings & I beleeve itt will

[1] Anthony Lespinard.

After looking them over, the Head Man said they would not do, because the white crane is very wild and easily frightened, and that they would fly in terror when the clouds moved, forgetting their mission.

Cost him his head. Lett me know by ye first Post whether the Breth of ye 5 nations are of opinion that I should send to ye french to see if they be inclined for Peace or nott, if you be of yt. opinion & ye french advance as farr as onnondage Send me a Post & I will Send 2 or 3 messengers to ye french to know why they Invade ye Brethren in ye king of Englands Territories, and if ye french be willing I shal make a Better Peace for yu then you can doe yr Selfs.

[*Copy of a Translation*]

May it Please your Excell:

Just now Some Maquase Indians arrivd here, who tell us that a Certain north Indian called Sickheda Capt. of ye. Sckachtekook Indians, hath brought the news to Cachanuage ye first Castle of ye Maquase yt ye french & ye Indians have had a Batle again, & yt ye french are Put to ye flight, & have ye worst of it; But ye Said Sickheda being come here likewise & Examined by Jaques Cornelise, doth Say yt. ye. Indians have fought against three Companies of ye Christians & yt all ye officers are Still alive, Notwithstanding they often fyred upon them, and yt ye french are Pursued by three hundred Indians, as also 200 french kild & 200 Christian Indians, & of ye Sinnekes and Cayouges 20, Butt can give us no Certain account where ye Batle was fought, he doth likewise Report yt ye onnondages will Pursue ye french with there Canoes.

Wee are Informed by Dirk Wessells yt heeman hath Related Such news to your Excell:, & that without our knowledge; his Excel: may be assured yt wee shal not be wanting to give yr. Excel: an account of any certain news yt. wee shall Receive; no more for ye Present leaveing yr Excel: to ye Protexion of ye almighty god, we Remain

Your Excell: affectionat Frinds
ye Justice & Commis: of Shinnectady

Shinnechtady
ye 17 July 1687

Sander glen Justice
Ryer Jacobse

The Superscription was
To his Excell: Tho Dongan
govr genl. of n Yorke
@ albany.

His Excellency, Governor General Thomas Dongan [at Albany][1]

Because this Indian thinks he will be going to Albany, take this opportunity to let his Excellency know the information we have gotten until now in Cachnawage (mainly from Jannetie the Indian) concerning the battle which has taken place between the French and the Indians. What we had been told about this on our departure from Albany has been found to be untrue. Not everything about this first battle was as the Indian from the North told us. There has been here a Maquase who was himself in the first battle, but he had already left for Onondage where all the nations will now hold a general council day, for which the sachems of the first castle had already departed Saturday before we arrived in the castle Sunday night. As far as the first battle is concerned, what is being told here agrees with the report given in Albany with the difference that only 16 of the Senecas were killed. The Governor of Canada now stays with his army at Jagaro[2] and has many wounded and a lack of provisions. His Indians are suffering so much that others would have run away from the French after the first battle. At the moment I cannot hear of any more parties because one is very uncertain about the reports of the Indians. But we are on the point of leaving for Onondage and so hope to get some accurate information there about everything and all affairs that have happened there or are intended. Otherwise, I cannot discover anything else here among the Indians, though possibly it will come to [ ][3] and we are all with many greetings your Excellency's servant upon all occasions in these affairs. Cachnawage, July 18, 1687

Urgent! Dirck Wessels.

Propositions to ye five nations westward Sent by his Excell Tho Dongan Capt gen^l^. & gov &^a^ by akus to Dirk wessells & Robert Sanders now att onnondage; to Propose unto them now all mett there, albany ye 19 of July 1687

Brethren.

I am Sorry to See y^e^. Brethren are not more united amongst them-

[1] Translated from the Dutch.
[2] Niagara.
[3] Unintelligible word.

Two others said they would be like crows. The Head Man said they would not do, because crows talk loudly, boast, and are full of mischief. Adodarho would hear them long before they found his fire.

Selfs to assist on another in ther Extremity for if you doe not keep ye Covenant chain clean amongst yr Selfs how can we Christians Expect yt you can keep it to us; here I have sent to all ye Indians of this River to assist the Brethren, & have Sent Some of ye north Indians up To joyn wth ye Maquase to goe & assist ye Sinnekes, But they were not gone 2 days but there Capt. comes bak & brings a flyeing Report, that yey needed not to goe further for ye french were Beaten, & all gone & Retreited to yr Canoes upon which I sent a message doune to N: Yorke to Stop all ye men yt were Sent for up, to assist the Brethren if need were.

It is verry True yt ye french have invaded ye king of Englands Territories; But yt is under Cullor to warr wth ye Sinnekes wth a Promise not to medle wth ye Rest in case they doe not joyn wth them, wh. I am affraid some of ye Brethr: hath observed for we have another way to be Revenged of them, by our king at home who is a man that the french knows & fears, & can be Revenged of ym when he wil if he sends butt his orders to his Subjects here, & doe not doubt but it will Cost ye govr. of Canida his head for offering to Invade ye king of Englands Territories without acquainting me first. Butt he had such malice to ye Brethns ye Sinnekes yt he thought to Supprize them & cutt them all off in there Castles which Put me to a great deal of Trouble and Charges —In Provideing Such things as I thought were necessary to assist ye Brethns in Case ye warr should goe one, & ye Shortnesse of ye Time could allou me, & I am come my Self So farr, as alby & Shinnechtady to Stay here Purposely to heare from ye Brethren whatsoever thing might happen notwithstanding ye great Concerns yt I have to doe in other Places, & to give them Instructions what to doe, & my Self to take Such measures as may be for ye Brethren's Security; Butt I hear So many Various Reports, & Some Contradicting on another yt I doe not know what measures to Take, & if some be True I should be very Sorry for itt. yt is yt I hear ye Brethren is goeing to hearken to some Proposals off agreement wth ye french without my Consent, which is a verry ill thing done, they being the king of Englands Subjects; for in warring wth them is warring with us; & I know it is a thing the Brethren ought not to doe, nor a thing Convenient for them to doe for I can make a more advantagious Peace for them then they can themselffs. I know ye Brethren ye Sinnekes will not

doe itt, Since I have Always found them true to there Promise; But I fear yr are some members amongst the Rest of ye Brethren yt are more for ye french advantage then for ye Brethren; Therefore I would have ye Rest not to hearken to them, but to joyn heart & hand togethere & follow my advise; wh. yu will finde ye same advantage to yu as to ye Rest of ye Brethren here ye king of Englands Subjects, yt are 100 to one of ye french; Therefore heareing of ye genl. meeting at onnondage; I have sent akus to those 2 gentleman to declare to yu my Intentions, to lett you know my Thoughts not to make any aggreemt. wth ye french, which is a Thing you ought not to doe without Passing throu my hands, which if yu doe I will not trouble my Self any longer wth ye Brethren but goe doune to N:Yorke, for wee can live without ye Brethren but can Scarcely beleive they can live without us; haveing Everything thrice as cheep here as Elsewhere. Therefore I Expect As I desyred before yt one off ye Captns & of ye Sachims of each nation, come doune to me wth. al Speed, that we may Conclude upon a means or method whereby Things may goe one wth. more unity & more advantage for ye Brethren.[1]

Memorand:

That about ye: latter end of March last some of ye English Inhabitants of Virginia were out a Deer hunting wth. some of yr: Apomatock Indians att ye. head of James River where a Party of ye Seneca Indians to ye Numb: of sixty or more (But of what Nation of ye. Seneca's tis not certainly known) in ye very Dawning of ye: Morning Assaulted them as they were asleep, and fireing all their Armes att them killed three English, and ye Appomatock King wth. divers of the Indians. & wounded many more before the English Could recover their Armes, upon wch: after they had overcome the Surprise the English put themselves in a posture of Defence, & the Seneca Indians comeing up wth. their Second assault fired at ye. English as formerly but wthout any mischeife, upon wch: ye: English made ye. same return, and killed ye.

[1] This proposed conference was held in Albany on August 5, 1687. O'Callaghan, 3: 438-444.

Finally two skilled warriors stepped forward. They said they were strong as the deer and the bear and possessed the powers of those animals. They were chosen, and set out through the forest on their mission.

Seneca's as said five or six, upon wch: ye: English Inforted themselves as well as ye. tyme & place would allow off, they Emediately sent home to their ffreinds for a supply of men & Armes, upon wch: ye Seneca's desired a Conference, & said they were sorry they had done ye: English any hurt, & yt they tooke them to bee Indians and offered satisfaccon. The English answered yt there Could be no Satisfaccon for Mens lives, & so they Continued by ye: English yt: Day wthout any farther Disturbance, but the Messinger wch: was sent from ye: English to give Notice to the Inhabitants & to bring a Supply of Amunition they intercepted in his return, & killed & Cut him in peeces, so prsently Marched away wch: had they not they would have paid deare for their frollick for then came a Party of neer two hundred men undr: ye Command of Coll: William Bird to ye. assistance of their English ffreinds wthin four houres after ye Seneca's departed, & had vowed seveire revenge for ye death of those they had slaine, This is a true Relation according to the Account has been given of those proceedings Dated the 21st: July 1687.

Present:
Ryer Jacobs
Myndert Wemp

September 7, 1687
Maquas discourse in Schenectady
Given: 1 Frenchman[1]

Cornelius Viele says that the Maquas sachems state: that the Governor of Canada, as we all know, has started an unjust war against all the nations. The Maquase doe not yet have any prisoners, but that Governor has taken a hundred prisoners from all the nations to the West—Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Sinnondowane. The stories of further battles and similar hostilities indicates still more on top of that. What is more, they [French] take our brother, the Dutchman, accompanied by some Mahikanders on a trip to the Ottawawa, prisoner also, from which they cannot but conclude that his heart is still obstinate, and that no one comes freely from Canada but refugees and those who have escaped. Therefore the nations have desired to revenge the unjust attacks of the French Governor and will do such exploits as the brethren [ ].[2]
And this they will not stop.
And that a certain Arnout has rendered many services to this country and is also imprisoned about which they are very sad.

[1] Translated from the Dutch.
[2] Unintelligible phrase.

And to quiet the high-running feelings, to offset the sadness, and to wash away the tears in the house of Arnout and his family, they hand over this Frenchman, hoping that in our way he will be pleasing to you. And then request two wagons and Cornelius Viele as interpreter. As this place is at the same time a seat of this government and also subjected to all dangers, we do not want to pass you by, but report everything again and make everything known to the house of Corlaer.

Province of New Yorke
Governor & Councill *ffryday the 9th. Sept. 1687*

WHEREAS this Board has ben Certainly Informed that the ffrench of Canada have made Ready A great Many Snow Shews to the number of one thousand five hundred Paire and are Still Preparing More with Designe as is beleeved to renew the Warr Agt. the Sinakes in the winter It is thereupon thought fitt & this Day Accordingly Ordered by his Excelly the Governor & Councill that the Mayor & Aldermen of the Citty of Albany Doe forthwith Send an Expresse to the five Nacons of the Indians on this Side the Lake Ordering them that before the Winter Setts in they bring Downe from their Castles all their Wives Children & Old Men And Settle them att Livingstons land Kattskill & Along the River where they Can find best Conveniency that they may bee neare to have Assistance In Case they Should Want And that they bring Along wth. them all the Indian Corne & Provisions that Cann bee Spared by the Young Men who are to Stay in theer Castles
By Comand of his Excy John Knight D. Secry
Do. the Mayor & Aldermen
of the Citty of Albany.

Propositions made by his Excellcy: the Governor. of Virginia to the Representatives of the five Nations of the Indians in the Fort att New Yorke—Septemr ye 16th 1687

Brethren
Finding you have broaken ye chaine of Freindship wch: was made

Then Deganawidah spoke to the Mohawk Council: "I and my younger brother, Hiawatha, stand before you. We place before you the laws by which to frame the Great Peace."

between us of Virginia, and you in ye: Towne hall of Albany by the desire of yor. Great Governor: three yeares since, and Contrary to that agreemt. fall upon our Indians ye last spring when they were out a hunting, and killed diverse of them, and diverse Christians, and that you have since come wthin our Plantations. And taken away diverse of the Indians Prisonrs: and plundred diverse of our English. I came to New Yorke on purpose to his Excelley yor Governor: wee being all one Kings subjects to desire Satisfaccon for yt: Injury Or yt he would help me to make Warr on you. But he being So much yor: Freind hath once more prevaled wth: me to try you againe, he promiseing you shall make satisfaccon for yt. Injury, wch upon his desire I am willing to doe, and ye more because I see you have returned me againe those Prisonrs you then tooke,[1] but this I must tell you Brethren That since I cannot Know wch of yor Nations is guilty of this assault, I will for ye future if ever there bee ye like done againe desire yor. Governor. to make Enquiry wch of yor Nations doth it & those of that Nation wch are Guilty to bee delivered to me, That I may deale with them as they have done wth: us. Or that ye hatchetts wch: were buried in ye prsence of our Governor may [be] delivered me againe That I may use them in revenge on you for such Injuryes. You must now tell yor Sachims yt: they must thanke his Excelley That hee hath prvaled wth me to passe by this, But yett you must tell them that when the Warr wth ye French is over, I expect satisfaccon, And yt I now expect ye return of that Boy wch is yett Prisonr wth them, And yt they remember to keep yt article of peace not to come againe wthin our Plantations, but make their paths to the Northward of us, And then tell them ye Chaine of Freindship shall bee still Continued, And as an assurance yt it shall on my part, if they desire it, I will send some of our Virginia Indians to help them against the French. Doe give to ye severall Nations a hundred gilders of Wampum.

The Answers of the Representatives of the Five Nations to his Excellcy:

They say: That it is very well my Lord will bee soe good to passe

[1] According to the Duane Report, 1780, the Livingston Indian Papers contained a transaction of September 3, now missing, in which the "Oneydas by Command of the governor deliver up the Prisoners whom they had taken in Virginia; are Severely reprimanded and threatned for the Infraction of their Treaty with that government."

by this Injury And that they thanke Curlair their Governor for getting my Lord to doe it. and that none of their Young men for the future shall come to the English Plantations, but will make their path to the Northward of Virginia:
And that they are very glad that if there should be any mischeife done att any tyme by their Unruly Young men to the English or Indians of Virginia: That my Lord will onely blame & have those suffer who doth it and not Lay the fault upon all the Nations And that they will be sure to tell their Sachims all that my Lord hath said & will give his *p*sent of Wampum to the severall Nations And so wish his Lordship a good Journey to Virginia.
Vera Copia

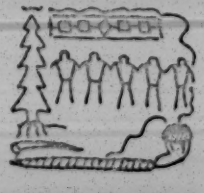
Exam *p*
Jno: Johnson.

Present:
Capt. Stillwell
Capt. Sander Glen
Reyer Jacobs
Translated by Jaques Cornelise

Information*[1] *obtained from the Maquase*[2] *who have returned from Canada. The 8th of November 1687

Say that they have lost two men in front of the fortress Chambly where they ran after the French until they were under its walls, but had taken prisoner under the walls of the fortress one Frenchman and one woman and killed several, but they did not have time to scalp them. Also they were shot at a great deal, and the French slammed the doors shut so that they could not enter into the fortress. Say also that of those ten Indians which they first took as prisoners, seven of them had gone off to fight, but the French and their children and wives are now sent on this way. They left up there men to keep a watchful eye and also four parties to do all harm.
Stwanagy has remained there with a troop

[1] Translated from the Dutch.
[2] One authority states that this party consisted of Mahicans as well as Mohawks. Smith, 1: 75.



Deganawidah said: "The symbol of our League will be the Tree of Peace, the white pine. Under the Tree we must bury all weapons of war. The far-seeing eyes of the eagle will warn us of the approach of enemies. Men of the Five Nations must unite and act as one heart, one mind, one soul. They must forever spread goodwill and brotherhood among all nations."

Pagerawane with a troop
Aderatga with a troop
Pagniago with a troop
Say that they burned seven houses and killed 40 animals and many pigs and fowl. Say that the Governor coming next Friday should be at the end of Schenectady and that the Maquase chiefs will meet his Excellency there, and that on the orders of the chief of the troop.

Instructions for Arnout Cornelise and Akus Cornelise, interpreters, Albany, the 24th of November 1687[1]

When you have gone to the respective nations of Indians to the West as far as the Cayugas and Senecas, Arnout is to read the following proposals to Akus and he in turn to translate to the Indians of the several nations
Brethren
I have received your answer from Arnout and am glad that there are wise men of each nation coming to stay with me in the winter so we can keep council together as to what may be proper to be done in the matter of peace or war for the preservation and welfare of all of us.
Arnout tells me that the Governor of Canada has sent three of your prisoners as ambassadors to Onondaga and one to Oneida with belts of wampum, declaring that he did not intend to make war on anyone but only the Senecas and Cayugas, and the war with them, as he pretends, is because they interfered with his people. If that is so, then why did he take so many of the Onondagas and Oneidas as prisoners and bind them with iron chains and has sent some as prisoners to France, and sending news home to his King that he had taken them as prisoners of war. But to demonstrate clearly to the brethren that he is a liar, I have confronted him with the fact that if the Senecas had wronged him, he would get satisfaction. He says also that I am the cause of this war and that I incited the brethren to make war on him and he on the brethren, that I meant to bring about your ruination in this way. It is false, for he wanted to ruin the brethren because the brethren made war on the nations that bring their beavers to Canada, as the Governor of Canada himself said to Major Mac-

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

gregory. On the contrary, it is my duty to preserve the brethren who by their own will have submitted their lands and conquests to the great King of England.

But I understand very well what the Governor of Canada means. It is to bring about a misunderstanding between the brethren and me. But I am glad that the brethren know better and can see who means them well and who does not.

In the first place, the brethren know what trouble and toil I had to unify the five nations and also the northern Indians, for I saw what the Governor of Canada's intent was: first to ruin the Senecas, while the rest of the brethren would be neutral, and then to attack the brethren and ruin them also. Why should I want the ruination of the brethren. They have not done this government any harm, but on the contrary I love the brethren and want to do whatever I can to preserve them.

Come, brethren, to show you that he is a liar, demand of him what I have written in a letter by Major Macgregory. That is:

1° that he sends back those prisoners who have been sent to France and to free the ones he has there.

2° That he pulls down the two fortresses he has built on the path the brethren use to go and hunt.

3° And that he will engage himself not to assist any of the strange nations of Indians with whom the brethren are at war, and that only then will I hear of peace.

Send one or two of the prisoners back with his message in my name and then the brethren will see what tricks they have to create a misunderstanding between us. Brethren, do not be blind any longer. The Senecas made a peace with them two or three years ago, but to what effect. If he makes a peace with me the King of England will then keep him to it. I assure the brethren I will not do a thing without the brethren's advice. Therefore, I ask the brethren not to deal with him in anything, but only that which will take place in my house at Albany. And if he should do some harm to the brethren after such an agreement, then we are all engaged together in the affair. I know that he will be very

"The emblem of the leaders of the Confederacy," said Deganawidah, "shall be the antlers of the deer."

unwilling to make a peace here because he does not wish to recognize that the brethren are the King of England's subjects and thus to be in a choice position to make war on the brethren whenever he can find the least excuse as he has done with the Senecas. Therefore I request the brethren not to listen to a thing but only what will take place here, and to have some patience, for he has already asked me for peace and I do not want to hear of it but on such conditions as have been mentioned before. Therefore I have sent for the wise men of each nation to come to me.

I have sent him a very angry letter for his saying that I started the war. It is not strange to me that he tries to fool the brethren with that, for he tells me so and gives as a reason that it is because I did not want to let the brethren go to Cadarachqui when he sent for them, for I saw what he wanted to do with them if they did go. As another reason he gives that I gave the brethren (whom he calls his enemies) powder, lead, and guns, and has thus written home. But I have written him that it is certain that the brethren are subjects of the King of England, and that I have given them, and will give them again, ammunition and will assist them to the last.

This year has been a bad year for hunting. The old and young Indians will lose a lot. Therefore send 2 or 3 of each nation and I will send them something to drink the King of England's health. Let the sachems take care that everybody has a little and that certainly will not make them drunk. Let the sachems send messengers to the Minnesinks Indians to come and help them in the spring.

I just heard a report from two Maquase Indians called Johosaa and Oderachadiro who have come from a troop of their nation, which they have left behind at the Carrying Place, with two French prisoners, a man and a woman, and 2 scalps. They say that at the Carrying Place they caught up with 2 Christian Indians and 2 females who came here from Canada who declare that as soon as the Lakes are really frozen the French intend to come here and to make war on the Christians and Indians and are therefore very busily carrying many loaves of bread to Chambly. There are a hundred men who carry bread and they have thirty men to convoy them. Also that there is a house in Chambly where

the attic is filled up with snowshoes for the trip, to be used as soon as the weather permits. The names of the Christian Indians who reported this are Adirochronge and Rooskondawe.

Therefore I ask you to send over the number of Indians that I have advised you of before so as to be ready to collaborate with our people when the need arises.

You can hear from what the Indians say that if the French will do anything, it will be near this place, for they are very angry with us. Thus it will be very necessary that the brethren of the five nations send two or three hundred men here, having brought but few people now, until the spring, when I hope that more will be brought and will make a fortress on the Lake. If the enemy comes in your land as they did last year, I will be ready to come and work with you.

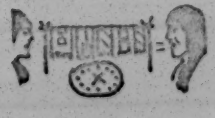
Brother Aquirachronge, the Governor of Canada has given you a cane[1] which, as I understand, has no face. Therefore I have sent you one which is not blind. I ask that you and all the five nations look through it and spy on the French and their Indians. I had forgotten that the Governor of Canada said that if the Senecas do not listen to him, he will kill them all. I assure you that if he could do that, he would not tell you so. When he does not kill you in his country, he will not do it in your country, or else he has to kill all of us too, together with the brethren, and he can not do that unless he takes us while sleeping.

Tho. Dongan

Symon Groot[2] Inhabitant of Skinnechtady in ye County of alby aged about 62 years born in a Village in north holland Called kellinwow Declares yt. he came into this Countrey in ye year 1638 being a boy & was in ye Service of ye west India Company when

[1] *Rotting.*

[2] According to the Duane Report, 1780, the Livingston Indian Papers contained drafts of three depositions—those of Groot and Labate which are given here, and another signed by Petrus Vinne and Barent Pulinds which is missing. They were prepared for the Governor and Council in order to prove the English claim of sovereignty over the Iroquois. *Cal. N. Y. Col. MSS.* 2: 171.



Deganawidah then recited all the laws of the Confederacy, recording each with a string of wampum. Hiawatha confirmed all that Deganawidah had said.

Instructions and directions as yow already have or from time to time shall Receave from me Hereby Comandeing and Requyreing all and Every person and persons of the said Companyes to Give due observance and obedience to the said patrick Magregore in the premisses as they will answer the Contrary att their uttmost perrills this Commission to be in force one yeare and no Longer Given Under my hand and Seale att ffort James this fourth day of december 1686 And in the Second yeare of his ma^ties^ Reigne

THO DONGAN

By his Excellencyes Comand
IS. SWINTON

Memoir on the State of Canada.

Memoir for the Marquis de Seignelay Regarding the dangers that threaten Canada, the means of remedying them, and of firmly establishing religion, commerce and the King's power in North America. January, 1687.

Canada is encompassed by many powerful Colonies of English who labor incessantly to ruin it by exciting all our Indians, and drawing them away with their peltries for which said English give them a great deal more merchandise than the French, because the former pay no duty to the King of England. That profit attracts towards them, also, all our Coureurs de bois and French libertines who carry their peltries to them, deserting our Colony and establishing themselves among the English who take great pains to encourage them.

They employ these French deserters to advantage in bringing the Far Indians to them who formerly brought their peltries into our Colony, whereby our trade is wholly destroyed.

The English have begun by the most powerful and best disciplined Indians of all America, whom they have excited entirely against us by their avowed protection and manifest usurpation of the sovereignty they claim over the country of those Indians which appertains beyond contradiction to the King for nearly a century without the English having, up to this present time, had any pretence thereto.

They also employ the Iroquois to excite all our other Indians against us. They sent those last year to attack the Hurons and the Outawas, our most ancient subjects; from whom they swept by surprise more than 75 prisoners, including some of their principal Chiefs; killed several others, and finally offered peace and the restitution of their prisoners, if they would quit the French and acknowledge the English.

They sent those Iroquois to attack the Illinois and the Miamis, our allies, who are in the neighborhood of Fort Saint Louis, built by M. de La Salle on the Illinois River which empties into the River Colbert or Mississipi; those Iroquois massacred and burnt a great number of them, and carried off many prisoners with threats of entire extermination if they would not unite with them against the French.

Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York, has pushed this usurpation to the point of sending Englishmen to take possession, in the King of England's name, of the post of Mislimakinac

which is a Strait communicating between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Illinois,[1] and has even declared that all those lakes, including the River Saint Lawrence which serves as an outlet to them, and on which our Colony is settled, belong to the English.

The Reverend Father Lamberville, a French Jesuit who, with one of his brothers, also a Jesuit, has been 18 years a Missionary among the Iroquois, wrote on the first of November to Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal, who informed the Governor-General thereof, that Colonel Dongan has assembled the Five Iroquois Nations at Manatte where he resides, and declared to them as follows:

1st That he forbids them to go to Cataracouy or Fort Frontenac and to have any more intercourse with the French.

2d That he orders them to restore the prisoners they took from the Hurons and Outawacs, in order to attract these to him.

3d That he is sending thirty Englishmen to take possession of Missilimakinak and the lakes, rivers and adjoining lands and orders the Iroquois to escort them thither and to afford them physical assistance.

4th That he has sent to recall the Iroquois Christians belonging to the Mohawks who reside since a long time at the Saut Saint Louis, in the vicinity of the Island of Montreal, where they have been established by us, and converted by the care of our Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and that he would give them other land and an English Jesuit, to govern them.

5th That he wishes that there should not be any Missionaries except his throughout the whole of the Five Nations of Iroquois, and that the latter send away our French Jesuits who have been so long established there.

6th That if they are attacked by Monsieur de Denonville the latter will have to do with him.

7th That he orders them to plunder all the French who will visit them; to bind them and bring them to him, and what they'll take from them shall be good prize.

The Iroquois.—He accompanied his orders with presents to the Five Iroquois Nations, and dispatched his thirty Englishmen, escorted by Iroquois, to make an establishment at Missilimakinak.

The Iroquois plunder our Frenchmen every where they meet them, and threaten to fire their settlements which are much exposed and without any fortifications.

These measures, and the discredit we are in among all the Indians for having abandoned our allies in M. de la Barre's time; for having suffered them to be exterminated by the Iroquois and borne the insults of the latter, render war again absolutely necessary to avert from us a general Indian Rebellion which would bring down ruin on our trade and cause eventually even the extirpation of our Colony.

War is likewise necessary for the establishment of the Religion, which will never spread itself there except by the destruction of the Iroquois: so that on the success of hostilities, which the Governor-General of Canada proposes to commence against the Iroquois on the 15th of May next, depends either the ruin of the Country and of the Religion if he be not assisted, or the Establishment of the Religion, of Commerce and the King's Power over all North America, if granted the required aid.

If men consider the Merit in the eyes of God, and the Glory and utility which the King will derive from that succor, it is easy to conclude that expense was never better employed since,

[1] Michigan. — Ed.

independent of the salvation of the quantity of souls in that vast Country to which His Majesty will contribute by establishing the faith there, he will secure to himself an Empire of more than a thousand leagues in extent, from the Mouth of the River Saint Lawrence to that of the River Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico; a country discovered by the French alone, to which other Nations have no right, and from which great Commercial advantages, and a considerable augmentation of His Majesty's Revenues will eventually be derived.

The Marquis de Denonville, whose zeal, industry and capacity admit of no addition, requires a reinforcement of 1,500 men to succeed in his enterprise. If less be granted him, success is doubtful and a war is made to drag along, the continuation of which for many years will be a greater expense to His Majesty than that immediately necessary to guarantee its success and prompt termination.

The Iroquois must be attacked in two directions. The first and principal attack must be on the Seneca Nation on the borders of Lake Ontario, the second, by the River Richelieu and Lake Champlain in the direction of the Mohawks.

3,000 French will be required for that purpose. Of these there are sixteen companies which make 800 men and 800 drafted from the militia, 100 of the best of whom the Governor-General destines to conduct 50 canoes which will come and go incessantly to convey provisions. Of the 3,000 French he has only one-half, though he boasts of more for reputation's sake, for the rest of the militia are necessary to protect and cultivate the farms of the Colony, and a part of the force must be employed in guarding the posts of Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Tarento, Missilimakinak so as to secure the aid he expects from the Illinois and from the other Indians, on whom, however, he cannot rely unless he will be able alone to defeat the Five Iroquois Nations.

The Iroquois force consists of two thousand picked Warriors *(d'élite)* brave, active, more skilful in the use of the gun than our Europeans and all well armed; besides twelve hundred Mohegans *(Loups)*, another tribe in alliance with them as brave as they, not including the English who will supply them with officers to lead them, and to intrench them in their villages.

If they be not attacked all at once at the two points indicated, it is impossible to destroy them or to drive them from their retreat, but if encompassed on both sides, all their plantations of Indian corn will be destroyed, their villages burnt, their women, children and old men captured and their warriors driven into the woods where they will be pursued and annihilated by the other Indians.

After having defeated and dispersed them, the winter must be spent in fortifying the post of Niagara, the most important in America, by means of which all the other Nations will be excluded from the lakes whence all the peltries are obtained; it will be necessary to winter troops at that and some other posts, to prevent the Iroquois returning and reëstablishing themselves there, and to people those beautiful countries with other Indians who will have served under us during this war.

As operations commence on the 15th of May, it is necessary to hasten the reinforcement and to send it off in the month of March next in order that it may arrive in season to be employed, and that it be accompanied by munitions of war and provisions, arms and other articles required in the estimates of the Governor-General and Intendant of Canada.

The vast extent of this country and the inconveniences respecting the command which may occur during the war suggest the great necessity of appointing a Lieutenant-Governor over it, as well to command the troops there in the absence, and under the orders, of the Governor-

General as to enforce these throughout all parts of the Colony beyond the Island of Montreal towards the great lakes which are at a considerable distance from Quebec.

The Marquis de Denonville who sees the necessity of establishing that office is of opinion that Chevalier de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal, is eminently qualified for it by his application and industry in the King's service, and his experience in wnr, said Chevalier de Callières having served twenty years with reputation in his Majesty's armies throughout the whole of his glorious campaigns.

Canada

an.e 1687

Memoire Pour Monscigneur le Marquis De Seignelay

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

Sur le danger ou se trouue le Canada, sur les moyens dy remedier et d'establir solidement la Religion, le commerce et la Puissance du Roy dans l'Amerique septentrionale

Le Canada est enuironné de plusieurs puissantes colonies Angloises qui trauaillent sans cesse a les ruyner en soulevant tous nos Sauvages et les attirant auec leurs Pelleteries dont les anglois leur donnent beaucoup plus de marchandises que les francois parcequils ne payent aucun droits au Roy d'Angleterre. Ce preiudice attire encore aux Anglois tous nos Coureurs de bois et libertins francois qui leur portent leurs pelleteries desertent nostre Colonie et setablissent dans celles des Anglois qui prennent grand soin de les y attirer.

Ils se seruent vtilement de ces deserteurs francois pour leur amener les Sauvages les plus esloignés qui auparauant apportoient toutes leurs pelleteries dans nos colonies, ce qui en destruit entierement le commerce.

Les Anglois ont commencé par les Iroquois les plus puissans et les plus aguerris de toute L'Amerique ils les ont entierement soulevés contre nous par la protection ouverte quils leur donnent et par l'vsurpation manifeste quils pretendent faire de la souueraineté de leur Pays qui appartient au Roy sans contredit depuis pres dun siecle sans que les Anglois y ayent Iusquicy rien pretendu

Ils se seruent des Iroquois pour nous soulever encore tous nos autres Sauuages ils les ont enuoyés l'este dernier attaquer les Hurons et les Outaouacs nos plus anciens Sujets leur ont enleué par surprise 75 prisonniers entre lesquels il y a de leurs principaux chefs, en ont tué plusieurs autres et leur ont ensuitte fait offrir la paix et la restitution de leurs prisonniers sils veulent quitter les francois et reconnoistre les Anglois.

Ils ont enuoyé les mesmes Iroquois attaquer les Illinois et les Miamis nos allies qui sont aux environs du fort S.t Louis Basti par M.r de la Salle sur la riuiere des Illinois qui se jette dans le Fleuue Colbert ou Mississipi en ont massacrés et brulé grande quantité et emmené plusieurs prisonniers auec menace de les exterminer tous sils ne se joignent a eux contre les francois.

Le Colonel Dongan Gouuerneur de la nouuelle Iorck a mesme poussé l'usurpation Iusques a enuoyer des Anglois prendre possession au nom du Roy d'Angleterre du poste de Mislimakinac qui est un destroit qui communique le lac Huron auec le lac des Illinois et Iusques a declarer que tous ces lacs et mesme la riuiere de S.t Laurens et autres qui leur seruent de descharge et sur lesquelles sont scituées nos colonies appartiennent aux Anglois.

Le Reuerend Pere lamberville Jesuitte francois qui est missionnaire depuis environ 18 ans chez les Iroquois accompagné d'un de ses freres aussy Jesuitte a escrit du premier 9.bre au Chevallier de Callieres Gouverneur de Montreal qui en a informé Mr le Gouverneur General que le colonel Dongan a convoqué les cinq nations Iroquoises a Manhat lieu de sa residence et leur a declaré ce qui suit.

1° Qu'il leur deffend d'aller a Cataracouy ou fort frontenac et d'avoir plus de commerce avec les francois

2° Qu'il leur ordonne de rendre les prisonniers qu'ils ont fait sur les Hurons et Outaouacs pour se les attirer

3° Qu'il envoye 30 anglois pour se mettre en possession de Mislimakinac et des lacs rivieres et terres des environs et ordonne aux Iroquois de les y escorter et de leur donner main forte.

4° Qu'il a envoyé rappeller les Iroquois chrestiens de la nation des Agnies qui demeurent depuis fort long temps au Sault S.t Louis joignant l'isle de Montreal ou ils ont esté establis par nous et convertis par les soins de nos reuerends peres Jesuittes et qu'il leur donne une autre terre et un Jesuitte Anglois pour les gouverner.

5° Qu'il veut qu'il n'y ait que des missionnaires de sa main dans toutes les terres des cinq nations Iroquoises et qu'elles en fassent retirer nos Jesuittes francois qui y sont establis depuis si long temps

6° Que si Mr denonville marche contre eux, c'est à luy qu'il aura affaire

7° Qu'il leur ordonne de piller tous les francois qui iront chez eux de les lier et de les luy amener et que ce qu'ils leur prendront sera bien pris.

Il a accompagné ses ordres de presens qu'il a faits aux cinq Nations Iroquoises et a fait partir ses 30 Anglois escorter par des Iroquois pour aller s'establir a Mislimakinac

Les Iroquois pillent nos francois par tout ou ils les trouvent et menacent mesme de brusler nos habitations qui sont fort exposées et sans fortifications.

Ces Mesures prises par les Anglois et ledecri ou nous sommes parmy tous les sauvages pour avoir abandonné nos allies du temps de Mr de la B. et les avoir laissé exterminer par les Iroquois et souffert les insolences des derniers, rendent la guerre contre eux absolument necessaire pour eviter un soulevement General des sauvages contre nous qui attireroit la ruyne de nostre commerce et mesme dans la suitte l'extirpation entiere de nostre Colonie

Elle est encore necessaire pour establir la Religion qui ne s'y estendra jamais que par la destruction des Iroquois. De sorte que du succes de la guerre que Mr le gouverneur general du Canada va commencer contre les Iroquois le 15 de May prochain depend ou la ruyne du Pays et de la Religion si on ne le secourt pas ou le establissem.t de la Religion du commerce et de la puissance du Roy dans toutes l'ameriques septentrionales si

on luy accorde les secours qu'il demande.

Si on considere les merites enuers dieu la gloire et vtilite que le Roy tirera de ces secours il est aise de iuger qu'es jamais despences ne furent mieux employees puis qu'outre le salut de quantite d'ames auquel S. M. va contribuer dans ces vastes pays en y establissant la religion elle s'y assure vn Empire de pres de mille lieuës de estenduë depuis l'embouchure du fleuve S.t Laurens Jusques a celle du fleuve Mississipi dans le golfe de Mexique. Pays descouuert par les seuls francois ou les autres nations n'ont aucun droit et dont on tirera dans la suitte de grands auantages pour le commerce et vne augmentation considerable des reuenus de sa Maj.te en ces pays.

M.r Le Marquis de Denonville a tant de zelle a l'application et a la capacite duquel on ne peut rien adjouter, a Besoing d'vn secours de 1500 hommes pour reussir dans son entreprise, si on luy en accorde moins on la rend douteuse et on fait traisner en longueur vne guerre dont la suitte coustera beaucoup plus a S. M. a soustenir durant plusieurs annees que de faire tout d'vn coup la despence necessaire pour en assurer le succes et la terminer promptement.

Il est necessaire d'attaquer les Iroquois par deux endroits, la premiere et la principale attaque par la nation des Sonontouans sur les bords du lac Ontario, et la seconde par la riuiere de Richelieu et le lac Champlain du costé de la nation des Agnies.

Il faut pour cela 3000 francois, sur lesquels il y a 16. Compagnies qui sont 800 hommes et 800. choisis entre les habitans dont M.r le gouuerneur General destine 100 des meilleurs a conduire 50. Canots qui iront et viendront incessamment pour les conuois de viures

Sur ces 3000 francois dont il n'a que la moitié qu'on publie. Dauantage pour la reputation parceque les autres habitans sont neccessaires a garder et cultiuer les terres de la colonie dont il en employe vne partie a garder les postes du fort Frontenac de Niagara de Tarenta et de Mislimakinac affin d'asseurer les secours qu'il espere des Illinois et autres Sauuages sur lesquels toutesfois il ne peut compter qu'apres qu'il aura este asses fort pour battre par luy seul les cinq nations Iroquoises.

Les forces des Iroquois consistent en deux mille guerriers d'Elite braues dispos adroits a tirer du fusil mieux que nos europeans et tous bien armés et en douze cens Loups autres peuples leurs allies aussy braues qu'eux. sans compter les Anglois qui leur fourniront des officiers pour les conduire et pour les faire retrancher dans leurs villages.

Si on ne les attaque tout a la fois par les deux endroits marqués il n'est pas possible de les destruire et de leur oster leurs retraittes, mais si on les enueloppe des deux costés on ruynera tous leurs plantages de bled d'Inde et Bruslera leurs villages on prendra leurs femmes leurs enfans et leurs vieillards et on obligera les guerriers a fuir dans les bois ou ils seront tuiuis et destruits par les autres Sauuages.

Apres les auoir defaits et dispersés il faut trauailler durant l'hiuer a-

MARINE ET COLONIES
COLONIALES

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

fortifier le poste de Niagara le plus important de lamerique par le moyen
Duquel on offera a toutes les autres nations lentrée dans les grands lacs dou
viennent toutes les pelleteries, et il faudra faire hiverner des trouppes en ce
poste et en quelques autres pour empescher les Iroquois dy revenir se
retablir et peupler ces beaux pays des autres sauvages qui nous auront
servis dans cette guerre.

Comme elle commence au 15 May il est necessaire de diligenter le secours
et de le faire partir au mois de Mars prochain affin quil puisse arriver a
temps pour son service et quil soit accompagné des munitions de guerre
et de bouche armes et autres choses demandées par les memoires de Mrs
le gouverneur general et de Mr. lintendant de Canada.

La Grande Etendue de ce pays et les jeunes gens qui peuvent arrivé
Durant la guerre pour le commandemt font Juger quil est tres
necessaire dy establir un lieutenant de Roy tant pour y commander
les trouppes en labsence et sous les ordres de nos Mrs le Gouverneur
General que pour les faire observer dans tous les lieux de la Colonie
au delà de lisle de Montreal du coste des grands lacs qui sont fort
Esloignés de quebek.

Monsieur Le Marquis de Denonville qui void la necessité de
Lestablissement de cet employ Juge que le Chevallier de Caillieres
Gouverneur de lisle De Mont Real a toutes les qualités necessaires
pour le remplir, tant par son application et activité au service
que par son experience dans la guerre, ou le Chevallier de Caillieres
a servy vingt ans avec Reputation dans les armees de S. M.
Durant toutes ses glorieuses Campagnes.

II. LETTRE.

Sujets des premieres Guerres avec les Iroquois.

Interêt des Peuples du Canada avec les François.

Arrivée de Mr le Comte de Frontenac de France en Canada, avec Aurionaé le grand Chef des Iroquois.

Les Onnontouans veulent faire la Paix avec les Iroquois.

On déclare la Guerre aux Anglois dans la Nouvelle Angleterre & la Nouvelle York.

Aurionaé fait ſavoir à ſa Nation par quatre Députez, qu'il eſt de retour en Canada.

Gagniegoton Ambaſſadeur Iroquois aporte des Colliers.

Priſe du Port Royal dans Lacadie par les Anglois.

Converſation particuliere de Mr de Frontenac avec Aurionaé.

Les Iroquois font un grand deſordre vis-à-vis de Montreal.

Le Chevalier Guillaume Phis assiege Quebec avec toutes les forces de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Il en leve le Siege avec honte.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai tout lieu d'admirer les actions Heroïques de votre Vie, & je croi que je serois devenu un bon sujet si la destinée avoit pû me faire porter les armes sous votre conduite, je serois assurément devenu un bon Capitaine puisque vous êtes devenu un si bon General. Je ne passe pas les Mers pour faire ici votre Panegirique, votre réputation est trop bien établie dans les armées, le succez de la Bataille de Fleurus vous fut si glorieuse que vous commençâtes & donnâtes lieu à Monseigneur de Luxembourg d'achever une journée qui lui acquit tant de gloire; il reüssit, mais, si j'ose le dire, il suivit vos pas & ne fit que terminer ce que vous aviez si bien commencé. Vous, Monsieur, qui êtes si accoûtumé à des guerres d'Allemands, d'Anglois & d'Hollandois, souffrez je vous prie que je vous parle de celle des Iroquois, c'est une Nation dans l'Amerique fort illustre par la bravoure.

Les premiers François qui s'établirent dans le Canada furent quelque temps sans avoir guerre contre les Iroquois. La nouveauté des marchandises de France attira insensiblement cette Nation, comme plusieurs autres nos plus proches voisins. Les Iroquois Onnontaguez nous reçûrent avec plaisir chez eux, nous y fîmes même un Fort garni de petites pieces de canon, & des Missionnaires commencerent à y planter la Foi.

Mais comme ce vaste continent occupe quantité de Nations dont les langues sont toutes differentes, cette diversité de mœurs & de caracteres d'esprit excitoit souvent de la jalousie & de l'antipatie parmi tous ces Peuples lors qu'il s'agissoit de quelque interêt.

Les Anglois qui demeuroient aux environs de Quebec furent nos premiers; c'étoit une Nation polie pour qui les Iroquois avoient une aversion naturelle. La grande étenduë de chasse que possedoit la Nation Algonkine au Nord du fleuve de saint Laurent, donnoit d'autant plus d'ombrage aux Iroquois que les Algonkins tuoient beaucoup plus de Castor & d'autres animaux depuis qu'ils avoient l'usage des armes à feu, nous trouvions de l'avantage de traiter avec nos voisins sans

aller courir chez les Iroquois qui demeuroient à plus de deux cens lieuës de Quebec. Ceux ci conçûrent aiſement de la jalouſie contre les Algonkins qui ne s'en embaraſſoient pas autrement, les reproches ſe firent auſſi-tôt de part & d'autre, des paroles on en vint aux effets, en un mot la guerre ſe déclara bruſquement entre les Iroquois & les Algonkins; & les François ſe trouvant enfermez en la querelle des deux partis furent obligez de ſe mettre ſur la défenſive. Les Iroquois de leur côté ne balancerent pas à faire la guerre aux François. Pluſieurs perſonnes de conſideration qui avoient emmené des domeſtiques de France à leurs dépens s'oposerent à tous les actes d'hoſtilité des Iroquois, & toutes les familles contribuant alternativement à la culture des terres les armes à la main lorſqu'il falloit travailler à la campagne.

Je paſſe, Monſieur, ſous ſilence pluſieurs mouvemens de guerre qu'il y a eû dans ces premiers établiſſemens, pour ne pas m'engager à raporter ſur tout ce que j'ai dit de Monſieur Champlain dans mon Hiſtoire de la Nouvelle France.

Jamais Nation n'a été plus fidelle aux François que les Algonkins, mais la petite Verole qui ſe répandit dans le païs à

l'arrivée de quelques Vaisseaux, causa une grande desolation parmi cette Nation, le Canada eût été pour lors fort à plaindre si Sa Majeste n'y eût envoyé le Regiment de Carignan. En effet, Messieurs de Trasi & de Courcelle terminerent heureusement la guerre en moins de deux Campagnes. La Paix ayant été concluë en 1666. l'on réforma ce Regiment qui s'établit dans le païs, la Colonie devint par là considerable par tous les Mariages des Soldats & plusieurs Officiers, qui aimerent mieux rester dans le païs que de s'en retourner en France.

Les Iroquois en Paix avec nous allerent porter la guerre chez toutes les Nations avec qui nous n'avions pû encore faire alliance, ils étendoient par là leur chasse pour pouvoir commercer avec les François, & à mesure qu'ils faisoient des prisonniers ils les faisoient Esclaves, ou ils se marioient ensemble. Cette Nation s'augmentant insensiblement par là devint si fiere qu'elle insultoit toutes les autres, même les François qui commençoient à faire des découvertes chez elles.

Les Anglois qui avoient pris sur les Hollandois, dans la Nouvelle Hollande, Manathe & Orange, firent amitié avec les Iroquois, qui sont beaucoup plus prés de

la Nouvelle Angleterre que de la Nouvelle France. Les Anglois ne pouvoient penetrer juſqu'aux Nations qui devinrent dans la ſuite nos Alliez, ils engagerent les Iroquois de faire chez eux toutes ſortes d'incurſions pour enlever leurs Pelleteries, ou pour chaſſer indifferemment ſur leurs terres. Toutes ces Nations que nous avons nommez dans la ſuite du mot general d'Outaouaks, firent alliance avec les François; ils nous demanderent main forte & prétendoient qu'étant maîtres ſur leurs terres ils ne vouloient pas que les Iroquois vinſſent y chaſſer.

La Chaſſe eſt pour ainſi dire depuis que les François ſont établis dans le Canada, le premier objet de toutes les guerres entre les Iroquois & tous nos Alliez, parce les Iroquois ſont fort bornez, il y a trés-peu de Pelleterie dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, moins encore au Sud du côté de la Caroline, la Pinſilvanie, & la Virginie, dont les Indiens ſont ſous la protection de l'Angleterre.

Monſieur de la Barre, pour lors Gouverneur, ayant arrêté toutes les actes d'hoſtilité des Iroquois ſur nos Alliez, reſolut de leur aller declarer la guerre en 1684. le ſejour que ſes Troupes furent obligez de faire au Fort Frontenac, dans le Lac

Ontario, pendant ſix ſemaines, païs extremement marécageux, cauſa beaucoup de fiévres, & ſi je peux me ſervir de cette expreſſion Mr de la Barre fut plus heureux que ſage. En effet, il renouvella la Paix avec les Iroquois qui n'avoient pas trop envie d'avoir la Guerre, & il ſe retira adroitement avec ſa petite Armée, accablée de Fiévres & de maladies.

Monſieur le Marquis de Nonville releva Mr. de la Barre en 1685. il crût qu'il étoit dangereux à la Colonie de ſouffrir que la Nation Iroquoiſe s'agrandit chaque jour, il avoit porté le fer & le feu à plus de cinq cens lieuës delà, dans le Miſſiſipi, chez des Nations que l'éloignement avoit empêché de faire alliance avec nous. Tous nos Alliez étoient fort intimidez de cet agrandiſſement, parce que les Iroquois ſuſcitoient contr'eux chaque peuple qu'ils avoient ſoûmis; ils tenoient nos Alliez dans une ſi grande contrainte que ceux-ci n'oſoient pour la plûpart venir à Montreal.

Monſieur de Nonville prit donc des meſures pour détruire entierement la Nation Iroquoiſe, il fit main baſſe ſur quantité de Chefs de guerre qui s'étoient trouvez au Fort Frontenac, dont on en envoya quelques uns aux Galeres de Marſeille. Il alla chez eux en perſonne avec des Troupes

d'un détachement de la Marine que le Roi lui avoit donné : il tomba malheureuſement dans une Embuſcade de cinq cens Iroquois où il reçût un rude échec. Il l'a força cependant & il brûla tous les Villages des Tſonnontouans, ravagea leurs campagnes de bled, & les hommes, femmes & enfans furent trop heureux de ſe jetter dans des païs inacceſſibles pour leur ſureté.

Les Iroquois frapez d'une telle irruption ne penſerent plus qu'à tromper les François, ils profiterent d'un contre-temps qui arriva à la Colonie. La Rougeolle que des Navires de France avoit aporté, nous mit hors d'état d'aller avec un détachement de huit cens hommes chez les Aniez qui ſont nos plus proches voiſins : les Iroquois envoyerent des Ambaſſadeurs en 1688. à Mr. de Nonville pour traiter de la Paix. C'eſt une maxime dans ce païs lors que l'on vient parler de Paix, pluſieurs de la Nation partent en même temps ſans conſequence, ſoit pour ſe trouver à la Paix, ſoit pour commercer. Ils vinrent au nombre de quinze cens, & attaquerent à l'improviſte le 5. Août 1689. la Chine, partie Meridional de l'Iſle de Montreal, où ils ravagerent trois lieuës de païs, enleverent quantité de priſonniers, tuërent,

massacrerent tout ce qui parut devant eux, mettant même des Femmes à la broche qu'ils firent rôtir, & exerçant des cruautez inouïes que la bien-seance m'oblige de taire. Ils firent encore une autre irruption au mois d'Octobre au bas de cette Isle, qu'ils ruïnerent aprés avoir fait plusieurs prisonniers. Telle étoit la situation de la Nouvelle France quand Mr. de Nonville fut rapellé en France pour être sous Gouverneur de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne, & Mr le Comte de Frontenac le releva le 12. Octobre 1689.

Une Colonie est heureuse lors qu'elle est gouvernée par un Chef qui ne regarde que l'utilité & la felicité publique : ceux que Dieu a choisi pour prendre sous lui le gouvernement des Provinces, & que la Providence a placé sur la tête des autres hommes, doivent se faire aimer des peuples, parce que leur grandeur ne consiste pas tant au pouvoir qu'ils ont de leur commander, qu'aux moyens qu'ils doivent prendre de leur être utile.

Il est difficile, Monsieur, de vous exprimer la joye que ressentit la Nouvelle France lors que Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac rentra cette année dans son gouvernement, aussi étoit-il souhaité de toutes les Nations.

Les Sauvages Alliez des François qui avoient pris leurs interêts contre les Iroquois, demeurerent dans une eſpece de letargie depuis le ſaccagement de la Chine, les habitans enlevez & la plus belle côte du païs entierement ruïnée, avec un aſſoupiſſement univerſel de la part des François, donnerent lieu à toutes ces Nations de prendre dans la ſuite d'autres meſures pour n'être pas la victime des Iroquois.

La Durantaye Capitaine d'une Compagnie d'un détachement de la Marine qui commandoit à Michilimakinak, à trois cens lieuës de Montreal, s'aperçût bien de ce refroidiſſement, il dépêcha à Quebec Joliet qui négocioit en ce païs, pour informer le nouveau Gouverneur que l'on attendoit de France, de toutes les démarches que les Sauvages faiſoient pour faire la Paix.

Les Outaouaks & les Hurons furent les premiers qui voulurent prendre leur ſureté, ils avoient trop de penetration d'eſprit pour ſe laiſſer tromper, & les meſures juſtes qu'ils prennent ordinairement dans leurs affaires, les mettent ſouvent à l'abri des incidens qui peuvent arriver.

Joliet arriva à Quebec ſur la fin de Decembre ; la ſurpriſe de Mr de Frontenac

ne fut pas moindre de voir entreprendre à un homme un Voyage de cette conſequence, qu'il fut obligé de faire partie en ca notpartie ſur les glaces, accompagné ſeulement d'un autre que des nouvelles qu'il lui aportoit : en effet les changemens de Gouverneurs font ſouvent changer de face aux affaires d'un païs éloigné de ſon Souverain.

Monſieur de Frontenac reſolut des le même temps de le renvoyer à Michilimakinak porter ſes ordres a la Dutantaye, & ſa parole aux Sauvages, pour les détourner de leur deſſein & leur donner avis des differens partis qu'il envoyoit contre les Anglois pour commencer la guerre contre eux, & les faire repentir de tous les maux qu'ils nous avoient ſuſcité, à eux & à nos Alliez ; mais les nouvelles que l'on eût que les Iroquois chaſſoient ſur le chemin, fut cauſe qu'il ne partit qu'au Printemps aprés la fonte des glaces.

L'on détacha pendant l'Hiver trois partis ; le premier devoit ſe faire à Montreal, pour aller du côté d'Orange. Le ſecond ſe formoit aux Trois Rivieres, & devoit faire ſon coup entre Baſton & Orange. Le troiſiéme qui partoit de Quebec, devoit côtoyer le voiſinage de Baſton.

Ils réüſſirent tous, on eût d'abord des

nouvelles de celui de Montreal, mais auparavant que je vous en faſſe un détail plus au long je vous dirai, Monſieur, qu'au premier Voyage que fit Mr de Frontenac à Montreal à ſon retour de France, il fit partir un Convoi pour le Fort de Cataracou, ou de Frontenac, pour tâcher de le ravitailler, & le mettre hors d'inſulte pendant tout l'Hiver. Quatre Iroquois qu'il avoit ramené de France avec Auriouaé, un des plus conſiderables Chefs de leur Nation, partirent preſque en même temps. Je vous parlerai ſouvent de ce Chef, il étoit un des principaux ſujets de la guerre. On en attira pluſieurs au Fort de Frontenac ſous prétexte de Paix & d'un Feſtin d'alliance, qui eſt la maniere dont on traite les affaires avec eux, où ils furent arrêtez au nombre de quarante, que l'on envoya en France aux Galeres, mais le Roi qui fut informé dans la ſuite de cette action les fit repaſſer en Canada. On avoit lieu de ſe flâter que la Paix ſe feroit aiſément avec les Iroquois des lors qu'ils aprendroient des nouvelles d'Auriouaé, pour qui effectivement les cinq Nations prenoient un interêt commun. On le ménagea pendant le ſejour qu'il fit avec les François, & il gagna aſſez ſur lui pour oublier les mauvais traitemens qu'il avoit reçûs

reçûs pendant ſon eſclavage. Il engagea lui-même Mr. de Frontenac à des confidences particulieres, & ce fut de ſon propre mouvement qu'il lui inſpira de faire partir ſes quatre Députez vers la ſienne avec un autre Sauvage qui étoit venu en Ambaſſade. Son deſſein étoit de faire avertir ſa Nation de ſon retour, de l'obliger d'envoyer quelqu'un ſaluër le Comte de Frontenac leur Pere qu'ils avoient perdu depuis ſi long temps, & de le remercier en même temps des bontez qu'il avoit eû pour eux en les faiſant delivrer des Galeres, chargerent ces quatre envoyez de ſes Ordres. Ils revinrent à Montreal le neuviéme Mars avec Gagniegoton, ils y garderent le ſilence, mais aux inſtantes ſollicitations du Chevalier de Callieres Gouverneur de cette Ville qui les preſſa de parler, ils lui preſenterent ſix Colliers de porcelaine.

PREMIER COLLIER.

Il marquoit le ſujet de leur retardement cauſé par l'arrivée des Outaouaks aux Tſonnontouans, il diſoit que des Eſclaves Iroquois y avoient été rendus au nom de neuf Nations differentes, ſans que les Hurons de Michilimakinak euſſent aucune part dans cette négociation. Les Iroquois étoient invitez à ſe rendre au mois de Juin

à un lieu certain, pour mettre la derniere main à la Paix dont ils venoient porter la parole, & y recevoir encore vingt-ſix autres Eſclaves. Gagniegoton ajoûtoit que c'étoit ainſi qu'il faloit faire les choſes lors qu'on les vouloit acheminer à une bonne union, & venir ſoi-même parler d'affaires ſans s'en remettre ſur d'autres que de ſa Nation.

DEUXIE'ME COLLIER.

Il témoignoit la joye que les Anglois & les cinq Nations Iroquoiſes avoient eû d'aprendre le retour d'Auriouaé, qu'ils nomment le Chef general de toute la Nation Iroquoiſe.

TROISIE'ME COLLIER.

Il parloit de la part de l'Onnonagué au nom des cinq Nations; il y redemande le promt retour d'Auriouaé, voulant qu'il fut accompagné du porteur de ſa parole, de quelques Sauvages qui étoient reſtez volontairement parmi les François, & de tous ceux qui étoient revenus avec lui de France, que leur retour ſe fit avec lui ſur les glaces afin qu'ils viſſent enſemble les meſures qu'ils avoient à prendre. Il ajoûtoit que l'on avoit retiré à Onnontagué tous les priſonniers François qui étoient en diverſes bourgades, & que l'on n'en diſpoſeroit que ſur ce que diroit Auriouaé à ſon retour.

QUATRIE'ME COLLIER.

Il s'adreſſoit au Comte de Frontenac. Vous dites *Onontio*, mon Pere, que vous deſirez redreſſer l'arbre de la Paix que vous avez planté dans votre Fort, voila qui eſt bien. Mais,

CINQUIE'ME COLLIER.

Ignorez-vous qu'il n'y a plus de feu de Paix dans ce Fort, qu'il eſt éteint par le ſang qui a été répandu, les places où l'on tenoit le Conſeil en ſont toutes rouges, on a gâté ce lieu par la tromperie qu'on y a faites, on a gâté la terre d'*Onneyout* (c'eſt un Village à dix lieuës au deſſus du Fort) par les priſonniers qui y ont été faits par ſurpriſe, on a gâté la terre des Tſonnontouans par le ravage que les François y ont fait.

Racommodez tout cela il vous ſera libre de placer le feu de Paix & des bonnes affaires ailleurs qu'où vous l'avez mis, car on l'a jetté hors de ce lieu. Mettez-le ſi vous voulez à Onſaguentara (c'eſt un lieu au delà du Fort) où ſi c'eſt trop loin vous pouvez choiſir la Galette, où Theganiſſorens vous viendra trouver (c'étoit un Chef fort eſtimé de Mr de Frontenac, pour qui il avoit de l'affection) vous pourrez vous y faire accompagner par autant de monde qu'il vous plaira, & moi de

même. Au reſte, mon Pere *Onontio*, vous avez foüetté vos enfans bien ſeverement, vos verges étoient trop piquantes & trop longues, aprés m'avoir ainſi traité vous pouvez bien juger que j'ai maintenant de l'eſprit. Je vous repete que moi Onnontaguez ſuis maître des priſonniers, aplaniſſez les chemins de chez vous à la Galette & du côté de Chambli.

SIXIE'ME COLLIER.

Il avertit qu'il y a un parti de vingt hommes en campagne des le mois d'Octobre contre vous, qui ne doit faire coup qu'à la fonte des néges : il promet que ſi il fait des priſonniers ils en auront ſoin, & prie que ſi nous en faiſons de notre côté nous les conſervions pareillement.

Il ajoûta encore ces paroles, j'avois huit priſonniers pour ma part de l'affaire de la Chenaye proche de Montreal, j'en ai mangé quatre, & les quatre autres ont ici la vie. Vous avez été plus cruël que moi, ayant tué douze Tſonnontouans à coups de fuſil, vous avez mangé les trois autres qui reſtoient en vie, ſans la donner à pas un, vous euſſiez pû la donner à un ou deux; c'eſt pour cela que j'en ay mangé quatre autres, pour vous faire voir que vous êtes plus cruël que moi. Je ne ſçai pas ce que les Onneyouts, avec qui j'étois allé en

guerre, auront fait des François captifs qui leur ſont échus en partage.

La Harangue finie le Chevalier de Callieres demanda à cet Ambaſſadeur ſi le Pere Milet Jeſuite qui avoit été pris au Fort de Frontenac vivoit encore ? Il répondit qu'il vivoit lors qu'il étoit parti du païs il y avoit vingt-huit jours.

On lui demanda de plus d'où vient que les Aniez étoient venus en guerre contre nous ? Il répondit que quatre-vingt dix Loups Sauvages, Alliez des Iroquois, avoient fait un parti dans lequel ils avoient engagé quelques Aniez & quatre Onneyouts, mais que l'on avoit fait courir aprés les Aniez. Quand on ſe trouva dans un endroit où les deux chemins d'Orange & de Corland ſe ſeparent, l'on jugea à propos de prendre cette derniere route.

Lors que l'on fut à deux lieuës de Corland, le grand Anié Chef des Iroquois du Saut fit une Harangue, par laquelle il encouragea tout le monde à faire ſon devoir. Les fatigues extraordinaires que nous avons ſouffertes dans notre voyage, leur dit-il, ne doivent pas rallentir en nous notre courage, il ſuffit que nous ſoyons des hommes il faut nous venger des injures que nous avons reçûës des Iroquois, à la ſollicitation des Anglois, & les laver dans

le ſang de ces perfides. Ce Chef étoit ſans contredit le plus conſiderable de ſa Nation, honnête homme, plein d'eſprit, de prudence & de cœur, & capable des plus grandes entrepriſes. On trouva un moment aprés quatre femmes Sauvages cabanées, qui donnerent toutes les lumieres neceſſaires pour l'attaque de la Ville. L'on continua le lendemain la route & l'on envoya à la découverte un Canadien & neuf Sauvages : on arriva enfin ſur les onze heures du ſoir à la vûë de Corland, & quoique l'on eût remis l'attaque ſur les deux heures du matin, le froid les obligea de ne pas differer davantage. Cette Ville fait une eſpece de quarré long où il n'y a que deux portes, l'une vis-à-vis de laquelle étoit notre parti, & l'autre qui conduit à Orange, qui n'en eſt éloigné que de ſix lieuës. Saint Helene & Mantet devoient entrer par la premiere que ces femmes avoient dites ouvertes, d'Hiberville & Monteſſon, avec un autre détachement, prirent ſur la gauche pour ſe rendre maîtres de celle d'Orange, qu'ils ne purent trouver. On garda un profond ſilence juſqu'à ce que les deux Commandans qui étoient entrez dans la Ville l'euſſent reconnuë : le cri d'attaque à la Sauvage ſe fit retentir tout à coup. Mantet à la tête

d'un détachement attaqua un petit Fort où la garniſon ſe trouva ſous les armes, il fit mettre le feu à la porte, y entra, & fit paſſer au fil de l'épée toute la garniſon. Le feu étoit d'un autre côté dans la Ville, & le ſang y couloit avec profuſion par le maſſacre general de tous ceux qui la défendoient. On voulut épargner la maiſon du Miniſtre pour en tirer quelque connoiſſance, mais il fut tué & tous ces papiers furent brûlez avant que l'on pût la reconnoître. L'on envoya ſommer le lendemain Cendre Major de la Place, qui étoit chez lui de l'autre côté de la riviere, il voulut faire de la reſiſtance, mais comme on avoit réſolu de ne lui faire aucun mal en conſideration des bons ſervices qu'il avoit rendus autrefois à des François, d'Hiberville & le grand Anié lui promirent bon quartier, l'aſſurant qu'on ne lui feroit aucun tort; il ſe rendit ſur leur parole, il les régala & vint avec eux trouver les Commandans qui étoient dans la Ville. L'on acheva de brûler toutes les maiſons, à la reſerve de celle de ce Major & d'une Veuve chez qui on avoit mis Montigni qui avoit été bleſſé de deux coups de pertuiſane dans le corps & dans le bras, parce que l'on vouloit ôter occaſion aux Sauvages de s'enivrer, ce qui leur arrive dans

pareilles occaſions. L'on donna la vie à cinquante ou ſoixante Vieillards, femmes & enfans, qui s'étoient ſauvez à la premiere fureur, & l'on épargna une trentaine d'Iroquois auſquels l'on fit connoître que l'on n'en vouloit qu'aux Anglois. Cette perte monta à plus de quatre cens mille francs.

On attendoit avec impatience le retour des Partis des Trois Rivieres & de Quebec, dont l'on n'eût des nouvelles que long-temps aprés. Des que le Fleuve fut libre Mr de Frontenac reſolut de renvoyer quatre des Sauvages qui avoient aporté les Colliers que Gagniegoton avoit preſenté à Montreal. Ils partirent & furent accompagnez du Chevalier d'O Capitaine réformé : Auriouaé chargea ſes gens de huit Colliers qu'il prononça lui-même.

Le Premier Collier.

Eſt pour eſſuyer les pleurs des cinq cabanes (ce ſont les cinq Nations Iroquoiſes) & leur faire ſortir de la gorge ce qui pourroit y être reſté de mauvais ſur les méchantes affaires qui ſe ſont paſſées, & pour laver le ſang dont ils ſont couverts.

Le II. Collier divisé en deux.

La premiere moitié eſt pour leur témoigner la joye qu'Auriouaé a euë d'a-

prendre que les Outaouaks ont promis de remener aux Tſonnontouans les priſonniers qu'ils avoient ; l'autre moitié pour leur dire qu'il eſt bien aiſe qu'ils l'ayent averti de dire à *Onontio* qu'ils avoient recommandé à leurs gens qui étoient partis des l'Automne pour aller en guerre, de conſerver la vie aux priſonniers qu'ils pourroient faire ſur les François, & que *Onontio* lui a promis de ſon côté que ſi les François en faiſoient quelques-uns des leurs ils en uſeroient de même, juſqu'à ce qu'il eut réponſe des gens qu'il envoyoit aux cinq Nations.

Le Troisiéme Collier.

Remercie les cinq Nations d'avoir envoyé prier *Onontio* de le renvoyer avec ſes Neveux ſur les glaces, & les prie de mettre tous les priſonniers François entre les mains des Onnontaguez, afin que ſi les affaires s'accommodent ils les puiſſent rendre.

Le Quatriéme Collier.

Eſt pour leur dire qu'il voit bien que ils l'ont oublié auſſi bien que leur ancien Pere *Onontio*, puis qu'ils n'ont pas envoyé de Conſiderables le chercher, & pour parler à leur Pere, & qu'ils lui auroient fait plaiſir d'en envoyer ſeulement un.

Le Cinquiéme Collier.

Eſt pour dire à toutes les Nations qu'il deſire voir des Conſiderables à Montreal, qu'il eſt comme un homme ivre & qui a perdu l'eſprit de voir qu'ils n'envoyent perſonne pour le chercher, & qu'il ſouhaiteroit que ceux qui avoient accoûtumé de faire les affaires avec lui, vinſſent afin qu'ils puſſent connoître la bonne volonté qu'*Onontio* a pour toute la Nation, & les bons traitemens que lui & ſes Neveux en ont reçûs depuis qu'ils lui ont été remis entre les mains en France.

Le Sixiéme Collier.

Eſt pour lier les bras des cinq Nations, afin de les attirer à Montreal, & qu'aprés cela ils le rameneront avec eux.

Le Septiéme Collier.

Pour leur dire que c'eſt à ſa priere que *Onontio* a envoyé pour accompagner ſes gens un des plus conſiderables Officiers qu'il eut, & qui même eſt fort connu parmi eux. Que ce Collier eſt auſſi pour les exhorter à ne point écouter les Anglois qui leur ont renverſé l'eſprit, & à ne point ſe mêler dans leurs affaires, n'y être en peine de ce qu'*Onontio* a commencé à les châtier, parce que ce ſont des Rebelles à leur Roi legitime que le grand *Onontio* protege, que cette guerre ne les regarde

point, ce qu'ils peuvent bien connoître, par ce que les François ont fait en enlevant Corlard, où ils n'ont fait aucun mal aux gens de leur Nation qu'ils ont tous renvoyez, ſans même en vouloir remmener de priſonniers.

Le VIII. et Dernier Collier.

Eſt pour dire que lui Auriouaé eſt frere de tous les François, mais particulierement de Colin qui eût un trés grand ſoin d'eux pendant leur Voyage de France & depuis leur retour en ce païs, & qu'ils ne ſont tous deux qu'un même corps, & que ne voulant pas les aller trouver qu'ils ne les viennent querir, quoi qu'il ſoit en pleine liberté de le faire. Il ſe ſepare en deux & leur en envoye une moitié pour les engager de le venir trouver en toute aſſurance puiſqu'ils ſeront auſſi libres que lui, qu'il ne veut pas quitter ſon pere auquel il veut être toûjours uni, qu'ils prennent donc courage & viennent à Montreal où ils le trouveront avec *Onóntio*, qui conſerve toûjours pour toute la Nation & pour lui la même amitié dont il leur a donné tant de marque pendant dix années.

Gagniegoton ne fut pas du nombre des Sauvages qui retournerent à leur païs, le Chevalier d'O étoit accompagné de quatre François & de Colin, qui avoit ſervi

d'Interprete à Mr de Frontenac dans le Voyage de France, & depuis ſon arrivée en Canada. Le Chevalier d'O n'étoit chargé d'aucune parole pour les Iroquois, il n'avoit ordre que de ſe trouver aux Déliberations que l'on prendroit ſur ce qu'Auriouaé leur mandoit, apuyer la négociation de ces gens-ci ſans y entrer lui-même, & être témoin de tout pour en faire un fidel raport.

L'on n'eût aucune nouvelle certaine de lui depuis ſon départ, l'on aprit par les Anglois qui vinrent l'Automne aſſieger Quebec, que les Iroquois pour leur montrer qu'ils ne vouloient aucun accommodement avec nous l'avoient conduit dans la nouvelle York, & qu'il y étoit gardé ſans qu'on lui eût fait aucun mal.

Monſieur de Frontenac envoya en même tems à Michilimakinak Louvigni Capitaine réformé, pour y relever la Durantaye, avec Perrot qui étoit chargé de preſens & des paroles, qu'il adreſſoit à toutes les Nations d'enhaut, il devoit les diſſuader de l'Alliance qu'il négocioit avec l'Iroquois & l'Anglois, qui étoit preſque concluë.

Louvigni étoit accompagné de cent quarante-trois François voyageurs & de ſix Sauvages; les François alloient chercher

la Pelleterie qui leur apartenoit, qu'ils n'avoient pû emmener ici bas les années precedentes à cauſe de la guerre. D'Hoſta Capitaine & la Gemeraye Lieutenant, auſſi reformé, eurent ordre de les accompagner avec trente hommes juſques aux Calumets, à ſoixante lieuës de Montreal, afin de raporter des nouvelles de leur paſſage, n'y ayant plus de riſque au delà de ce détroit. Ils partirent de Montreal le vingt-deux Mai, & firent alte douze jours aprés à trois lieuës au deſſous d'un endroit nommé les Chats, à l'abri d'une pointe qui avançoit fort au large dans la Riviere, d'où ils découvrirent deux canots d'Iroquois qui paroiſſoient au bout de la pointe.

Louvigni & d'Hoſta reſolurent d'y envoyer trois canots de dix hommes chacun, & que ſoixante autres iroient par terre pour les prendre de tous côtez. D'Hoſta & la Gemeraye s'embarquerent dans les canots, & Louvigni devoit conduire ceux qui alloient par terre. Les trois canots arriverent bien-tôt où étoient les Iroquois, qui firent ſur eux à bout portant une décharge de mouſqueterie : il y eut d'abord quatre hommes de tuez, il n'en reſta que deux qui ne furent pas bleſſez dans le canot de la Gemeraye, qui vouloit aborder le premier, ainſi ils furent obligez de re-

venir à l'endroit où ils avoient laiſſé les autres canots.

D'Hoſta outré de ſa retraite, & Louvigni au deſeſpoir de la perte de ſes gens, s'étant mis à la tête de cinquante ou ſoixante hommes, donnerent par terre tête baiſſée dans l'embuſcade des Iroquois, qui aprés une premiere décharge, & ne pouvant enſuite ſoûtenir le choc des François s'embarquerent avec précipitation, aprés avoir eû environ trente hommes de tuez, ſans compter pluſieurs bleſſez à mort, quatre priſonniers, deux hommes & deux femmes, dont l'un fut mené à Michilimakinak, qui fut mangé par les Hurons & Outaouaks, & l'autre fut conduit à Quebec où il fut donné à Auriouaé. D'Hoſta revint à Montreal aprés le Combat, & Louvigni continua ſa route.

L'on eut peu de temps aprés des nouvelles de l'expedition faite par Hertel qui commandoit le Parti des Trois Rivieres; il étoit accompagné de trois de ſes Fils, de vingt-quatre Sokokis, & de cinq Algonkins. Ils partirent des Trois Rivieres le vingt-huit Janvier avec cinquante-deux hommes; aprés une marche aſſez longue & fort penible au travers des bois, il arriva le vingt-ſept Mars auprés d'un Village Anglois nomme Semenfals, qu'il avoit

résolu d'attaquer, il examina le terrein pour pouvoir faire trois détachemens. Le premier de douze personnes devoit s'attacher à un petit Fort de pieux à quatre bastions; le second de quinze qui devoit enlever une maison fortifiée, & lui avec le surplus devoit donner sur un autre où il y avoit une piece de canon. Ces trois Portes furent enlevez sans peine, ceux qui les défendirent furent tuez, & l'on fit cinquante quatre prisonniers, l'on brûla sept maisons dans lesquelles deux mille bêtes à corne perirent. Ce coup étant fait il se retira de peur de tomber entre les mains de deux cens Anglois de Pescadoüers qui venoient aprés lui, ils lui couperent chemin à la verité mais il les arrêta heureusement au passage d'un petit Pont fort étroit, où il en jetta par terre, en blessa dix, & mit le reste en fuite. Crevier Seigneur de saint François & un Sorokoi y furent tuez, & le fils aîné d'Hertel fut blessé d'un coup de fusil dans la cuisse dont il fut estropié. Ce Commandant continua sa retraite le plus vîte qu'il pût. Il rencontra encore des Découvreurs Anglois dont il en tua trois, & gagna un Village de Sauvages où il mit son fils qui étoit blessé. Il aprit que Portneuf étoit à Keskebaye, à deux journées de lui, dans l'attente de faire

une expedition qu'il n'avoit pû encore terminer, il le joignit avec trente six François & Sauvages. Celui-ci étoit parti de Quebec avec cinquante Abenaguis du Saut de la Chaudiere, qui en est à deux lieuës; ils furent pendant Février, Mars, Avril, & la moitié de Mai, à chasser dans les bois pour trouver dequoi subsister. Comme ils ne trouverent personne dans un Village d'Abenaguis qui étoient allez en guerre contre les Anglois, ils pousserent plus bas dans la riviere de Kenebequi, & rencontrerent dans un autre Village ceux-ci qui étoient de retour, n'ayant tué que six Anglois. L'on assembla tous les Sauvages des environs & l'on se rendit le vingt trois Mai à Kerkebaye, qui est sur le bord de la Mer, il y avoit un grand Fort garni de munitions, avec huit pieces de canon, & quatre autres petits Forts assez proche.

Quatre Sauvages & deux François se mirent en ambuscade auprés du grand, d'où un Anglois qui en sortit au point du jour fut tué. Quand les Sauvages ont fait, Monsieur, des coups de cette nature, ils font ordinairement des cris de morts, les Anglois jugerent bien qu'il y en avoit auprés d'eux. Trente hommes sortirent sur le midi & vinrent droit où étoient nos gens;

ceux-ci qui étoient cachez les laissant aprocher à dix pas de leur Ambuscade firent feu tout à coup, se jettant sur eux l'épée et la hache d'arme à la main, & les poursuivirent si vivement qu'ils n'en rentrerent que quatre tous blessez. Nos gens s'engagerent cependant trop avant dans cette poursuite, parce qu'ils essuyerent le feu d'un des petits Forts, d'où ils tuërent un Sauvage & blesserent un François: l'on somma le soir le grand Fort de se rendre, ils répondirent que l'on s'y défendroit jusques à la mort.

L'intention de Mr de Frontenac n'étoit pas d'attaquer de Forts parce qu'il jugeoit bien que l'on y perdroit trop de monde, il vouloit que l'on s'attacha seulement à ruïner la campagne: mais comme les Sauvages ne se laissent pas gouverner si aisément, ils prennent souvent d'eux même de nouvelles resolutions. D'un autre côté il n'étoit pas de l'honneur de Portneuf de revenir d'un Voyage si long & si penible sans donner des preuves de la bonne opinion que l'on avoit conçûë de lui. Voyant que les environs de la campagne avoient été abandonnez sur l'avis qu'un soldat, disoit-il, avoit donné aux Anglois de son aproche, il resolut de prendre à quelque prix que ce fut le grand Fort, dans lequel

tous les Anglois des petits Forts s'étoient retirez ; on se logea la nuit du vingt-six au vingt-sept Juin, sur le bord de la Mer, à cinquante pas, où l'on fut couvert d'une terre fort escarpée qui mettoit à l'abri du canon & de la mousqueterie. Quoi que nos François & nos Sauvages ignorassent la maniere d'assieger des Places, ils ne laisserent pas d'ouvrir la tranchée la nuit du vingt-huit, ayant trouvé heureusement dans ces petits Forts des outils à remuër la terre : ils pousserent si vigoureusement leurs travaux que les Anglois demanderent à capituler. Comme on vouloit le Fort, les munitions & les vivres, il ne leur fut accordé que cette nuit pour se déterminer. Ceux-ci qui se flâtoient d'un promt secours par Mer demanderent cinq jours à se reconnoître : on leur refusa cette proposition, il se fit le lendemain matin grand feu de part & d'autre. Les ennemis jetterent force grenades qui ne firent pas grands effets, à la reserve d'un François qui eut le bras cassé d'un coup de canon, & d'un Sauvage qui eut la cuisse percée. Mais quand ils virent que l'on aprochoit de leurs Palissades une Machine pleine de matiere combustible dont ils ne pouvoient pas se garantir, ils aimerent mieux se rendre que de brûler tout vifs. La Garnison

& soixante & deux hommes sortirent ensuite qui furent conduits au Camp. Il parut sur ces entrefaites quatre Vaisseaux qui venoient à dessein de faire lever le Siege, mais n'apercevant plus de Pavillon Anglois ils revirerent de bord. L'on brûla ensuite le Fort avec les munitions, l'on encloüa les canons & les Sauvages se reserverent la plusparr des prisonniers. Le Commandant & deux Filles de son Lieutenant, qui avoit été tué, furent conduits à Quebec, où ils arriverent la veille de la saint Jean.

Il se fit encore un autre Parti en canot contre les Anglois. Beauvais & la Broſſe Lieutenens, avec quatre François, allerent joindre les Sauvages du Saut, & de Lamontagne qui le composoit, à la tête desquels étoit le grand Anié : ils marcherent depuis le dix-huit Mai jusqu'au vingt-six sans faire aucune rencontre. Les Découvreurs qu'ils envoyerent le matin rapporterent qu'ils avoient entendu tirer un coup de fusil. L'on attaqua peu de temps aprés deux cabanes, dans lesquelles l'on enleva quatre personnes. Ces prisonniers leur donnerent avis que sur le chemin qu'ils tenoient pour aller au Fort Anglois qu'ils vouloient attaquer, ils rencontreroient le reste de leurs gens au nombre

de trente, avec leurs femmes & les enfans. Ils continuërent leur route de ce côté-là, & furent chargez les premiers dans une Ambuscade que ces gens leur avoient dressé. Ils donnerent à la main & enleverent tout, aprés avoir tué quatre hommes d'eux & fait quarante-deux prisonniers, au nombre desquels il y avoit huit Angloises. Ils ne jugerent pas à propos de passer outre ayant apris qu'il y avoit sept cens Sauvages Loups à une journée & demie qui les attendoient, ils reprirent le chemin de Montreal; ils sejournerent à la riviere du Saumon qui tombe dans le lac Champlain, où ils firent des canots. Comme ils faisoient les Prieres publiques le soir ils furent découverts par un Parti d'Algonxins & d'Abenaguis des Trois Rivieres, qui alloient en guerre au même endroit d'où ils venoient. Ceux ci pour ne pas manquer leur coup donnerent à l'improviste dessus à la pointe du jour, en tuërent deux, blesserent deux François, six Sauvages, & deux Esclaves Angloises: cette mépriſe étoit d'autant plus fâcheuse que le grand Anié fut tué, ce fut une perte irreparable qui affligea sensiblement tout le Païs. Ces Algonxins & les Abenaguis étoient du parti d'Hertel, qui avoit fait l'expedition de Semenfais. Cet incident

ainſi beaucoup de trouble, qui n'eût pas de ſuite, par l'adreſſe que l'on eût de rallier les eſprits.

Les Iroquois qui avoient été maltraitez par Louvigni ſe détacherent dans la ſuite pour en tirer vengeance, ils furent découverts à la Pointe ou Tremble de Montréal par Gallet Chirurgien, qui donna avis de leur marche à Collombet Lieutenant réformé. Le Choc fut vigoureux de part & d'autre, celui-ci perdit la vie avec douze hommes. Il y eut du côté des Iroquois vingt cinq de tuez, le reſte fut mis en déroute.

Il y avoit peu de ſureté dans les habitations qui ſont vis à-vis les Trois Rivieres. Un Parti d'Iroquois enleva quinze ou ſeize perſonnes à la riviere Puante; on courut aprés ces Barbares, qui pour ne pas ſuccomber aimerent mieux s'enfuïr aprés avoir égorgé tous leurs priſonniers. Tout étoit donc en allarmes dans le fleuve depuis Quebec juſqu'à Montreal. Mr de Frontenac fit deux détachemens de Troupes pour la ſureté des côtes du Sud, l'un étoit commandé par le Chevalier de Clermont Capitaine reformé, qui avoit la Croiſiere, depuis Montreal juſques à Sorel; environ dix-huit lieuës de païs; l'autre qui étoit commandé par la Mothe

devoit côtoyer les Trois Rivieres jusques à saint François, dans le lac saint Pierre, & décendre au dessous.

Le Chevalier de Clermont arrivant à Forel aprit que cinq enfans qui gardoient les bestiaux aux environs du Fort venoient d'être enlevez par un Parti ennemi, il les suivit avec les meilleures troupes qu'il avoit, & quelques habitans qui se joignirent à lui : il les surprit, en tua un sur la place, delivra ces quatre enfans & mit le reste en fuite. On trouva quatre hommes de tuez du même parti, parmi lesquels étoit un Anglois, & un peu plus loin le cinquiéme enfant qui n'avoit pû les suivre.

L'on aprit quelque temps aprés d'assez mauvaises nouvelles de Lacadie. Le Chevalier Guillaume Phis general Anglois, partit de Baston pour prendre le Port Royal que les François y occupent. La Garnison qui n'étoit que de soixante à quatre-vingt hommes, dix-huit pieces de canon qui n'étoient pas en batterie, & les fortifications assez négligées, tout ce peu de force n'étoit, dis-je, pas capable de resister à sept cens hommes qui étoient embarquez sur sept Navires. Maneval qui commandoit ces quartiers crût qu'il étoit plus à propos d'accepter une Capitulation avantageuse que d'exposer son monde mal

Mesnipos. Les Anglois ne tinrent pas leur parole, ils pillerent les Eglises; on les fit passer à Baston avec Messieurs Petit & Trouves Missionnaires.

Les Habitans qui avoient signé la Capitulation se mirent sous la protection du Roi Guillaume; ils secoüerent dans la suite le joug à l'arrivée de Peraut qui vint pour y commander. Des Forbans Anglois y firent quelque temps aprés une décente, où ils brûlerent les maisons & pendirent plusieurs François. Peraut qui voyoit arriver un bâtiment dans lequel il avoit beaucoup d'effets, le fit avancer pour une plus grande seureté du côté de saint Jean, qui est vis-à-vis le Port Royal. Un Corsaire Anglois eut avis de ce Vaisseau qu'il enleva, mais Peraut qui étoit dedans avec Villebon Capitaine, gagnerent terre. Le premier crût être bien en sûreté quand il n'aperçût plus d'Anglois, le sommeil l'accabla dans un bois, les Anglois le surprirent dans cet état, & lui firent souffrir toutes les indignitez imaginables, ils le remirent dans son bâtiment qu'un Flibustier François reprit.

Saint Jean qui fut sommé de signer la même Capitulation du Port Royal n'eût pas le même sort, car les Anglois y furent mal reçûs, & se retirerent avec perte.

Quelques foibles que fussent les Abenaguis de Lacadie dans tous les Partis qu'ils détachoient contre les Anglois, ils ne laisserent pas de porter le fer & le feu jusques aux portes de Baston, ayant toûjours été maîtres de la campagne: & quand j'avancerois que quarante Abenaguis se battirent contre six cens Anglois qu'ils mirent en fuite aprés leur en avoir tué quantité, c'est un témoignage que je rends à ces Guerriers qui sont les plus redoutables ennemis de cette Nation.

Lors qu'ils surent la déroute des leurs, causée par mégard à l'expedition de Beauvais par les Iroquois du Saut & de la Montagne, ils en furent sensiblement touchez, ils écrivirent une lettre à Mr de Frontenac sur ce sujet. *Souffrez mon Pere*, lui manderent-ils, *que je vous aille interrompre pour un moment, pour vous raconter mes peines, car à qui un Enfant peut-il déclarer son cœur qu'à son Pere. Vous savez ce qui est arrivé à mon frere l'Iroquois qui prie*, (c'est ainsi qu'ils apellent les Iroquois de la Montagne & du Saut,) *il a pris pour ennemis mes parens, & quelques-uns même de ceux qui avoient peu de temps auparavant accompagné les François que vous avez envoyé contre les Anglois, il les tient encore comme Esclaves, voila ce*

qui

qui fait ma peine. Je lui viens dire que regardant cet accident comme une pure mépriſe je n'en avois pas l'eſprit mal fait, mais que j'eſperois que s'en apercevant il l'a deſavouëroit & me rendroit mes Parens. Mon Pere, ce Collier que l'on vous preſente eſt pour vous prier de fortifier ma parole par votre voix, ou plûtôt de tirer de votre cœur plein de ſageſſe des paroles plus efficaces que les miennes, pour le porter à nous les rendre, qui viendront demeurer ici avec nous ſi vous le trouvez bon. J'aprehende que ſi on refuſe de nous le rendre mon Frere qui eſt à Lacadie ne ſe reſſente de cela, & n'en ait l'eſprit mal fait, au lieu que je ſuis ſeur qu'il m'écoutera, quelques méchantes penſées que cela lui ait donné, ſi on nous les prend.

Voici auſſi, Monſieur, le Collier qu'ils adreſſerent aux Iroquois, mon Frere qui prie, car enfin c'eſt le nom dont nous t'apellons depuis que la priere & l'obeïſſance à Onontio notre Pere commun nous ont heureuſement réünis, je vai te trouver par ce Collier pour te dire que ceux que tu garde encore comme Eſclaves ſont mes Parens, & pour te prier de me les rendre. Ne croi pas que j'aye l'eſprit mal fait de ce qui leur eſt arrivé, c'eſt ainſi que la Guerre eſt faite, l'on ſe tuë ſouvent ſans

se connoître les uns & les autres, ce sont des malheurs qui accompagnent la Guerre & que l'on ne peut éviter; mais tu aurois l'esprit mal fait si aprés avoir pris pour ennemis tes Alliez, mes Parens, & les aurois menez dans ton Village comme Esclaves, tu t'opiniâtrois à les garder lors que tu connois que tu as tort. Je mesure ton esprit sur le mien, si ce qui t'est arrivé m'étoit arrivé & que j'eusse pris pour ennemis tes Parens, je ne m'apercevrois pas plûtôt de ma faute que je leur donnerois la liberté & te les rendrois. Ne croi pas, mon Frere, que je te trompe lors que je te dis qu'ils sont mes Parens, les François peuvent bien rendre témoignage comme quelques-uns de ceux que tu as tué ou pris, les ont accompagnez aussi-bien que nous lors que nous avons été contre les Anglois, & cela fort peu de jours avant que ce malheur arriva. Je ne te dis rien de la perte que tu as faite d'un de tes braves, c'est le grand Anié, quoi que je la ressente extrémement je suis occupé à le pleurer avec deux de mes braves que j'ai aussi perdus dans cette triste rencontre, mon Frere l'Iroquois qui prie. Pleurons les braves morts, sans que leur mort nous renverse l'esprit & separe nos cœurs, que la priere & l'amitié unissent depuis si long-temps.

Les Iroquois du Saut & de la Montagne

renvoyerent les principaux Chefs & quelques femmes ; & promirent de rendre les autres lors qu'ils les verroient tous disposez à se joindre à leurs freres qui sont ici établis au Saut de la chaudiere.

Je ne saurois passer sous silence l'intrepidité de Montorgueuil Lieutenant, qui commandoit à Chedebouetou, petit Fort de Lacadie, où il y avoit quatorze hommes de Garnison. Quatre-vingt Anglois y vinrent faire une décente aprés la prise du Port Royal : ils le sommerent plusieurs fois de se rendre sans qu'ils en fissent beaucoup d'état. Ils l'attaquerent vigoureusement, ils ne furent pas moins repoussez, & furent même obligez de se retirer. Il se trouva malheureusement de la poudre moüillée dans un vieux Magasin qui étoit détaché du Fort, ils en firent des Fusées, par le moyen desquelles ils mirent le feu à un des endroits du bâtiment qui étoit couvert de paille. Montorgueil voyant qu'il n'y avoit pas de salut pour sa Garnison & pour sa personne, leur dit encore, avec assez de fierté, que les cendres de ses murailles lui serviroient plûtôt de tombeau s'ils ne Capituloient eux-même, plus pour sa gloire que pour la leur, & que s'ils vouloient avoir le plaisir de le voir triompher ce seroit lors qu'ils le verroient sortir

des ruïnes de ſon Fort avec ſa petite garniſon, & un Religieux de Nazareth qui lui ſervoit de Miſſionnaire, tambour battant, balle en bouche, méche allumée, armes & bagage, & qu'il vouloit être conduit à Plaiſance en l'Iſle de Terre Neuve. Il n'en fut pas plûtôt ſorti qu'il fut entierement conſommé.

Les derniers mouvemens que les Anglois firent dans Lacadie ſe terminerent à l'Iſle Percée : ce lieu qui eſt à l'entrée du fleuve de ſaint Laurent eſt le rendez-vous de pluſieurs Navires qui y viennent faire la pêche de la moruë. Des Forbans y enleverent ſix Navires, brûlerent une maiſon des Recolets, en pillerent l'Egliſe où ils firent pluſieurs infamies. C'eſt aſſez le caractere de l'Heretique de s'attacher préferablement à tout ce qu'il y a de plus Saint dans notre Religion.

Monſieur de Frontenac qui prévoyoit toutes les démarches de nos ennemis ne négligea pas de pourvoir à la ſureté de Quebec, il en fit rétablir les Fortifications & régla les Compagnies des Bourgeois pour la garde de la Ville. Aprés avoir mis bon ordre à la Capitale d'un ſi vaſte païs, il monta à Montreal le vingt deux Juillet avec Mr de Champigni.

Montreal étoit comme le centre de tous

ſes mouvemens de guerre qui ſe faiſoient, l'on y avoit continuellement des allarmes, les Iroquois que l'on avoit épargnez à l'expedition de Corlard n'en étoient pas devenus plus amis des François, l'on ſe tint auſſi ſur la défenſive. La Chaſſaigne qui commandoit à la Chine écrivit en diligence à Mr de Frontenac qu'il paroiſſoit dans le lac ſaint Loüis, à deux lieuës delà, cent canots Sauvages qui décendoient. Tous les Habitans de la campagne ſe retirerent au ſignal du canon de l'Iſle. De Filli raſſura auſſi tôt les eſprits par la nouvelle qu'il raporta que c'étoit cinq cens Sauvages de differentes Nations qui venoient de Michilimakinak en traite à Montreal, il étoit acompagné dans ſon canot de quatre principaux Chefs Outaouaks & Hurons. Le reſte des canots arriverent le lendemain.

Une avanture ſinguliere qui arriva à une jeune Fille de qualité dans le gouvernement de Montreal ne ſera pas ici hors de ſa place.

Mademoiſelle Marie-Anne de ſaint Ours, Fille de Mr de ſaint Ours, Oncle à la mode de Bretagne de Madame la Maréchalle de Talard, commandant de vingt-huit compagnies de la Marine, âgée de huit à neuf ans, étant allée avec de jeunes

enfans à l'Isle de saint Ours, à une demie lieuë de le terre de saint Ours, chercher des noisettes & des écrevisses. Un parti d'Iroquois vint fondre tout à coup dans cette Seigneurie, où ils brûlerent des maisons. L'incendie fit connoître à ces enfans que les Iroquois étoient à la côte, ils se rembarquerent aussi-tôt : comme ils coupoient droit sur le Fort en plein canal les Iroquois tirerent sur eux, ce qui les obligea de se cacher dans le fond du canot & de le laisser aller à la dérive, mais cette petite Damoiselle se desabilla bien vîte pour se jetter à l'eau, se flâtant que nageant extrémement bien l'on pourroit venir à son secours. Ces enfans se mirent à pleurer quand ils la virent se deshabiller par l'aprehension qu'elle ne se noya ; elle eut la précaution de se glisser le long du canot du côté de l'Isle pour n'être pas aperçûë des Iroquois ; le canot dérivoit insensiblement sans être gouverné. L'on fit dans ce moment une sortie du Fort pour aller aprés le canot, & les Iroquois se trouverent obligez de rentrer dans le bois.

A mesure que la belle Marie-Anne de saint Ours aprochoit de terre l'on crût que c'étoit un chien de la maison nommé l'écueil qui étoit un fort joli barbet, mais à la suite des Factionnaires aperçurent du

ſaut des baſtions une perſonne qui nageoit, un Officier s'embarqua pour aller au devant. L'on ne fut jamais plus ſurpris de voir cet enfant qui nageoit de tout ſon cœur: quand il falut la prendre ce fut l'embaras, car ces canots qui ſont d'écorce de bouleau, épais d'un écu, avec de petites varangues plates, qui ſont extrémement volages, & pour peu que l'on penche plus d'un côté que d'autre on les fait tourner. En éfet, un ſoldat empreſſé de la prendre en dedans par le bras tomba lui-même à l'eau, la jeune perſonne fit auſſi-tôt le plongeon & paſſa ſous le canot, l'on jetta un aviron au ſoldat qui ne ſavoit pas autrement nager: Enfin l'on ſaiſit le nouveau poiſſon par les cheveux. Elle ne fut pas du tout déconcertée, quoi qu'elle eut nagé un quart de lieuë & qu'elle eût dû être effrayée des coups de fuſil que l'on avoit tiré ſur elle. C'étoit qui la queſtionneroit étant arrivée à terre, & elle ne ſongeoit plus au danger qu'elle avoit encouru, mais fort inquiete des enfans qu'elle avoit laiſſez dans le canot, le détachement qui avoit favoriſé le décente à terre les ramena, & chacun fit le recit du petit voiage qu'ils avoient fait dans cette Iſle.

Cette Damoiſelle s'eſt mariée dans la ſuite à Mr de Mine Gentilhomme Pro-

vençal, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, qui a été tué à Gibraltar, & elle est presentement ma belle sœur.

Monsieur de Frontenac devoit être content de la négociation de Louvigni & de Perrot qui avoient calmé les Nations Alliées, c'étoit le seul moyen pour rallier ces esprits chancelans qui ne savoient auparavant quelles mesures prendre pour se mettre à l'abri de leurs ennemis. Monsieur de Frontenac tint conseil, où se trouva tout ce qu'il y avoit de Considerables tant de la part des François que de celle des Alliez. La Harangue de l'*Outaouak* ne roula presque que sur le Commerce : ils demanderent aussi l'explication de la Hache que Perrot avoit attachée à leur cabane, on differa de répondre à cet article.

Le Baron Chef des Hurons de Michilimakinak fut un peu plus politique, il dit qu'il n'étoit décendu que pour voir son Pere, écouter sa voix, & executer ses volontez, qu'il avoit besoin de poudre & de plomb, mais qu'il ne demandoit rien à son Pere ; il presenta trois Colliers. Il exhortoit par le premier à faire la guerre à l'Iroquois aussi-bien qu'à l'Anglois. Il disoit qu'il craignoit que son Pere & lui ne mourussent si cette guerre ne se faisoit, mais que quelque chose qui arriva il falloit

partir ensemble dans le même lieu.

Par le second il le remercioit de les avoir autrefois attirez à Michilimakinak, où ils étoient en sureté.

Il le prioit par le troisiéme d'avoir quelque égard pour ses camades les Outaouaks, & de leur faire bon marché.

Ouabouteki Chef des Nepisiriniens, qui sont de Nation Algonkine, dit que suivant les ordres qu'il avoit reçûs de son Pere il avoit été à l'attaque de Corlard, il s'y distingua beaucoup, où ils avoient épargné les Aniez, qui cependant étoient venus les tuër jusques aux portes de Montreal, qu'ensuite montant à Michilimakinak il avoit aussi reçû ordre de ne pas attaquer les Iroquois qu'ils n'eussent commencé les premiers, qu'il croyoit par là que son Pere vouloit faire la Paix avec eux, & qu'il lui demandoit sa volonté.

La traite des Pelleteries se fit le lendemain; comme elle commençoit la Plaque Iroquois du Saut qui venoit de la découverte du quartier des Anglois, arriva à un quart de lieuë où étoient campez les Outaouaks, faisant plusieurs cris de mort: ceux-ci abandonnerent leurs Pelleteries, prirent les armes & allerent au devant. Cette terreur panique fut bien-tôt passée, la Plaque leur aprit qu'il avoit vû sur le

bord du lac du ſaint Sacrement une groſſe armée ennemie qui faiſoit des canots, qu'il les avoit ſuivis quelques jours pour tâcher de faire un priſonnier, qu'il lui avoit été impoſſible, s'étant contenté de porter à une de leurs cabanes trois caſſe-têtes, par leſquels ils leur marquoient qu'ils étoient découverts, les défiant de venir à Montreal. Ces caſſe-têtes ſont des bâtons qui ont la figure de coûtelas, ſur leſquels ils font des figures qui font connoître la perſonne qui commande le Parti, cet avis ſervit à faire ſejourner plus long-temps les Outaouaks. On leur fit un Feſtin ſolemnel, compoſé de deux Bœufs, ſix gros Dogues, & de Pruneaux, le tout mêlé enſemble. On leur donna deux bariques de vin & du tabac pour fumer. Les Chiens ſont l'eſſentiel de ces ſortes de Feſtins, qui parmi les Sauvages ſont le ſimboſe de la guerre, & ils ne manquent jamais d'en manger pour lors.

Monſieur de Frontenac leur dit qu'il ne doutoit nullement de leur obeïſſance, & qu'il lui étoit inutile d'en exiger de nouvelles preuves, qu'il leur expliqueroit à cœur ouvert ſes ſentimens lors qu'ils ſeroient prêts de s'en retourner à leur païs. Qu'à l'égard de la guerre contre les Iroquois qu'ils ſembloient tant ſouhaiter il

prétendoit la leur faire ſans relâche juſqu'à ce qu'ils vinſſent eux même lui demander la Paix avec ſoumiſſion ; que ſi elle ſe concluoit ils y ſeroient compris, n'étant pas moins ſes enfans que les François. Je vous remets, leur dit-il, preſentement la Hache à la main que je vous ai fait donner par Perrot, qui la tenuë ſuſpenduë chez vous, & je ne doute pas que vous ne ſachiez vous en ſervir dans cette conjoncture : voyez ſi vous voulez aller au devant de cette armée, où ſi nous l'attendrons de pied ferme. Comme on ne fait jamais de mouvemens d'éclat de guerre parmi les Sauvages que l'on n'en ſoit venu auparavant à des marques aſſurées, Monſieur de Frontenac commença la Chanſon de guerre la Hache à la main, les principaux Chefs des François ſe joignant à lui avec de pareilles armes, la chanterent enſemble.

Les Iroquois du Saut & de la Montagne, les Hurons & les Nepiſiriniens, donnerent encore le branle : l'on eut dit, Monſieur, que ces Acteurs étoient des poſſedez par les geſtes & les contoriſions qu'ils faiſoient.

Les Saſſagouez, où les cris & les hurlemens que Mr de Frontenac étoit obligé de faire pour ſe conformer à leur maniere,

augmentoit encore la fureur bachique. L'on fit ensuite le Festin de guerre, qui fut plûtôt un pillage qu'un repas.

Le Chevalier de Clermont quitta sa Croisiere, & eut ordre de côtoyer depuis Forel jusques dans le lac Champlain, qui est le chemin que les ennemis devoient tenir pour faire une décente en ce païs. Il découvrit dans ce lac quantité de feux, & entendit tirer des coups de fusil, il en aprocha la nuit & il vit passer huit canots, dans chacun desquels il y avoit dix huit à vingt hommes qui gagnoient une Isle au dessous de l'endroit où ils s'étoient mis en ambuscade; il revint sur ses pas pour n'être pas envelopé du reste de cette armée, il les observa encore une lieuë plus bas pendant deux jours; enfin comme il craignoit d'être attaqué il envoya deux de ses canots sauter le rapide Chambli & resta pour être seur de toutes choses, il se tint au milieu de la riviere pour les attirer. Deux canots Iroquois lui donnerent chasse, qui ne pûrent le joindre. Il retrouva ses gens au bas du rapide, & gagna avec eux par terre Chambli, d'où il dépêcha Labruere à Monsieur de Fontenac. L'on ne douta plus que les Iroquois ne vinssent attaquer Montreal, l'on tira quatre coups de canon pour faire revenir les tròupes

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qui avoient facilité la recolte des habitans dans toutes les campagnes voisines.

Il exhorta les Sauvages de se mettre de la partie, tous les guerriers l'accompagnerent, & l'on trouva douze cens hommes à la revûë qui se fit le premier Septembre. Quelques Iroquois du Saut demanderent deux jours aprés un éclaircissement sur quelque soupçon qu'ils avoient de la fidelité de tous ces Outaouaks.

Loüis Ateriata pria les Chefs des autres Nations de se trouver chez Mr. de Frontenac. Lorsqu'ils furent assemblez il prit la parole, il presenta d'abord divers Colliers & exhorta tout le monde à lui ouvrir son cœur & à ne lui rien cacher de ce qui s'étoit passé de plus secret, il dit aux Outaouaks qu'il savoit toute leur négociation avec nos ennemis, qu'il en avoit été instruit par eux-mêmes. Qu'ils disent donc s'ils étoient veritablement freres des François, par quelle raison ils avoient voulu faire alliance avec l'Iroquois sans leur participation.

Manitouchagan qui avoit été avec la Petite Racine chef de cette ambassade aux Tsonnontoüans, répondit qu'il étoit vrai qu'ils avoient rendu des Esclaves Iroquois & même promis d'en rendre encore d'autres; qu'on les avoit obligez de faire la

guerre, de la cesser & de la recommencer sans qu'ils en fussent la raison, qu'ils n'avoient rien compris à cette conduite, & que craignant que ceux qui n'avoient pû se défendre eux-mêmes ne les laissassent accabler sans les secourir, ils avoient été contraints de songer à leur sureté & de prévenir leur perte par un acommodement.

Que cette négociation n'ayoit pas été achevée que la Petite Racine étoit mort aux Tsonnontouans, que les autres Envoyez étoient à Michilimakinak & qu'ils n'avoient plus pensé à mettre la derniere main à cette affaire dés qu'ils avoient reçû les ordres de leur Pere, par la bouche de Perrot, qu'ils étoient décendus exprés pour savoir ses sentimens, & qu'ils ne seroient pas plûtôt en leur païs qu'ils executeroient tout ce qu'il leur ordonneroit.

Le Baron Chef des Hurons dit que sa Nation n'avoit eû aucune part dans cette affaire, que dés qu'il avoit sçû que son Pere vouloit faire la guerre à l'Iroquois, il avoit envoyé contr'eux une partie de sa jeunesse, & qu'il étoit décendu avec l'autre pour le voir.

Loüis Ateriata ne laissa pas de faire plaisir à Mr. de Frontenac, de lui avoir suscité un moyen de s'éclaircir avec les

Orientales, qui avoient eû un grand penchant pour se raccommoder avec les Iroquois. Ces Generaux leur promit de les mener contre leurs ennemis aussi-tôt que leurs découvreurs lui en auroient aporté des nouvelles : ceux-ci s'acquiterent assez mal de leur commission, n'ayant pas été aussi loin qu'ils devoient ; cette négligence nuisit beaucoup aux affaires. En éfet, les Iroquois étant cachez dans un bois oposé à l'endroit où ces découvreurs avoient été, examinoient tous les mouvemens que nôtre armée faisoit dans la prairie de la Madeleine : Quand ils virent qu'elle avoit repassé le fleuve pour retourner à Montreal, ils vinrent fondre à un quart de lieuë de là, du côté de la Fourche, où tous les habitans & la garnison du Fort étoient occupez à couper les bleds ; & comme tous les Moissonneurs étoient écartez les uns des autres, contre l'ordre qu'ils en avoient reçû, & n'avoient auprés d'eux aucunes armes à feu, l'Officier même qui commandoit ayant négligé de poser des Sentinelles & d'avoir un Corps de-garde, les Iroquois trouverent beaucoup plus de facilité à faire leur coup. Ce fut donc un grand desordre, ils brûlerent les maisons, mirent le feu aux Recolets, enleverent vingt cinq per-

sonnés, dont ils en brûlerent onze à leur retour, tuërent dix soldats, firent un massacre de bestiaux & se retirerent devant que l'on pût repasser de Montreal. Il faut connoître le païs du Canada pour condamner les démarches d'un General quand il fait quelque chose mal à propos : tout ce païs n'est que bois, où il est entrecoupé de rivieres, de lacs, qui sont pour ainsi dire des Mers, il n'y a donc pas de chemin frayé & les pistes sont toûjours fort incertains à suivre. L'on tint aprés cette faillie un Conseil le quatriéme Septembre avec les Outaouaks qui pressoient fort leur départ. Ils eurent lieu d'être contens de l'acueil que leur fit Mr. de Frontenac & du bon marché qu'on leur fit dans le traite de leurs Pelleteries, ce qu'ils ne pratiquoient pas dans leur païs quand les François avoient besoin de vivres. Il leur donna de nouveau des haches qui sont encore un simbole de la guerre, lorsque Perrot en eut attaché une à leurs cabanes il l'avoit fait par son ordre, parce qu'il croyoit que c'étoit leur donner la vie que de les engager à faire la guerre aux Iroquois.

Les Hurons qui parurent avoir beaucoup d'attache aux interêts des François, reçûrent en partant toutes les marques d'estime qu'ils pouvoient souhaiter. Mr de

Frontenac les assura qu'il ne les abandonneroit jamais, leur promettant de ne pas quitter la hache qu'il n'eut réduit les Iroquois à lui demander la Paix dans laquelle ils seroient compris. Que pour ce qui regarde les Anglois qui avoient été les premiers mobiles des troubles, il s'étoit à la verité attaché à porter le fer & le feu chez eux plûtôt que chez les Iroquois, que le grand Anié avoit épargné à sa destruction de Corlard, parce, qu'Auriouaé qui avoit fait savoir son retour de France aux cinq Nations, avoit crû qu'ils seroient rentrez dans le devoir & seroient venus demander la Paix à Monsieur de Frontenac, mais qu'il n'avoit plus de mesures à garder avec eux.

Monsieur de Frontenac avoit toûjours ménagé l'esprit d'Auriouaé, qu'il estimoit beaucoup pour la probité qu'il trouvoit en lui. Voyant d'un côté le peu d'empressement que témoignoient ceux de sa Nation pour le revoir, & de l'autre l'attache qu'ils avoient pour lui, il ne laissa pas de lui laisser une pleine liberté de prendre son parti. La conversation qu'ils eurent ensemble merite vôtre attention. Ecoute-moi bien, mon fils Auriouaé, lui dit-il, je ne peux m'empêcher de te parler en Pere en te découvrant mon cœur,

& te dire que je ne connois rien dans les coûtumes de ta Nation qui avoit autrefois un veritable esprit d'homme ; & qui se laisse aller à present aux legeretez des petits enfans.

J'ai fait ce que j'ai crû devoir faire en les avertissant que je t'avois ressuscité, & que tu étois ici avec moi vivant, que je te conservois cherement, & qu'ils te pouvoient venir trouver pour te rammener chez toi s'ils avoient quelque peu de ressouvenir de ta personne. Tu vois la consideration qu'ils ont pour toi, ou plûtôt le mépris qu'ils en font.

Tes gens ne se souviennent pas de l'amitié que j'ai toûjours eû pour eux, je les ai adoptez, & que pendant que j'ai été maître de ce païs, j'ai fermé la porte de la guerre, & je l'ai ouverte à la Paix. Le tonnerre n'a jamais étonné aucun de leurs enfans, les femmes ont été au bois sans crainte, j'ai arrêté tous les orages qui les auroit pû incommoder, il n'y eut aucun sang répandu, ni charogne qui ayent empuanti leurs deserts.

Ils ont bien-tôt oublié un Chef si vaillant que toi, qu'ils sembloient tant regreter, ils ne reconnoissent guere celui qui vient de si loin pour leur rammener.

Ils devroient craindre si je les avois

trahis : ils me connoissent, si je ne l'ai pas fait quand je l'aurois pû faire, pensent-ils que je veuille commencer, ou que je sois capable de trahison.

Si les Chefs des Nations étoient venus on auroit racommodé les mauvaises affaires, on auroit pû essuyer le sang de part & d'autre, & raplanir la terre qui est pleine de buttes & de rochers.

Tu es un homme, je le sçais, je sçais que ton cœur est ennemi de l'ingratitude, tu as de l'esprit, tu peux connoître par consequent ce qu'on dit de toi, tu me cache ta pensée si tu ne m'avoüe que celui qui t'a donné la vie a raison. Il te renvoye ceux que j'ai envoyez pour les avertir avec deux enfans. Quoi ! croyent-ils que tu n'est pas ce que tu étois avant qu'ils t'ayent égaré ; ne leur peux-tu pas témoigner que tu étois considerable dans ce temps-là, & que tu ne le dois pas être moins. Si l'Onnontaguez ne s'est pas voulu interesser pour te venir voir, le Gaigouin ne le devoit-il pas faire ?

Je t'ai tiré du tombeau, & quand j'ai fait les malheurs qui ont desolé le Tsonnontouan & qui t'ont ôté la liberté, tu sais ce que j'ai fait pour toi & pour tes gens, j'ai été cause que celui qui t'a tué & qui n'est plus ici s'est laissé tuër sans se

venger. Sur ce que j'ai repreſenté au grand *Onontio* * en France que vous avez été trahi, il eſt ennemi de la trahiſon.

Je m'imaginois que toutes les Nations reconnoîtroient à qui mieux mieux un Pere qui venoit à leur ſecours, & qui s'étoit allé repoſer en ſon premier païs voyant tous ſes enfans en paix. J'attendois une grande reconnoiſſance de tous les Villages pour le remerciement de la vie que j'aurois recouvré à Auriouaé, homme ſi conſiderable parmi eux.

J'ai pleuré aprenant ton malheur, j'ai pleuré la deſolation de Tſonnontouan, je l'ai crû devoir faire car vous m'avez autrefois trop aimé pour n'avoir pas les tendreſſes que j'ai dû avoir pour les veritables enfans que j'ai adopté le premier; c'eſt ce qui m'a obligé de te faire rendre la vie qu'on t'auroit ôtée, & tu es vivant.

Mes predeceſſeurs avoient adopté les Outaouaks & leurs Alliez avant que j'arrivaſſe, mais c'eſt moi-même qui vous ai nommé les enfans d'*Onontio*, uniſſant votre cabane à la mienne.

Si vous avez été trahi pendant mon abſence vous ne l'avez jamais été en ma perſonne; prenez-vous à l'Anglois qui a voulu diviſer les eſprits & renverſer la

* Le Roi.

terre, qui depuis a été enſanglantée de votre ſang, de celui des François, & autres qui étoient vos freres, c'eſt ce qui m'a obligé de me venger moi-même en vengeant mes enfans par Corlard * qui a été brûlée, il ne tenoit qu'à moi de faire tomber ma jeuneſſe ſur Anié, on ne lui auroit pas reſiſté, mais j'ai toûjours eû un cœur de Pere, & bien loin de faire du mal j'ai commandé que ſi on en trouvoit on ne leur dit mot; mes ordres ont été executées.

Tes gens n'aiment guere ton promt retour, puiſque une Ambaſſade de tous qui eſt arrivée chez eux les a retenus ſi longtemps, & les a empêchez pendant tout un Hiver de te venir voir, quoi qu'ils ne fuſſent ici. Si Teganiſorens, Tegaronais, ou quelques autres Conſiderables étoient venus ils auroient fait leur devoir, & j'aurois connu la conſideration qu'ils ont pour toi.

Je connois le mauvais cœur de ta Nation, ſi elle avoit eû bon deſſein de raccommoder les mauvaiſes affaires elle auroit envoyé des Chefs qui auroient conclu une bonne Paix avec toi, qu'il regarde comme leur grand Chef, ils croyent être le dominateur de la terre. Tu le ſais, Aurouaé, ſi je perds à la guerre j'en puis

* Ville de la Nouvelle York.

recouvrir tant que je voudrai, tu n'as vû que l'ombre du François en France, juge ce qu'il eſt & ce qu'il peut.

Qu'ils croyent que le Fort Frontenac m'eſt inutile, ſi j'ai fait la guerre je ne l'ai fait faire que pour les aller voir en Pere & non en ennemi, je ne leur ferai pas la guerre s'ils ne me l'a font, je ne les tuërai pas le premier, mais ſi je l'entreprends je ferai des Forts au milieu de leur païs, les forces me viendront de France quand je le demanderai, qu'ils prennent garde d'allumer le feu de la guerre, il leur ſera peut-être bien difficile de l'éteindre, qu'ils n'animent pas trop le grand *Onontio*, * je l'ai apaiſé.

Quand j'ai fait renaître Auriouaé j'ai prétendu faire renaître un veritable Fils, qui eſt un cœur de Fils pour moi, afin que tu euſſe en moi un Pere qui fut tout à toi; & ſi ta Nation a ſi peu de conſideration pour toi, ſache que je veux que tu ſois conſideré de toute celle des François.

Dis-moi un peu pourquoi tes gens ont-ils en ſecret des pourparler avec l'Outaouak, croyent-ils que j'en ſois jaloux, j'aime leur union & c'eſt ce que je ſouhaite? mais s'ils font la paix entr'eux ſans que j'y ſois apellé, qu'ils ne viennent pas

* Le Roi.

parler à l'avenir des differens qu'ils pourroient avoir ensemble.

Tu sais ce que j'ai fait pour ta Nation & pour tes Alliez, les Nations d'enhaut ne vous ont jamais tué depuis la Paix pendant que j'ai gouverné, quoique votre jeunesse égarée leur aye enlevé des Villages entiers, je les ai empêchez de se venger quand vous m'êtes venu parler.

Tu crois que je croirois ta Nation mes veritables enfans, & tes gens semblent ne me plus vouloir pour pere. N'auroient-ils pas été défaits, & y en auroit-il un si des ce temps je m'étois joint à mes autres enfans.

J'ai de l'esprit, & si Theganissorens ne craint rien, ouvre-moi ton cœur, je suis indigné du mépris que tes gens ont pour toi & pour moi.

Rien n'étoit plus touchant, Monsieur, que cet entretien, & la maniere avec laquelle Aurouaé reçût ce que Monsieur de Frontenac lui dit, fit bien juger dans la suite qu'il abandonnoit sa Nation, pour n'être plus qu'un même cœur & un même esprit avec lui.

Je reviens aux Outaouaks qui étoient venus faire la traite à Montrea, ils s'en retournerent chez eux aprés tous les éclaircissemens que l'on avoit jugé à propos d'a-

voir ſur leur ſoupçon que l'on avoit eû de leur fidelité.

Quatre jours aprés leur départ on aprit la mort de Deſmarais Capitaine réformé, qui commandoit le Fort de Châteauguai. Trois Iroquois qui l'avoient trouvé un peu à l'écart lui caſſerent la tête à coups de hache, & comme ils n'eurent pas le temps de lui enlever la chevelure ils lui arracherent trois doigts de la main ; ce leur eſt toûjours un trophée de gloire, car pourvû qu'ils puiſſent aporter chez eux quelques preuves de leur expedition, cela ſuffit pour êrre eſtimé.

Le Chevalier de la Mothe Capitaine réformé eut peu de temps aprés un ſort auſſi fatal au lac ſaint Pierre. En éfet, étant à la tête de trente-quatre hommes il ſurprit des Iroquois dans leur cabane ſur qui il fit faire une vigoureuſe décharge de mouſqueterie ; ceux qui en échaperent gagnerent bien vite deux cabanes que l'on n'avoit pas découvertes, ils ſe rallierent enſuite & donnerent tête baiſſée ſur les François qui n'avoient pas obſervé d'ordre dans leur attaque, dont il ne ſe ſauva que la moitié ; la Mothe fut tué & on ne pût ſavoir ce que devint Murat Lieutenant.

Monſieur de Frontenac étoit toûjours fort en peine du Chevalier d'O qui n'étoit

soit pas revenu de sa negociation, il envoya au Fort de Frontenac Mantet & Perigni, saint Pierre & Monteſſon, avec les deux Fils de la Valliere Capitaine de ſes gardes, accompagné de trente hommes, pour faire quelques Priſonniers par leſquels on pût aprendre de ſes nouvelles & les deſſeins des Iroquois. Sur ces entrefaites le Major de Quebec dépêcha un canot à Mr de Frontenac pour lui donner avis de l'arrivée d'un Chef Abenagui qui venoit exprés de Lacadie. Je viens inceſſamment, dit ce Chef au Major, pour t'avertir que j'ai apris par une Angloiſe conſiderable que nous avons priſe prés de Peſadoüet, que trente Vaiſſeaux, dont il y en a trois fort grands, partent pour venir prendre Quebec; que ces Vaiſſeaux ſont de Baſton & de quatre Villes conſiderables, que les Anglois ſe vantent qu'ils le prendront auſſi facilement qu'ils ont pris le Port Royal. Auſſi-tôt que les Chefs & les plus Conſiderables de notre Nation ont apris cette nouvelle ils ont jugé qu'il falloit avertir inceſſamment le grand Capitaine de Quebec. J'ai été douze jours à venir, ainſi il doit y avoir ſix ſemaines depuis le départ de ces Vaiſſeaux.

Ce Chef reclama auſſi les Abenaguis que les Iroquois du Saut & de la Mon-

gagne avoient enlevez dans l'attaque de Beauvais. Il témoigna encore que les principaux Chefs de sa Nation ne pouvoient pas décendre cette Automne pour lui venir parler comme ils l'avoient promis, parce qu'ils étoient actuellement en guerre, qu'ils tâcheroient d'envoyer quelqu'un sur la fin de l'Hiver prochain, & qu'ils avoient resolu de faire aprés Noël une irruption sur les Anglois.

La nouvelle de cette Armée fut confirmée par Cannanville, qui l'avoit aperçûë à Tadoussac. Monsieur de Frontenac ne balança pas de partir aussi tôt de Montreal, il en reçût encore à quinze lieuës la confirmation, ce qui l'obligea de dépêcher Ramezai au Chevalier de Calliers, afin qu'il fit décendre les Troupes & une partie des habitans.

L'arrivée de Mr de Frontenac à Quebec fit un bon éfet, & quoi qu'il ne pût amener d'abord que trois cens hommes avec lui, les habitans qui naturellement sont guerriers crurent être à l'abri de tout incident quand ils eurent leur General. Le Major ne laissa pas en son absence de pourvoir à la sureté de la Place, ayant fait racheyer les Fortifications. Descherac Capitaine, qui se trouvant à Quebec par ordre de Mr de Frontenac, servit beaucoup dans cette conjoncture.

Le beau fleuve de saint Laurent forme un grand canal devant Quebec, qui a une lieuë de large de la côte du Nord à celle du Sud. La côte de Beaupré qui est celle du Nord est separée de Beauport par le Saut de Montmorenci, dont la chute fait une des plus belles Nappes du monde. Et entre Beauport & Quebec il y a une petite riviere que l'on passe à quai de basse Mer. La pointe de l'eau fameuse par un rocher de Diamans fait celle du Sud. Quebec est placé vis-à-vis cette pointe, où un peu au dessus, il est divisé en haute & basse Ville, qui n'ont communication ensemble que par un chemin fort escarpé. L'enceinte de la haute Ville étoit bien palissadée, & les endroits ouverts où il n'y avoit pas de portes étoient barricadées de poutres & de bariques pleines de terre. Le chemin de la haute & la basse Ville étoit coupé par trois differens retranchemens de bariques & de sacs à terre. L'on dressa des batteries de part & d'autre. L'on se fondoit cependant plus sur la resolution que l'on avoit de se bien défendre que sur la bonté des Fortifications. L'on vit donc paroître à la pointe du jour cette flotte le dix sept Octobre.

Une Chaloupe portant à l'avant Pavillon blanc, partit sur les dix heures de l'Amiral, & vint à terre.

Quatre canots de la Ville allerent au devant, portant le Pavillon de même, c'étoit l'Envoyé du General Phips, accompagné d'un Trompette, qui venoit sommer Quebec. On le fit passer seul dans un de ces canots, on lui banda les yeux, & il fut conduit au Fort. Il se trouva en arrivant dans la chambre de Mr de Frontenac extrémement fatigué d'avoir escaladé les barricades. Aprés qu'il se fut un peu remis il lui presenta la Lettre de son General qui étoit écrite en ces termes.

Sieur Guillaume Phips Chevalier, & Commandant general en Chef sur toutes les forces de leur Majesté de la Nouvelle Angleterre par Mer & par terre. Au Comte de Frontenac Lieutenant general & Gouverneur pour le Roi de France en Canada, ou en son absence à son Député, ou à celui qui commande en chef à Quebec.

Les Guerres entre les deux Couronnes d'Angleterre & de France ne sont pas seulement un motif, mais la destruction faite par les François & Sauvages sous votre commandement, & encouragement sur les personnes & biens des Sujets de leur Majesté de la Nouvelle Angleterre, sans aucune provocation de leur côté les a obligez à faire cette expedition pour leur propre sureté & satisfaction.

Comme aussi les barbaries & cruautez qui ont été exercées par les François & Sauvages pourroit par cette presente occasion nous engager à nous revenger severement, cependant étant desireux d'éviter les actions inhumaines & contre le Christianisme, comme aussi pour prevenir l'effusion de sang autant qu'il se pourra, moi ci-dessus Sieur Guillaume Phips Chevalier, par ces presentes & au nom de leurs trés-excellentes Majestez Guillaume & Marie, Roi & Reine d'Angleterre, Ecosse, France & Irlande, défenseur de la Foi, & par ordre de leurs susdites Majestez Gouverneur de Massacaset, Colonie dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, demande que vous ayez à rendre vos Forts & Châteaux sans être démolis, comme aussi toutes les Munitions sans être touchez, comme aussi une prompte delivrance de tous les Captifs ensemble, avec la delivrance de vos personnes & biens à ma disposition.

Ce que faisant vous pouvez esperer pardon de moi comme un Chrétien, ainsi qu'il sera jugé à propos pour le service de leurs Sujets. Ce que si vous refusez de faire je suis venu pourvû & resolu, avec l'aide de Dieu dans lequel je me fie, par force d'armes, de revancher tous les torts & injures qui nous ont été faites, & de vous rendre

ſous la ſujetion de la Couronne d'Angleterre, & lors que trop tard vous le voudrez faire, vous faire regreter de n'avoir pas plûtôt accepté la faveur que l'on vous a offerte.

Votre réponſe poſitive dans une heure renduë par votre Trompette, avec le retour du mien eſt ce que je vous demande, ſur le peril qu'il pourra s'en ſuivre. Signé Guillaume Phips.

Aprés que la Lecture de cette Lettre fut faite l'Anglois tira une Montre de ſa poche qu'il preſenta à Mr de Frontenac, & lui dit qu'il lui donnoit une heure à ſe déterminer. Notre General répondit à cet Envoyé d'un air aiſé qui marquoit par ſon intrepidité tout ce qu'une raillerie fine & délicate pouvoit inſpirer. Celui-ci qui voyoit aller & venir quantité d'Officiers dans les ſales du Fort ne ſavoit qu'en penſer. *Allez*, lui dit-il en le congediant, *allez dire à votre General que je n'ai pas de réponſe à lui faire que par la bouche de mes Canons & à coups de Fuſils, qu'il aprenne que ce n'eſt pas de la ſorte qu'on envoye ſommer un homme comme moi, & quand je voudrois me rendre tous ces braves Officiers que vous voyez n'y conſentiroient jamais.* On lui banda enſuite les yeux & on le conduiſit à la chaloupe,

après lui avoir fait faire exprés encore plusieurs escalades. Les Anglois mirent pied à terre sur les dix heures du matin au nombre de deux mille hommes, entre Beauport & la Petite Riviere. Comme l'on étoit incertain de leur décente, il ne se trouva guere de monde à les y recevoir, à peine trois cens hommes purent se joindre.

Les Anglois marcherent d'abord en ordre de bataille, mais nos Canadiens qui se battoient à la Sauvage voltigeoient incessamment autour d'eux d'arbres en arbres, ils firent plier le premier bataillon, & ils l'obligerent de regagner la queuë: les décharges continuelles les incommodoient beaucoup, on leur tua cent cinquante hommes, nous perdimes le Chevalier de Clermont & Latouche fils du Seigneur de Champlain; nous eûmes douze hommes de blessez, entr'autres saint Denis âgé de soixante ans, qui commandoit la Milice, de Beauport lequel eut le bras cassé.

Les quatre plus gros Vaisseaux vinrent moüiller sur le soir devant Quebec, le contre Amiral qui portoit Pavillon bleu se posta un peu plus sur la gauche, presque vis-à-vis du Saut au Matelot; l'Amiral étoit sur la droite, le vice-Amiral au

dessus, tous deux vis-à-vis la basse Ville; & le quatriéme qui portoit la flâme de Chef d'Escadre se mit du côté du Cap au Diamant; les canonnades furent assez vigoureuses de part & d'autre jusques à huit heures du soir.

L'on recommença le lendemain à la pointe du jour, & l'on s'aperçût que ce grand feu des ennemis commençoit à se ralentir; en éfet, le contre-Amiral qui avoit tiré le plus vigoureusement se trouva fort incommodé par les batteries du Saut au Matelot & celle d'en bas: il fut obligé de relâcher le premier, l'Amiral le suivit d'assez prés avec beaucoup de précipitation. Saint Helene Capitaine-Canadien qui savoit assez bien le commandement du canon, tira plus de vingt coups dans le corps de son Vaisseau, dont plusieurs le percerent à l'eau; toutes ses Manœuvres étoient hachées, son grand Mâts presque cassé à qui on fut obligé de mettre des jumelles, beaucoup de morts & de blessez dans son bord; enfin l'Amiral peur de succomber tout-à-fait fila son cable & se retira tout délabré, aprés avoir eû son Pavillon coupé d'un coup de canon. Ce fier General qui deux jours auparavant avoit promis pardon au Comte de Frontenac, se trouva lui-même presque à la

merci de celui qui le châtioit de sa témerité.

Monsieur de Frontenac qui avoit l'œil à tout se mit le Vendredi à la tête de trois Bataillons de Troupes reglées, en deçà de la petite riviere, pour y recevoir les ennemis qui firent une seconde décente. D'un autre côté Longueil & saint Helene son frere, avec quelques François, commencerent sur les deux heures les escarmouches à la Sauvage contre la tête de l'Armée, qui marchoit en bon ordre le long de la petite riviere. Ceux des ennemis qui s'étoient détachez du gros furent obligez de le regagner pour éviter le feu de nos Troupes qui étoient en embuscade. Saint Helene eut la jambe cassée, Longueil reçût un coup de fusil, & eût été tué sans une corne à poudre qui se trouva à l'endroit où donna la balle: nous perdimes deux hommes, il y eut deux ou trois blessez; les ennemis y firent une aussi grande perte qu'à la premiere décente.

Villieu Lieutenant réformé demanda le lendemain par grace à Mr de Frontenac le commandement de quelques soldats de bonne volonté. Aprés qu'il eut fait le coup de fusil quelque temps il eut l'adresse d'attirer les ennemis dans une ambuscade qu'il leur avoit dressée, où il se battit long-

temps, ils firent aussi-tôt un détachement pour l'entourer, qui fut chargé par les habitans de Beauport, de Beaupré, & de l'Isle d'Orleans. Cabanac & Beaumanoir vinrent à la charge, on lâcha le pied insensiblement pour les attirer encore proche d'une maison fortifiée de palissades, qui étoit sur une hauteur, tous nos gens s'y jetterent tout à coup. Les Anglois s'y acharnerent extrémement par le nombre des gens frais qui se relevoient, mais cette petite retraite ne fit qu'augmenter leur perte. Monsieur du Pui Lieutenant particulier s'avisa (je ne sai par quel motif) de faire sonner le toxin à la Cathedrale: cette allarme donnée à propos causa tant de trouble & de desordre parmi les ennemis qu'ils se jetterent pêle-mêle dans les chaloupes à la faveur de la nuit qui étoit obscure & pluvieuse, ayant abandonné cinq pieces de canon, cent livres de poudre, une cinquantaine de boulets. Deux Vaisseaux qui étoient dans l'ance des Mers ne jugerent pas à propos de rester pour les gages, ils mirent à la voile pour rejoindre leur flotte; on les salua à boulets en passant. Soubrecasse & Dorvilliers Capitaines se jetterent avec cent hommes dans l'Isle d'Orleans; de Villieu eut ordre de décendre aussi au Cap Tourmente pour

pecher quelque reste de décente. Toute la flotte mit à la voile & ne parut plus.

Mademoiselle Lalande qui étoit prisonniere dans l'Amiral proposa au Chevalier un échange, lui promettant de la négocier auprés de Mr de Frontenac ; il la laissa débarquer sur sa parole. Elle revint le soir à son Bord lui dire qu'elle seroit vis à vis l'endroit où ils étoient mouillez.

De la Valliere fit le lendemain la négociation, il n'y eut de considerable que le Capitaine Denis qui commandoit le Fort de Kefxebaye que Portneuf prit, & les deux Filles de son Lieutenant qui y fut tué.

De la Valliere trouva le secret de garder le Ministre de l'Amiral, sur la difficulté qu'il faisoit de rendre Mr Trouvé Missionnaire de Lacadie ; enfin l'on fit l'échange de bonne foi.

Le Chevalier Phips eut beaucoup de peine à arriver à Baston, d'où on aprit que le peuple étoit dans une extrême consternation de toutes les disgraces qui arriverent à sa flotte ; huit Vaisseaux firent naufrage dans le fleuve aprés la levée du Siege, où plus de huit cens personnes perirent.

Quelques Abenaguis de Lacadie arriverent peu de jours aprés, qui raporterent une nouvelle assez particuliere des Iro-

quois. Ces Sauvages qui ne ſont jamais malades furent attaquez de la petite Verole que les Anglois leur avoient communiquée : cette maladie qui leur étoit inconnuë fit plus d'expedition, que l'Art Militaire ; il en mourut quatre cens, ſi cent Loups, & même ceux-ci eurent leur grand Village tout deſolé, dont il n'en réchapa que ſeize. Dans le temps que les ennemis venoient aſſieger Quebec il ſe fit un parti conſiderable d'Anglois & d'Iroquois, pour attaquer en même temps Montreal; la petite Verole ſe communiqua heureuſement dans le Voyage parmi les Iroquois dont il en mourut une centaine ; ils étoient ſi éfrayez de cette mortalité qu'ils ſe broüillerent avec les Anglois qu'ils ne voyoient pas mourir comme leurs camarades.

Les Anglois de la Nouvelle Angleterre qui ne voyoient aucune ſureté dans leurs habitations par les irruptions continuelles que les Abenaguis de Lacadie faiſoient ſur eux, leur propoſerent la Paix. Ceux-ci répondirent que ny eux, ny leurs enfans, ny les enfans de leurs enfans, ne la feroient jamais avec l'Anglois qui les avoit ſi ſouvent trompez. L'on rendit graces au Dieu des Armées de ce qu'il avoit fait au Canada, on porta à la Cathedrale avec pompe & magnificence le grand Pa-

gillon de l'Amiral qui étoit tombé dans le fleuve, & celui que Portneuf avoit pris dans l'Acadie.

Monsieur l'Evêque chanta le *Te Deum*, on fit une Procession Solemnelle, & Mr de Frontenac alluma le soir le feu de joye au bruit du canon & de la mousqueterie des Troupes qui étoient sous les armes. L'on a bâti depuis une Chapelle dans la basse Ville sous les auspices de notre-Dame des Victoires, où l'on va tous les ans en Procession rendre graces à Dieu de cette Victoire le même jour quelle a été emportée.

Je ne saurois finir, Monsieur, cette Lettre par un endroit plus agreable n'y plus glorieux pour la memoire de Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac, vous assurant en même temps que l'on ne peut être avec plus de passion que je le suis,

MONSIEUR,

Votre trés-humble, &c.

V. LETTRE.

Huit cens Iroquois font des courſes dans le gouvernement de Montreal.

Priſe de trois Forts des Aniez, dans leſquels on fait trois cens priſonniers, la pluſpart guerriers.

Le Canada eſt menacé de toutes parts.

Arrivée de deux cens canots Outaouaks, qui viennent faire la traite de leurs Pelleteries.

Les Abenaquis de Lacadie ont de grands pourparlers avec les Anglois.

MONSIEUR,

Je n'aurois eû garde de vous interrompre au milieu de vos grandes occupations, ſi je n'étois perſuadé que vous reſſemblez aux Grands Hommes qui ne ſe délaſſent d'un travail d'eſprit que par un autre, & que lors qu'elles vous laiſſent quelques loiſirs vous croyez ne les mieux employer qu'à vous entretenir des matieres qui viennent des païs étrangers. Je vous prie,

Monsieur, de vous en dérober quelques-uns de ces momens, par le détail que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer. Vous y verrez la vivacité avec laquelle les Canadiens ont donné des preuves de leur zéle pour la gloire des armes du Roi.

Il est bien difficile, Monsieur, d'arrêter un torrent qui se répand avec rapidité dans une vaste campagne ; la confusion & le desordre, les ruïnes & la destruction de tout ce qu'il rencontre en sont les éfets. L'on peut dire avec quelque justice que les courses continuelles que les Iroquois avoient faites jusques alors dans ce vaste païs avoient causé une si grande revolution, que les forces commençant à beaucoup diminuër l'on y voyoit avec douleur ce torrent impetueux de Barbares s'y précipiter le fer & le feu à la main. Comme ils s'apercevoient que l'on s'étoit tenu sur la défensive ils jugerent de la foiblesse du courage des François, ou de l'impuissance de leurs forces. Deux soldats qui avoient été pris trouverent le moyen de s'enfuïr de Quebec ; ils rencontrerent huit cens Iroquois qui étoient en marche pour faire irruption sur nos côtes : c'en fut assez pour animer davantage cette Nation qui ne respiroit que le carnage. Ces fugitifs étoient si bien instruits du fort & du foible

de Canada, qu'ils leur donnerent toutes les lumieres possibles : on courut aprés & l'on offrit trente pistoles à ceux qui les trouveroient. Quand les Iroquois eurent apris qu'il n'étoit point venu de troupes de France ils se separerent aussi tôt en deux bandes, les uns devoient venir par le lac Champlain, & l'autre par celui de Saint François, où la riviere des Iroquois. Ceux qui prenoient cette route devoient se camper auprés du Saut, & sous prétexte de négociation leur dessein étoit d'attirer le plus de Sauvages qu'ils pourroient, & de leur casser la tête.

Le Chevalier de Callieres donna ordre à tous les habitans de son gouvernement de se retirer dans les Forts, ces forces n'étant pas suffisantes pour aller au devant d'eux. Il jetta le plus de monde qu'il pût du côté du Saut, pour en soûtenir les Sauvages qui avoient promis d'user des mêmes stratagêmes que les Iroquois se l'étoient proposé à leur égard. Le Marquis de Grimaldi Capitaine, sorti d'une des illustres Maisons d'Italie, de Monaco & de Grimaldi, commandoit tous les François qui y étoient.

Enfin ce Parti qui devoit venir par le lac saint François parut à la vûë du Saut ; on l'attendit de pied ferme, & on le reçût

avec un feu de mousqueterie qui fut rigoureux de part & d'autre. Ils prirent le soir du même jour le chemin du lac saint François pour sans doute y chasser ; ils détacherent de petits Partis qui surprirent quelques habitans, qui sont toûjours trop empressez à retourner sur leurs terres quand ils voyent les grandes allarmes passées. La femme du redoutable la Chaudiere Noire qui étoit prisonniere, avoit envie de s'évader, Thatha Kouicheré Chef des Onneyouts du Saut qui en avoit eû soupçon lui cassa la tête, & attacha une hache sur la porte, invitant par là ses freres à la même chose contre ceux qui feroient mine de s'enfuïr.

Le parti qui venoit par le lac Champlain étoit tout prêt à faire son coup, lors qu'un jeune François & deux Sauvages s'en sauverent heureusement. L'évasion d'un autre qui fut deux jours auparavant les embarassa fort, ce qui les obligea de tenir plusieurs Conseils, car ils jugeoient bien qu'ils étoient découverts. Ils vinrent camper dans une Isle du côté du lac Champlain. Comme la saison commençoit à être avancée l'on ne se mit pas beaucoup en peine de leurs menaces. Le Chevalier de Callieres fit partir par ordre du Comte de Frontenac un Convoi de six Compagnies

Chambli, avec une cinquantaine de Sauvages que l'on destina pour la découverte. D'autres se joignirent à ceux-ci, & allérent sur les bords du lac Champlain pour tâcher de surprendre quelques Iroquois qui y étoient; l'on cassa seulement la tête à un Tsonnontouan, & l'on trouva dans des paquets qui avoient été abandonnez les chevelures de deux habitans de Sorel.

L'entrepriſe que l'on avoit voulu faire l'année precedente sur les Onnontaguez n'ayant pû réüſſir par tous les obſtacles qui ſurvinrent, le Comte de Frontenac en projetta, Monſieur, un autre ſur les Aniez dés qu'il vit les choſes dans une meilleure ſituation, celle-ci étoit plus d'éclat par les impreſſions qu'elle fit ſur les Anglois qui ſont leurs voiſins.

Les Sauvages du Saut & de la Montagne avoient fait humainement tout ce qu'ils purent pour inſpirer aux Aniez leurs freres de faire enſemble la Priere, & ceux-ci de leur côté s'étant ſervis de toutes ſortes de ruſes pour les attirer chez eux, les premiers reſolurent d'en venir à d'autres extremitez: il ſe fit donc pour cet éfet un parti conſiderable de Sauvages, d'Habitans, & de Soldats d'élite: Mantet, Courtemanche & la Nouë, furent choiſis pour

commander les François. Monſieur de Champigni donna tous les ordres neceſſaires, ſoit pour les munitions de guerre & de bouche que pour les raquettes, traînées, & autres choſes utiles à de pareilles expeditions. Les Hurons de Lorette, les Abenaguis du Saut de la Chaudiere, des Algonkins, & des Soxoxis des Trois Rivieres s'y offrirent auſſi. Il ſe fit donc un petit corps d'armée de plus de ſix cens hommes, ſans compter une trentaine d'Officiers : des Habitans même éloignez de quatre-vingt lieuës de Montreal y vinrent auſſi.

Enfin toutes choſes étant en état l'on partit le vingt-cinq Janvier de la prairie de la Magdeleine, on alla camper à Chambli, où tous les François ſejournerent deux jours juſques à l'arrivée de nos Sauvages qui ſe joignirent à eux au retour de leur chaſſe, car c'eſt preſque toûjours leur coûtume d'en agir de même dans ces ſortes d'entrepriſes. Aprés beaucoup de fatigues l'on arriva le ſeize Février ſur le ſoir à la vûë d'un des petits Forts des Aniez, Manget & Courtemanche ſe ſeparerent de la Nouë pour en attaquer un autre qui étoit à un quart de lieuë plus loin. La Nouë ſe rendit maître de ce premier, où il ne trouva que cinq hommes, pluſieurs femmes

de chasse : Mantet trouva moins de resistance du sien qu'il ne l'avoit crû : l'on brûla ces deux endroits. Courtemanche resta avec un détachement pour garder tous les prisonniers & plusieurs autres que l'on avoit fait dans les bois. Il y avoit un troisiéme Fort de plus grande consequence, Mantet & la Nouë qui y arriverent la nuit du dix huit furent surpris d'y entendre beaucoup de bruit, les Iroquois chantoient pour lors une chanson de guerre, & l'on crût d'abord que l'on avoit été découvert, mais l'on sçût dans la suite que c'étoit une quaranteine de guerriers qui devoient aller joindre un gros parti qui se formoit à Onneyouë, l'on trouva le secret d'ouvrir les portes : on fit donc main basse tout à coup, l'on mit le feu aux cabanes, aux vivres, aux pieux du Fort, & à tout ce que l'on ne pût emporter. Quand l'ivresse de nos Sauvages fut passée on rejoignit Courtemanche ; nous en perdîmes une treinteine qui furent tuez au premier abord la Hache-d'armes à la main, ou qui perirent par leur ivrognerie. L'on se rendit maître de trois cens Iroquois, dont le tiers étoient des guerriers. Les troupes les plus nombreuses ne sont pas toûjours à desirer en guerre, non plus que les grands Corps qui sont pour l'ordinaire sujets aux

plus grandes maladies, qui coûtent beaucoup plus cher à nourrir, qui ont plus de difficulté à se remuër, & qui donnent plus large visée aux coups des ennemis.

C'eût été une belle défaite si les Sauvages du Saut avoient voulu executer leur promesse ; le Comte de Frontenac avoit si fort inspiré ces sentimens aux Chefs, qui lui en avoient donné toutes les assurances possibles, mais cette Nation promet volontiers ce qu'on lui demande, & s'en reservent aprés l'execution autant que le caprice ou l'interêt, qu'ils ne connoissent pas toûjours bien, les ménent : on ne pût donc les résoudre à leur casser la tête. L'on partit en bon ordre, les prisonniers au milieu, & les François les plus allertes soûtinrent l'Arriere garde. Les troupes sont augmentées de moitié par l'experience des Capitaines & le courage qu'ils portent à la guerre. Aprés deux jours de marche un Sauvage vint donner l'allarme sur l'avis qu'il avoit que les ennemis les poursuivoient à toute diligence.

Les Commandans François voyoient trop d'inconveniens à soûtenir un combat general, ils se trouvoient extrémement embaraſſez du grand nombre de prisonniers, & ils aprehendoient d'ailleurs que se fortifiant dans les bois ils ne fussent affamés

sollicitèrent plus que jamais les Sauvages de précipiter la marche ; quelques raisons que l'on pût leur apporter ils ne voulurent jamais les goûter, il fallut donc se rendre à leur avis quelque pernicieux qu'il fut. Mantet ne perdit pas de temps à se retrancher à la Sauvage, l'on fit une maniere de Fort à quatre bastions, entassé d'arbre les uns sur les autres, entouré de pieux : mais quand on aprit que les ennemis avoient fait halte derriere les retranchemens, plusieurs Sauvages & François sortirent d'un propos déliberé pour les empêcher de se fortifier : on n'eût que le temps de laisser une garde pour les prisonniers, & l'on fit une attaque si vigoureuse que l'on poussa les ennemis de leur premiere ambuscade jusques à trois fois : l'on battit la retraite à contre-temps, ce qui pensa causer beaucoup de desordre : nous y eûmes une quinzaine de blessez, & nous perdîmes huit hommes.

L'on representa encore aux Sauvages l'embarras où l'on alloit se trouver par les difficultez qu'il y avoit d'emporter les blessez, & aprés qu'ils eurent été pleinement convaincus que les ennemis qui étoient déja au nombre de sept cens, ne manqueroient pas d'avoir du renfort au-

tant qu'ils le ſouhaiteroient, ils conſentirent à la fin que l'on décampa. On partit en bon ordre en plein jour, pour n'être point obligé de marcher la nuit dans les bois, l'on paſſa la riviere d'Orange ſur les glaces: heureuſement les ennemis pourſuivoient aſſez lentement, & ce fut un grand avantage aux François qui ſe trouverent ſoulagez par là dans le tranſport des bleſſez, qui étoit fort difficile, puiſqu'à peine vingt hommes ſuffiſoient pour en porter un ſeul dans un brancar. Lors que l'on fut arrivé vers le lac ſaint Laurent, pluſieurs de nos Sauvages nous quitterent pour chaſſer; quelques priſonniers deſerterent, & d'autres Aniez vinrent prendre parti avec nous. Les vivres commencerent à manquer: l'on crût en trouver dans un endroit que l'on avoit cachez, qui furent tous gâtez. La miſere devint ſi generale par ce contre-temps, qu'il eſt difficile de vous exprimer, Monſieur, tout ce que l'on ſouffrit dans la ſuite du Voyage, & la ſeule reſſource qui leur reſta fut de faire boüillir des ſouliers Sauvages. Auſſi-tôt que l'on eût pû gagner la riviere de Charzi, qui eſt à ſeize lieuës de Montreal, on dépêcha au Chevalier de Callieres des Exprez pour le prier d'envoyer des vivres; il y pourvût avec toute la diligence poſſible.

plaignit fort piti quand on se vit proche des côtes, mais Courtemanche & Villedonné restèrent seuls avec les blessez.

Ce coup qui fut plus heureux & plus glorieux dans ses commencemens, ne laissa pas de jetter les Iroquois & les Anglois dans une consternation generale, (chaque Nation aprehendant un même desastre) & la Victoire eût été parfaite si Mantet n'eût pas été forcé de condécendre aux sentimens de nos Sauvages.

Perigni qui avoit été détaché à Lacadie, arriva un mois devant le retour de ce Parti, il raporta que l'Escadre commandée par le Chevalier du Palais avoit fait voile vers Terre-neuve, qu'aprés que deux Navires qui venoient de Quebec l'eussent joint dans la Baye des Espagnols, en l'Isle du Cap Breton, il avoit pris la route de Pentagoüet. Cette nouvelle fut suivie de la prise des deux fugitifs Anglois qui avoient déclaré le fort & le foible de Quebec, & qui avoient si bien informé les Anglois des moyens les plus seurs pour s'en rendre maîtres.

Sur ce que l'on aprit d'ailleurs par des prisonniers que l'on faisoit un armément considerable en la Nouvelle Angleterre, le Comte de Frontenac jetta les yeux sur Beaucour Capitaine, qui avoit beaucoup de

genie dans les Fortifications ; il travaille avec aplication à réparer les défauts de celles de Quebec. Ces travaux n'étoient pas encore si pressez que l'on ne dût penser à trouver l'expedient de faire décendre les Pelleteries de Michilimakinak : la quantité prodigieuse qu'il y en avoit paroissoit d'une grande importance pour les y laisser, cependant la crainte où l'on étoit de l'irruption des Iroquois mettoit hors d'état d'y pouvoir envoyer le nombre de François sufisant pour les transporter, outre que l'on eût été bien aise que deux cens qui y étoient décendissent.

Toutes ces raisons obligerent le Comte de Frontenac d'y envoyer Dargenteuil, Lieutenant réformé, avec dix-huit Canadiens, pour porter des ordres à Louvigni qui y commandoit : Une vingteine de Sauvages du Saut & de la Montagne s'offrirent d'être de la partie ; le départ fut heureux, mais le retour fut un peu traversé. En éfet, plusieurs Iroquois qui s'étoient jettez des deux côtez d'un rapide qui est au haut de l'Isle de Montreal, firent leur décharge si brusquement sur les canots qu'ils furent trés maltraitez. La Valtri, Enseigne d'une Compagnie, le fut davantage, parce que son canot coulant bas d'eau, il débarqua & fut tué en même

de ſes gens. Il perdit quelques Iroquois, & on prit un Sauvage de la Montagne.

Les difficultez extraordinaires qu'il y a de faire la guerre en ce païs par la quantité de bois impraticables, dans leſquels on eſt contraint de livrer des combats, font cauſe que l'on n'envoye que de petits Partis que l'on détache de part & d'autre. Les endroits qu'il faut encore neceſſairement côtoyer ſur les rivieres ſont ſi remplis de dangers par les courſes continuelles des Iroquois, qu'il eſt extrémement difficile de ne pas tomber dans quelques embuſcades, les plus braves en ſont ſouvent la victime, il faut cependant paſſer par deſſus toutes ces conſiderations. Tous ces petits Partis ne laiſſent pas d'être utiles, parce que l'on tient en bride ſon ennemi & qu'on le harcele : la dépenſe en étoit à la verité conſiderable, & quoi que le Sauvage ſoit naturellement porté à la guerre, il ne veut cependant jamais marcher qu'avec beaucoup de vivres & de munitions ; l'on a même de la peine à lui perſuader qu'il fait la guerre autant pour ſon interêt que pour le notre.

Le Canada étoit menacé de toutes parts, il n'y avoit aucune ſureté dans le fleuve depuis Quebec juſques à Montreal : ce

gouvernement-ci qui a toûjours été le theâtre de la guerre ne pouvoit être trop bien gardé. Sorel & Chambly qui le couvrent étoient les postes les plus importans; le Chevalier de saint Jean qui commandoit au premier reçût un renfort d'hommes qui réparerent ce qui n'étoit pas en état de défense; Desbergeres qui commandoit celui-ci, qui est à la tête du païs, le mit au meilleur état que l'on pouvoit souhaiter, il y employa tout ce qui pouvoit servir à sa conservation, il rendit inhabitables les Portages par desquels les ennemis étoient obligez de passer en grand corps, de maniere qu'il leur falloit enfiler des rapides d'où il est presque impossible que des canots puissent se sauver, ou il leur falloit passer à la vûë du Fort, dont le canon les auroit fort incommodez.

Quand on eût pourvû à la sureté de ces deux postes on ne négligea rien pour celle de Montreal, l'on fit faire un petit Fort sur un côteau qui commande la Ville, c'est un quarré long à quatre Bastions, garni de Fraises & de Palissades, revêtu d'un petit Fossé, & comme il est impossible aux ennemis d'y amener du canon, l'on peut dire qu'il est imprenable; toutes les ruës de la Ville l'ont en perspective, de maniere que si elle étoit prise les ennemis ne pourroient s'y loger.

de tous les Partis que nos Sauvages avoient faits, celui de la *Plaque* réüssit le premier du côté d'Orange, il surprit quatorze hommes dans les bois, parmi lesquels il y avoit un François qui avoit été enlevé aux Isles saint Pierre de Terre-neuve par un Navire Anglois, il assura que les ennemis devoient faire voile le vingt d'Avril de Boston pour assieger Quebec, que les préparatifs que l'on avoit faits dans tous les gouvernemens étoient considerables, que l'armement seroit de dix mille hommes, parmi lesquels il y en avoit six mille pour le débarquement. Il ajoûta que le Commandant devoit marcher par le lac Champlain, à la tête de six cens Anglois, sans compter les Iroquois, afin d'amuser les troupes qui étoient vers Montreal, & faciliter par ce moyen l'entrepriſe de Quebec.

Le Comte de Frontenac avoit déja reçû trop d'avis pour ne point s'attacher à la conſervation de la Capitale de ce vaſte païs; il donna tous les ordres neceſſaires & paſſa à l'Iſle d'Orleans, à la côte de Beaupré, & autres lieux circonvoiſins, il diſpoſa toutes choſes pour la ſureté de ces côtes.

Les ennemis qui étoient bien aiſes d'avoir un Eſpion chez les François, enga-

gerent Tarche un des principaux Chefs d'Onneyouts d'y venir examiner l'état des affaires. Ce Chef adroit prit le prétexte de chercher un de ses Neveux qui étoit prisonnier au Saut, qu'il vouloit avoir à la place de saint Amour, habitant de la Pointe-aux-Trembles, qu'il ramena pour cet éfet. Il presenta au Comte de Frontenac des Colliers, il l'assura que les Onneyouts l'avoient en même temps conjuré de lui demander la Paix, que si jusques à present ils n'avoient fait aucune démarche, la douleur où ils étoient d'avoir irrité si mal à propos un Pere, les avoit obligez de ne point paroître devant lui : qu'ayant bien voulu risquer de venir seul, il se flâtoit en son particulier qu'il ne recevroit aucun châtiment de sa main, que tout le Village suivroit l'exemple des cabanes pour qui il parloit, qu'il avoit fait avertir toutes les Nations qu'il venoit en Canada pour voir son Pere, & tâcher de racommoder ce que leur mauvaise foi avoit gâté. Le Pere Milet Jesuite, prisonnier depuis cinq ans, qui lui avoit donné des lettres, confirmoit tout ce que disoit ce Chef par ses Colliers. Le Comte de Frontenac qui connoissoit assez les fourberies des Iroquois, lui fit réponse par un seul Collier,

Ce Collier, dit ce General, qu'Onontio donne à Tarcha, est pour dire que le juste ressentiment qu'il a de l'horrible perfidie que les Onnontagez ont faite aux François, qu'il avoit permis d'accompagner les Iroquois qu'il avoit ramené de France, qu'Anriotaé leur avoit envoyé, joint aux cruautez inouïes qu'ils ont exercées depuis, aussi-bien que toutes les autres Nations, sur ceux de ses enfans qui sont tombez entre leurs mains, auroit dû l'obliger à user de représailles sur Tarcha, & à rejetter les Colliers qu'il lui a presentez de la part des trois Familles les plus considerables d'Onneyout, sans vouloir écouter aucune des choses qu'il lui a dites, si la tendresse qui lui reste encore pour des enfans qu'il a toûjours aimez, & à qui il n'a jamais fait que du bien, ne l'avoit porté à essayer encore de leur faire trouver quelques moyens de pouvoir rejetter le poison qu'ils ont avalé, & de sortir de l'ivresse où ils sont depuis si long-temps, en rentrant dans leur bon sens & se remettant dans leur devoir.

C'est le motif seul, dit-il, qui m'engage à déclarer par ce Collier que si les Onnontagez, Tsonnontouans & Goyogouins, veulent entrer dans ces dispositions où paroissent être les Onneyouts, ils ayent à m'envoyer incessamment deux des principaux &

*des plus considerables Anciens de chaque Nation, dont je souhaite que Theganiſſorens soit du nombre, parce qu'il est de mon ancienne connoissance, pour me marquer la douleur veritable & le regret sincere qu'ils ont de toutes leurs fautes passées, & j'écouterai ce qu'ils voudront me dire là dessus, leur donnant une entiere assurance qu'ils pourront venir & s'en retourner en toute seureté, quelque chose qu'il puisse arriver. Ils doivent d'autant moins en douter qu'ils savent qu'*Onontio *n'a jamais manqué à sa parole, & qu'il est incapable de le faire.*

C'est à eux à se consulter sur la resolution qu'ils doivent prendre, parce que s'ils refusent d'entrer promptement par la porte que les Onneyouts ont commencé à leur ouvrir, Onontio *est resolu de se boucher les oreilles, de ne plus entendre aucunes propositions d'accommodement, & de les poursuivre jusques à leur entiere extermination.*

Soixante Amicois qui venoient des environs de Frontenac pour tâcher de surprendre des Iroquois, raporterent que les Nepisiriniens avec lesquels ils étoient partis en guerre, avoient fait rencontre de trois canots Iroquois, dont ils en avoient défait un, & qu'ils avoient repris le nommé le Lac Canadien, & Lorani, un des considerables de la Montagne, qui avoit

blessé à la même occasion que la Valtri fut tué.

L'on aprit aussi des nouvelles de Lacadie par le Pere Binetau Jesuite, qui fit savoir qu'un parti d'Abenaguis avoit pris onze Anglois auprés de Pemkuit, & que la flote Angloise avoit mis à la voile pour venir à Quebec. Saint Michel arriva le lendemain de ces nouvelles de chez les Iroquois; il fut pris dans la riviere des Outaouaks en un combat où la Gemeraye commandoit, il fut conduit à Onnontagué avec la Fresniere & Hastel Enseignes. Il sçût que dans un Conseil general on avoit resolu de le faire brûler pour le bien de la Nation: il crût qu'il n'étoit pas tout-à-fait à propos de leur donner cette satisfaction, & il trouva le secret de s'enfuir.

Il assura à son arrivée que les Anglois avoient construit chez les Onnontaguez un Fort à huit Bastions, à trois doubleures de pieux, qui devoit servir de retraite aux Nations Iroquoises en cas que les François vinssent chez-eux. Il dit qu'il en devoit décendre huit cens pour troubler les récoltes, que ce que Tareha avoit dit de la part des Onneyouts pouvoit être de bonne foi, mais que les autres Nations ne vouloient point entendre parler de Paix. Il arriva aussi peu de jours aprés un canot

de la Baye d'Hudson, qui raporta que la famine les ayant obligez d'abandonner le Fort saint Anne, il restoit seulement cinq personnes pour le garder, parmi lesquels il y avoit un miserable qui avoit assassiné le Pere Almas Jesuite leur Missionnaire, qui lui avoit reproché son crime au sujet d'un Chirurgien qu'il avoit tué.

La sainte Anne de Bordeaux, le saint Joseph & le Pontchartrain, arriverent peu de jours aprés, & plusieurs autres Vaisseaux, qui amenerent des troupes de France pour le païs.

Le Chevalier de Callieres ayant apris en ce temps-là que nos Sauvages avoient découvert aux Cascades de la riviere des Iroquois sept à huit cens de cette Nation, en donna avis au Comte de Frontenac. Ce General fit partir le Chevalier de Vaudreuil avec cinq Compagnies, & cent cinquante hommes des nouveaux débarquez qui paroissoient se mieux porter. D'un autre côté le Chevalier de Callieres qui avoit apris que l'on avoit crû voir le Camp des ennemis à six lieuës dans l'Isle de Montreal, marcha à la tête de huit cens hommes pour les prévenir : il fut jusques aux Cascades sans rencontrer qui que ce soit ; ce mouvement fit un assez bon éfet. Un Anié Esclave du Saut prévoyant bien

que l'on alloit être en état de leur tenir tête plus que jamais, ne manqua pas de s'échaper. Le Comte de Frontenac qui se préparoit aussi à monter à Montreal, aprit l'arrivée de deux cens canots chargez de Pelleteries, qui étoient décendus des Outaouacs. La vûë d'un si grand nombre de richesses causa une joye universelle dans le païs ; ce ne fut, Monsieur, qu'acclamations & benédictions que l'on donnoit au Pere du peuple & au conservateur de la patrie. Il sembloit pour lors que l'on oublioit les maux passez par la consolation qu'un chacun pouvoit avoir de joüir d'un bien qui leur avoit paru de si difficile accez. Les principaux Chefs de chaque Nation qui étoient arrivez au devant de ce Pere commun jusques aux Trois-Rivieres: ils firent leurs Harangues qui la plûspart n'aboutirent qu'à lui faire connoître qu'ils étoient décendus pour écouter sa voix, & dans le dessein d'obeïr à l'ordre qu'il leur avoit fait porter par d'Argenteüil.

Les Hurons qui aimoient plus la gloire de leur Nation, lui firent le recit de tous les Partis qu'ils avoient formez contre l'Iroquois, & des avantages qu'ils avoient remportez sur eux. L'on fit ensuite la traite, l'on examina pendant ce temps les mauvaises dispositions des Nations & le

merite des Sauvages les plus considerables, parce qu'il étoit absolument necessaire d'en faire un discernement pour les recompenser selon l'inclination dans laquelle ils avoient été, mais l'on fut touché quand on sçût que les Miamis avoient reçû des presens des Anglois par l'entremise des Loups. Le Comte de Frontenac qui en savoit trop la consequence fit marcher un plus grand nombre de soldats Canadiens & François qu'il ne se l'étoit d'abord proposé, pour chasser les Anglois de ce poste s'ils s'en étoient emparez, où du moins les empêcher d'y entrer. Les principaux Chefs Outaouaks furent régalez à la table du Comte de Frontenac, & l'on fit ensuite le Festin general, où chacun à l'envie l'un de l'autre chanta la guerre & raconta ses exploits : ils eurent lieu d'être contens du bon acueil qu'on leur fit ; ils s'en retournerent tous, & les François sous la conduite du Chevalier de Tonti Commandant & Seigneur des Illinois, avec Mantet, Courtemanche & d'Argenteuil.

Perrot étoit du Voyage : l'entiere connoissance qu'il a de toutes les Nations du Canada, & l'ascendant qu'il avoit sur l'esprit de tous ces peuples, obligea le Comte de Frontenac de le choisir comme pour mettre une barriere entre les Anglois, les

Nations. Maramek
de sa demeure, qui étoit
d'une infinité de peuples.

Le Sieur fut aussi envoyé à Chagouamikong, pour entretenir la Paix entre les Sauteux & les Sioux : c'est le seul endroit par où l'on puisse passer pour se rendre à cette derniere Nation, parce que si l'on prenoit le côté du Sud les Renards & les Mesrouetchs ne font pas difficulté de piller les François, sous prétexte qu'ils portent des munitions aux Sioux leurs anciens ennemis.

Le Comte de Frontenac qui avoit si bien reglé les affaires des Outaouaks ne songeoit plus qu'à décendre à Quebec. Il aprit auparavant son départ que trois Navires Anglois ayant hiverné au fond de la Baye d'Hudson, s'étoient rendus maîtres du Fort sainte Anne. Il ne leur faloit cependant pas de grands aprêts pour y réüssir. Les cinq hommes dont je vous ai déja parlé, Monsieur, soûtinrent la premiere attaque contre quarante Anglois. Ce nombre-ci n'étoit pas encore suffisant : Ils firent une seconde tentative, mais les François voyant qu'il débarquoit plus de cent hommes ils abandonnerent le Fort la nuit, aimant mieux penetrer plus de deux cens lieuës à travers des

bois affreux pour se rendre à Montreal, que de demeurer entre leurs mains. La perte monta à plus de cinquante mille écus en Castors, sans compter les munitions de guerre & de bouche.

Villebon qui commande à saint Jean dans Lacadie, fit aussi sçavoir, Monsieur, que les Abenaguis avoient été traiter au Fort de Pemkuit, qu'autant qu'il pouvoit juger il n'y avoit encore rien à apprehender pour le commerce. La haine irreconciliable qu'ils ont contre les Anglois, étoit un préjugé que ces pourparlers ne tendoient qu'à tirer des marchandises sans en venir à d'autres conclusions. Villebon mandoit aussi qu'il étoit bien menacé du General Phips qui devoit partir incessamment avec huit cens Anglois ou Sauvages pour l'assieger, que ce General avoit fort desaprouvé le débarquement que l'on avoit fait à Beaubassin, terre qui apartient à la Valliere, Capitaine des gardes du Comte de Frontenac, où les Anglois furent repoussez avec perte ; qu'il étoit arrivé à Baston dix sept Vaisseaux depuis vingt jusques à soixante pieces de canon, qui revenoient de la Martinique en fort mauvais état, que leur armée y avoit été battuë, qu'ils y avoient perdu trois mille hommes, &

leurs gros Navires de coulez bas ; que le Général de Baſton leur faiſoit faire la quarantaine à cauſe de la peſte qui y étoit, & qu'auſſi tôt que les équipages ſe ſeroient rafraichis, il ſe hâtoit d'avoir le temps de prendre Quebec, ou du moins qu'il envoyeroit ſes Vaiſſeaux au bas du fleuve ſaint Laurent, pour enlever les nôtres qui devoient repaſſer en France ; qu'il y avoit une mes intelligence entre le Gouverneur de Baſton, & le Capitaine Farfax, que les Habitans de cette Ville étoient bien las de la guerre & de l'interruption de leur pêche, ayant déja perdu plus de cinquante Vaiſſeaux depuis quatre ans.

L'on aprit depuis, Monſieur, que les Abenaguis avoient eû encore des pourparlers avec les Anglois ; que ceux de Kenebeki avoient fait une Paix qu'ils ne prétendoient que conditionelle. C'eſt aſſez le caractere des Sauvages d'en agir de même : ils s'accommodent au temps ſelon leurs vûës & l'état de leurs affaires. Ceux de Panaouameſké & d'Annirkakan n'étoient pas entrez ſi avant dans le traité que les autres : leur but n'avoit été que de retirer leurs plus conſiderables qui étoient priſonniers. Toutes ces negociations-là ne laiſſoient pas de nous être

ſuſpectes. La diſette de marchandiſes qui regnoit alors empêchoit cette grande ouverture de traite, & l'Abenagui donnoit dans ce qui lui convenoit le plus. Ils aſſurerent cependant qu'il n'y auroit point de foibleſſe de leur côté, & que ils commenceroient la guerre plus que jamais au Printemps prochain.

Tareha Chef Onneyout ne pût réüſſir dans ſa négociation auprés des quatre autres Nations Iroquoiſes. Les Anglois qui aprirent que l'on avoit tenu pluſieurs Conſeils pour la Paix, tâcherent de l'empêcher. Tareha, dis je, apporta encore à *Onontio* un Collier de la part des Iroquois. Ce Collier diſoit, Monſieur, que la crainte que ceux-ci avoient eûs de tomber entre les mains de nos Partis, & de ceux de nos Alliez, avoit empêché les conſiderables de chaque Nation de venir le trouver; que s'il vouloit envoyer deux François capables de régler les affaires, il les conduiroit en ſûreté à Albanie *; ce lieu étant devenu l'arbre de la Paix & de la guerre, puiſqu'ils l'avoient tranſporté d'Onnontagué. Le Comte de Frontenac rejetta ce Collier & répondit à Tareha que puiſque les Iroquois n'avoient pas voulu accepter ce

* Orange.

qu'il leur proposoit, il avoit des moyens pour les contraindre à suivre sa volonté. Ce Chef en presenta un autre de la part des cabanes Onneyoutes, qui le remercioient de la reception agreable qu'il avoit faite à Tareha, & de la liberté qu'il avoit accordée à son Neveu, l'assurant qu'elles ne participeroient point aux mauvaises affaires des Iroquois.

Le Comte de Frontenac qui répondit à ce Collier, lui promit de ne confondre n'y lui n'y les siens dans les entrepriſes qu'il prémeditoit contre les Nations Iroquoises, il le renvoya avec des presens assez considerables, & il en fit à la vieille Susanne qui étoit partie avec lui d'un propos déliberé pour voir le Comte de Frontenac, dont elle avoit tant entendu parler. Cette Onneyoute estimoit les François, & leur avoit rendu de bons offices pendant leur esclavage.

Depuis le départ de Tareha la plûpart des Compagnies qui devoient hiverner dans le gouvernement de Montreal y arriverent.

L'on aprit que le fameux la Plaque qui étoit parti avec six de ses camarades avoit fait coup assez prés d'Orange où il prit deux Soldats de la Garnison. L'un fut tué pour avoir donné quelques coups

de haches à trois de ſes Sauvages qui dormoient, & l'autre qui fut amené aſſura que les Anglois de Baſton, de la Nouvelle York & de la Virginie, ſe préparoient pour venir à Quebec par terre au Printemps, & que les Sauvages leurs Alliez devoient partir d'Orange pour décendre à Montreal. Ce n'étoit que grands projets qui la plûpart du temps aboutiſſoient à rien. Tels furent les mouvemens qui ſe paſſerent cette année. Il ne me reſte plus qu'à vous aſſurer que l'on ne peut être avec plus de paſſion que je le ſuis,

MONSIEUR,

Votre trés-humble, &c.

VI.

Col.Mss. 35:40-77

35:71 m

Thomas Dongan

Esqr Capt Generall Governour in Chief and Vice Admirall under and over the Province of Nova York and Territories Depending thereon in America under his most Sacred Majesty James the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defend of the ffaith &c To all to whom these presents shall Come or Shall Greeting Whereas Henderick Kuyter of the City of Albany hath by Peticon under my hand and Seale bearing Date the Second Day of September one thousand Six hundred Eighty Six purchased of the Native Indians Sachems Robbenda Robbsachem of the Praniade Kettle and Cinnowitcare a certaine peice of Land Lying and being Situate for the most part on the North side of Magnase River Called Arrintha above Schaunnorade in the County of Albany being opposite to Peter Vandebinda and a Little above the ffarm of Claes Williams van Coppernael Beginning on the North side of the River from a White oak tree that is marked with a Wolfe standing on the other side of small Kill or Creek on this side of a Certaine peice of Land Called Claes Crowe hook with a Small Island that Lyes almost Roose against it and Running up in Length above the ffalls of the River which Lyes a Little above the said Crow and that as farr as to a great water Creeken or Creek which is also marked with a Wolfe standing on just on this side of a Small Kill or Creek and from thence over the River on the South side from a great Black oake tree which is also marked with the wolfe together with all the Small Islands or banks that Lyes within the said Limitts and to Downe the River to a Young Black oake tree growing on the side of an old tree which is marked with the Wolfe, Theare and Further the arms of the three Lotts of the Magnase being on the water side and Right the Limitts of Claes Williams aforesaid which said Land Contains three Small flatts or plaines on the North side of the River Whereof the Point Called Claes Crowe hook is one and one Small flatt or plaine on the South side of the River the Low Land being about forty acres and the woodland

Woodland and upon Land thereunto adjoyning Fifty Acres as by
Severall Deeds of bargaine and Sale under the hands & Seales
of the aforesaid Indians bearing Date the thirteenth Day of
December Last past in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand
six hundred Eighty six Acknowledged before Philip Schuyler
Esqr Mayor of the City of Albany Scituation being thereunto had
may more fully and at Large appeare And Whereas the said
Hendrick Kuyler hath made application unto me for a
Confirmation of the premisses by Patent under the Seale of
the Province Now Know yee that for Diverse good Causes
& Considerations me thereunto Moveing but more Especially
for the Quit Rent hereinafter Reserved, I the said Thomas
Dongan by Vertue of the power and authority to me Derived
from his most Sacred Majesty aforesaid and in pursuance of
the Directions Given unto me by his Royall Highness the Duke
and on these presents doe give grant Ratify Release and Confirm
unto the said Hendrick Kuyler his heires and Assignes All the
aforesaid Tract of Land Flatts or Plaines within the Limits
and bounds aforesaid with all the Woods underwoods timber
trees Valleys Meadows Flatts or Plaines, Swamps Quarys
Rivers Rivolets Rills Creeks Islands Arms Brooks Ponds Lakes
Streams Mines, Minerals, fishing, fowling, hunting Hawking
Silver and Gold Mines only Excepted / together with all the
Rights Liberty Priviledge Hereditaments profitts advantages
and apurtenances whatsoever to the said Tract of Land Plaines
Islands Within the Limits aforesaid belonging or in anywise
appertaineing or accepted Reputed taken known or Occupyed
as parte parcell or Member thereof To have and to hold
all and Singular the aforesaited Tract of Land Plaines Islands
and premisses with their and Every of their apurtenances
unto the said Hendrick Kuyler his heires and Assignes to the
and only proper use benefitt and behoofe of him the said
Hendrick Kuyler his heires and Assignes for Ever To be
holden of his most Sacred Majesty his heires & Successors
in fee and Common Soccage according to the Tenour of East
Greenwich

Greenwich in the County of Kent in his Majesty's Realm of England
[illegible] Esq. doe bring and bring these presents unto his said Majesty
his heirs and successors to the Officer or Officers for the
appointed to accepte the same as an absolute Judgment or Fine
Sent and Bill of Sale written Merchantable Wheat in the
Five and Twenty Day of March in the [illegible] Year of our
In Testimony [illegible] have hereunto Set our hands
and Sealed the [illegible] and the Seale of the
[illegible] the 20th of March 168[illegible]

Sealed

A true Copy from the Record
in the Exchequer Office

[illegible]

Woodland and upon Land thereunto adjoyning & to the same as by
Severall Deeds of bargaine and Sale under the hands & Seales
of the aforesaid Indians bearing Date the thirteenth Day of
December Last past in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand
six hundred Eighty six Acknowledged before Phillip Schuyler
Esq. Mayor of the City aforesaid Relation being thereunto had
may more fully and at Large appeare And Whereas the said
Hendrick Kuyler hath made Application unto me for a
Confirmation of the premisses by Patent under the Seale of
the Province Now Know Yee that for Diverse good Causes
& Considerations me thereunto moveing but more Especially
for the Sum of Five Shillings Currant Money of New York
to me by Virtue of the Power and Authority to me Derived
from his most Sacred Majesty aforesaid in the Name of
his Royall Highness granted Bargained Sold Released Confirmed
and by these Presents doe grant Bargain Sell Release and Confirme unto
the said Hendrick Kuyler his Heires and Assignes All that
aforesaid Tract of Land Flatts or Plaines within the Limits
and Bounds aforesaid with all the Woods Underwoods Timber
Trees Ponds Meadows Flatts or Plaines Marshes Quarries
Rivers Rivulets Rills Creeks Islands Lakes Brooks Ponds Lake
Beams Mines Minerals Fishing Fowling Hunting Hawking
Silver and Gold Mines only Excepted Together with all the
Rights Liberty Priviledge Hereditaments Profitts Advantages
and Appurtenances whatsoever to the said Tract of Land Plaines
Islands within the Limits aforesaid belonging or in anywise
appertaining or Accepted Reputed taken known or Occupied
as Part Parcell or Member thereof To have and to hold
all and singular the aforesaid Tract of Land Plaines Islands
and premisses with their and Every of their Appurtenances
unto the said Hendrick Kuyler his Heires and Assignes to the
sole and only proper use benefitt and behoofe of him the said
Hendrick Kuyler his Heires and Assignes for Ever To be
holden of his most Sacred Majesty his Heires & Successors
in fee and Common Soccage According to the Tenure of East
Greenwich

Greenwich in the County of Kent in the Corporate Capacity of Trustees
[illegible] and Surveyors of the Premises in the Indenture
hereinafter mentioned of the one part and [illegible]
[illegible] of the other part [illegible]
[illegible] the Day of the Date of the
[illegible] Indenture [illegible] the [illegible] of March 1694.

[illegible]

Acknowledged
in the Common Pleas

General as to enforce these throughout all parts of the Colony beyond the Island of Montreal towards the great lakes which are at a considerable distance from Quebec.

The Marquis de Denonville who sees the necessity of establishing that office is of opinion that Chevalier de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal, is eminently qualified for it by his application and industry in the King's service, and his experience in war, said Chevalier de Callières having served twenty years with reputation in his Majesty's armies throughout the whole of his glorious campaigns.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny.

Extracts of a Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Denonville and Sieur de Champigny.

Versailles, 30th March, 1687.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty has approved the conduct observed by said Sieur de Denonville towards the Iroquois, and the measures he has commenced adopting in order to place himself in a position to wage war against them with advantage. And after having maturely examined all the reasons adduced in his letters, his Majesty has been convinced of the necessity of that war, and to that end has long since issued the necessary orders for the preparation of the troops, arms and ammunition of which he may stand in need. * * * * * * *

His Majesty has approved of Sieur de Denonville's calling the Iroquois nations together at Cataracouy, so as to effect the withdrawal of Father de Lamberville, and in case this has not been accomplished, it is necessary to adopt measures to prevent his remaining exposed to the fury of those Savages.

He has been surprised at the proceedings of Colonel Dongan, and has given orders to Sieur de Barillon his Ambassador at London to complain of him to the King of England. Meanwhile, as, since the Colonel has thus acted, the Treaty of Neutrality has been concluded at London, copy whereof has been transmitted to him, and as his Britannic Majesty has given positive orders to all his Governors of the territories in America under his obedience, copy of which is hereunto annexed, to conform themselves strictly thereunto, He doubts not but 'twill put an end to all the expeditions that Colonel might have commenced against the interests of the French, contrary to the intentions of the King his master. His Majesty therefore, does not consider it expedient to make any attack on the English. He desires, nevertheless, that Sieur de Denonville report if that Colonel will conform himself to his instructions from England for the execution of said Treaty, in order, if he contravene them that his Majesty may demand his recall from the King of England.

In regard to the pretensions of the English in America, his Majesty has approved of the said Sieur de Denonville having sent a Memoir of His rights to the best part of that country, and is very glad to let them know, thereupon, that He is about to nominate immediately Commissioners who, with others whom the King of England is on his side also to name, will, in the execution of said Treaty of Neutrality, endeavor to put an end to all differences which

may exist, at present, between the French and the English regarding the countries belonging to both Kings in America, and will refer that Memoir to his Commissioners to make use of it in the discussion they will have, on the subject, with those of England.

As to the expeditions got up by the English to prevent the trade of the French and to draw it to themselves, the said Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny must expect that nothing but their industry and attention in having the passes guarded, can secure to his Majesty's subjects their accustomed commerce, as it is certain that they will always experience opposition on the part of the English, and that those Savages would prefer trading with the latter than with the French in consequence of the advantage they derive from selling their goods at a higher rate to the English.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty has no knowledge of Colonel Dongan's claim of 25^{m}lb. which he pretends are due him in France. He, therefore, has nothing to say to him on that subject.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty has seen the Memoir sent by the said Sieur de Denonville respecting the measures he has adopted, and the orders he has issued, for the next Campaign, of which He has approved, and doubts not but success commensurate to his expectations will follow, having to contend only with Indians who have no experience in regular war, whilst on the contrary, those whom he will be able to marshal, will prove most efficient being led by a man of his ability and experience. Finally, He expects to learn, at the close of this year, the entire destruction of the greatest part of those Savages, And as a number of prisoners may be made who His Majesty thinks can be employed in the galleys, He desires him to manage so as to retain them until there be vessels going for France. Any who will have been captured before the sailing of those vessels can even be sent by the return of His Majesty's ships which will convey the troops.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty has been highly pleased to learn the voyage which Sieur de Tonty has made to the mouth of the River Mississippi, but would have wished that he had gained intelligence there of Sieur de La Salle, for the fate of whose expedition he feels great anxiety, and it is His pleasure, if he return, that they afford him every sort of protection.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He authorizes Sieur de Denonville to do what he will think proper respecting the demand presented to him by one of Colonel Dongan's Officers for two negro deserters, and his Majesty is willing that he surrender them if he see fit.

As regards two women of bad character, His Majesty does not approve his proposals to send them back to France, inasmuch as that would not be a punishment sufficiently severe to prevent the consequences of that disorder; but He desires that they be put to hard labor on the public works, such as drawing water, serving masons, sawing wood, or other laborious occupations, in order that such punishment being public, may afford a more salutary example in that country.

Present
Dissentient
Adr. Gerritt
Lawrence van Schaick
Actt Ruttman
Interpreted
by Peij —

Propositions made by Sachems & some other Sachims of ye Maquaes nation to ye Magistrates of Albany ye 4th day of Sept 1684

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

Brother Corlaer

We are come here according to ye ancient Custome of ye 3 Races of ye Maquase for to speak of our Welfare; & wee cannot forbear to acquaint you how greatt Pains ye Jesuit Takes and what Diligence he uses to draw away & Entice our Indians to Canada upon Pretence to Convert them to his Religion, Desyrs ye it may be hindred; Your People are now going to Ottowaua wee wish them a happy Voyage wee hope they will doe no harm — to any body then they will goe in Peace doe give a Belt of wampum of 12 Deep —

2 Renew ye Covenant wherein ye Gov. Genl. they of Boston Maryland & Virginia and Included together with ye Nations of Indians westward & doe Sweep and make Clear this haus where ye Covenant always is Renewed, doe give a Belt of wampum 13 deep —

3 Brother Corlaer you are the Person that is head of ye Covenant & not only wee butt all ye nations of Indians as well Mahikanders as ye. Depend wholly & Solly upon yr Self; Lett ye Ford ye Covenant Chain be kept clear & Bright; & wee come now to renew ye same yt it Rust not, doe give a Belt of 13 deep — 175 4.

brought it, but I thought it better to send it to him for Copy.
& before I come to establish it as I promise, not thinking or not minding

179 to 6

4. Wee have now Renewed ye Covnant as yow have heard & shall make it knowne at Tionondogd, our Sachem yt used to come formerly meaning Carondawd is now Dead and I Shahaidoris am come in his stead to Perform ye Custmary method therein doe give a Belt of Swampum

5. Brot. Corlaer

Wee have only ye mannagemt of all things, we thank yow yt yo. have bin an Instrument; to assist them of N. England in ye Burying of ye axes betwen us & ye north Indians by which meanes we live in Peace. & doe Renew ye Covenant wt them in New England Particularly wch hath so much Contributed to ye Peace and Tranquillity of all our Country We give one fadom of Swampum

6. Answer to ye Magnas

Brethren

Wee have understood your Proposalls, wch we shall send doune to ye Governer, & if ye Jesuit Strive to Entice your Indians away, yow and Sachims, yow must keep them & not suffer them to goe, & tell them that by no meanes they must leave their natve Country upon ye Jesuits discourse Else yow will anger Corlaer Exceedingly, Yow need not be affrayd of our Peoples going to Ottawawa, there will be no harm done by them

Wee are glad to see y Brethren here to Renew y
Covenant, you never found yt y Covenant chain cov
to gunn to Rust on our side but is always kept clear
& Bright, as you now finde, this Door of Corlaer
is alwayes open for all y Brethren that are
in Covenant wth him; wee shall also acquaint
y Gov. that you have Renewed y Covenant wth them
of N: England, who will acquaint them throughout
Wee are Sorry for y Death of your Sachim, but
you know yt it is a debt that nature owes & must
be paid, & wee are on y other side Rejoyced to see
so wise and Carefull Sachim Succeed him,
wee gave them — — — £25:— wampum
Strung
1 Cask of Rum

A true Copy Transl. &
Examind p me
Robt Livingston
Cler

brought it, but I thought it better to send it to the Governor
& Councill to dispose of as they shall think fitt, not knowing as yet what

Minutes Com.ee
Ap. 7 — 1682

At a Councill held Aprill the 7th 1682

present his Ex.cy
major Brockholls
major Courtlandt
major Allison
Coll.o Bayard
Judge Palm.r

Gov.r Dongan Ex.cy by Butler Dep.y read a ——
Ordred that Dr Butler have a pervard for his Dyett
in Comitatu &c.

It is the opinion of the Councill that some person
be sent to Connecticutt to Acquaint ye inhabitants of ye people
Mayades propositions, read. It is ordred that one
an Interpreter be sent to ye Christ Indians that the five
whom it mentioned that ye French priest at
Onondage hath dissuaded the five nations to break
ye peace with ye Governr in Canada at Cadaraqui that ye Onon-
dages that the Sinnekes & they had refused but that
ye Onondages Oneides & Cayugas had promised to
It therefore ordred that the Indians of Oneida
be ordred not to goe & that the Gov.r upon the
Garrison send for to come down to Albany &
inform them that it impossible to land in the
Creek.

Petition of Ed Hussey read — that as to oblidging
ye marchants & others to measure their Corne it is the
opinion of the Councill that they cannot take
it into consideration the petitioner ye
petitioning in his owne
petitioners ye Gov.r Dongan read — and ordred that the petitioner
enjoy his land according to ye bounds of his patents.

Edmund Jennah for haveing illegally measured of the Corne
Brandon Island. Ordred that he be with ye Sheriff
found & att his returne to Long Island to appeare before the Councill

Ye is thought necessary that the foot bee by degrees repayred & that ye Chimneyes ~~wanting~~ decayed in may bee pulled down & renewed.

The peticion of Jacob Leisse in behalfe of ye Inhabitants of ye County of Suffolk read. — ordered that the way bee withdrawne from thence & that ye Cõ write a letter to ye people expressing their satisfaction for their assurance of ye good affection observing the Lawes for the future & that they bee as good as their promise they may depend further &c.

~~Liscence that they may ship~~

Read Whereas Northwood Northlea &c plaues appointed by an act ~~to bee~~ inabled yᵉ Cõ to prevent disorder & to bee ports for the County of Suffolk and found too remote from some of ye Towns for the shipping of Corne &c. ordered that they may ship & vent any other convenient place in the sᵈ County provided they have ye sᵈ Licence & bond entred into as by the sᵈ act is directed any thing in ye sᵈ act to the contrary notwithstanding.

~~ordered that~~ Whereas it is provided by the Lawes of this Govᵐᵗ that whoever shall sell Cigars by retayle shall forfeite for every offence five pounds Ordered that all Sheriffs Constables of ye peace Comissionrs of Customes Cunstables & others officers bee carefull that the sayd Lawes bee strictly putt in execution against the offenders as they will answer the contrary at their perills.

Ordered that Fordham have a prohibition of his ye Cõ of Arnold to sell liquor upon Long

35:54b

Att a Councill held aprill ye 7th 1685

pnt. his Excye &c

Ordred that mr Arnold deliver up to Joseph ffordham his obligation given for £ 10 & Cl. in the yeare 1685 for ~~speedy~~ longer time inserted remission of wch hee hat made his application to this board & hat had the same granted.

E. Swinnerton

At a Councill held aprill ye 14th 1687.

Present his Excye
Majr Brookholls
Majr Courtlandt
Majr Stipsen
Coll. Bayard.

Upon a petition of the people of Albany Schonighook that one Jo Plessy is a Runnaway from Canada is considerably indebted to Severall persons at Albany & Schonechde and that hee is removed into ye Some part of ye Govr pensilvania or the Dependyes. therfor it ordred that a lett. bee writt by ye Clerk to the Govr Councill of pensilvania ordered also that to prevent any persons goeing up of Susquehanna River or Skoolkill to trade that a messengr bee Sent to ye five nations wth a message desyreing them not to suffer any persons French Dutch or English to Settle or trade there without Leave and the hand & great Seale of the Govrnr. and that if any person or persons trade or Settle there without Such passe as aforesayd that then they take them & Send them down hither for which the Indians Shall be rewarded. and that by the first Ships presents bee made to the five Indians of powder & Lead.

Regulation Custome house Read - agreed.
Petition of Rd Smith - read & is Committed.

35:61

At a Council held ye 20th aprill 1687

pr^l. his Excy
Mr Brookholly
maj^r Flipsen
maj^r Collard
Judge Palm^r

Letter to Go^r Treate & instructions to Capt. Palm^r
Cm^r Graham read & agreed

patt^t to John Ellon passed & Seal^d & gott

By the Governour.

Whereas Henry Cuyter hath on his petition desired Liberty And Lycence to purchase a certaine parcell of Ground Lying Upon Hudsons River on this side of Esopus In the place called The Long wrack about four miles In that place belonging to an Indian called Haughquerout which Land is called In the Indian tongue Sepaaskessingh And lyes on this side of the greate Kill or farme and on the other side called Kenaeyjanck Ending at Wikaquassuk Where two plains Are Between the Land of an Indian called Speck and the Land of Robert Sanders and Mynder Harmson In-an In breadth of Low Land about one hundred & fifty Acres Which hath not as yet been legally purchased or bought from the Indians or granted to any other person or persons These may certifye that the said Henry Cuyter hath hereby Liberty and Lycence to purchase of the Indians the said parcell of Ground Provided It be not disposed to any others and that the said purchase bee made before the Magistrates of Esopus And Returned into the Secretaryes Office and a patent taken out for The same before the Twentieth of November next Ensuing Or Else this Lycence to bee voyd Given Under hand and seale at Fort James In New yorke This Twentieth & fourth Day of May Anno Dom 1687

35:85b

[illegible] his Excellency the Governo[r]

[illegible] requires the Governor that I desired my liberty and
[illegible] proceed to purchase of the Indian natives an[illegible] tract
[illegible] of land lying and being within the bounds
and limitts of his Patent that accordingly purchased of
the said Indyan natives Which may conteyne that the
said Johnson hath liberty and leyance granted him
to survay the said land & thereunto bound Pounded the
purchase made before me and Councill at New
yorke and a returne thereof made into the Secretary office
vpon the first day of May next after the date hereof
and for the obtaining a Patent which is to be
the last day of June after the date hereof
yeares to be void and of none effect
the said warrant Given under my hand
Seale at Fort James in Newyorke the Eight day
Anno 1686 and in the Second yeare of his
Reigne /

35:85b

To his Excellency the Governo[r]

I receaved a Comission dated desired my Liberty and
Leyence to purchase of the Indian Natives an Inlet tract
of Land lying and being within the bounds
and limitts of his Patent that accordingly purchased of
the said Indyan natives Which may Conteyne that the
said Johnson hath Liberty and Leyence granted him
by the Map the said Land Extended Bounded the
purchase made before me and Councill at Nor-
yarck and a true Copy thereof made into the Secryes office
there the first day of May and after the date hereof
for the obtaining a Patent whereunto to be
the first day of June after the date hereof
Leyence to be void and of none effect
Warrant Given under my hand
Seale at Fort James in Noryarck the first day
of May 1686 and in the Second yeare of his
Majesty Reigne.

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May 18. **1,259.** Journal of Lords of Trade and Plantations. Lord Howard of Effingham's letter of 22 February read (*see No.* 1,143). The Lord President desired to move the King to confirm the suspension of Colonel Ludwell and the appointment of Mr. Allerton to the Council in his stead. Report of the Commissioners of Customs as to foreign coin in Virginia read (*see No.* 1,227). The Lords concurred with it, and asked the King's directions thereon. Lord Howard's and Mr. Spencer's letters of 2 February read (*see No.* 1,118), and referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury together with the bill for appointing ports in Virginia.

Petition of Robert Orchard read. The Lords agreed to recommend his case to Sir Edmund Andros for enquiry and redress. Letter from the Colony of Connecticut of 26 January read (*see No.* 1,197vi.). The Lords agreed on this report (*see June* 18). The Lords desired to know the King's pleasure as to the writs of *Quo Warranto* issued against several Corporations in America.

Colonel Dongan's letter of 22 February read (*see No.* 1,146). Also addresses from the Indians of August 2, 1684, from the Commissioners at Albany, from the French Protestants, and from New York City were read. Colonel Dongan to be ordered to transmit the names of the Protestants. Petition of John Palmer read respecting a farm in East New Jersey, and referred to the Lords of the Treasury, together with the petition of the Judges for increased salary.

Draft circular ordering the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence read and approved.

Colonel Molesworth's letter of 9 February read (*see No.* 1,127). Memorandum of documents sent and received. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. CIX., pp.* 66-80.]

May 18. **1,260.** Circular. Lords of Trade and Plantations to the Governors of Colonies. Ordering the publication of the Royal Declaration of Indulgence. *Signed*, Jeffreys, Sunderland, Arundell, Albemarle, Powis, Bath, Middleton, Huntingdon, Preston, J. Ernle. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XCVII., pp.* 238.]

May 19. **1,261.** The King to Lieutenant Governor Stede. Ordering Robert Rich to be sworn of the Council of Barbados. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. VII., p.* 435.]

May 20. New York. **1,262.** Governor Dongan to the Earl of Sunderland. Since my last the Council has decided to send Judge Palmer, Dr. Butler, and Mr. Graham to Connecticut with instructions to get them to submit. I have received the enclosed shewing the result. The people themselves, knowing the necessity for the giving of Connecticut to New York, make no objection, but are rather forward for it in case they lose their charter, which they cannot expect to keep. They had resigned it before now but for their solicitor in London, who for his own sake buoys them up against surrender. Sir Edmund Andros cannot well deny that Connecticut is necessary to New York, for reasons shewn in my answer to the queries (*see p.* 329). The only objection made is that if Boston have not Connecticut it will be undone for want of corn, but that is mere pretence. They can be as well and as freely supplied with corn

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if Connecticut be under this government as they are now. Boston can load thirty or forty ships a year for Europe, whereas we cannot load above three, and those only with whale-oil taken at the east end of Long Island, which they are angry that they cannot take from us. We must have exports to England to buy linens and woollens, which they make for themselves. Our people would do the like if permitted. Again, all the King's revenue comes by our trade, and we are very honest in obeying the Navigation Acts. I send you the proposals made by the Maquas, which will shew you how necessary it is to send some religious men among the Indians. The great dispute between the French and us is which shall have the Five Nations, and their priests are a great advantage to them. I have certain information that if our people, who are gone to the few Indians, can prevail with them to come to Albany, we shall take the trade from the French. I am sorry to say that we have not yet done finding out Mr. Santen's faults. Not a farthing of the outstanding debts which he spoke of is to be had. The present managers of the revenues will, I hope, obtain more from it than has ever been obtained yet, and I am sure that it is necessary, for I am in debt head over ears in the King's account and my own, it having been my misfortune to come to a place where everything was out of repair. Truly this place is expensive, and everything very dear. If the King would raise my salary to the rate of other Governors here, it would be no more than reasonable, for their perquisites are infinitely larger than mine, and their expense much less. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 2 *pp.* *Annexed*,

1,262. I. The Governor of Connecticut to Governor Dongan. Hartford, May 12, 1687. I have communicated yours of 12 April to the Assembly, Judge Palmer, Dr. Butler, and Mr. Graham being present. We thank you heartily for your friendly advice. We do not see our way at present to be active in any change, but leave matters where they are, in the King's hands. Your continued neighbourhood is very acceptable to us, but if you should return to England we beg you to solicit the King for us to leave us as we are, or if that may not be, to annex us to some government. It would be very prejudicial and indeed destructive to some plantations to divide our Colony. We beg also that we may have liberty to worship God according to our consciences, and that our property may be continued to us, and that we may have free trade, paying the King's customs. *Signed*, R. Treat. *Holograph.* ½ *p.*

1,262. II. Propositions made by certain Sachems of the Maquas to the Magistrates of Albany, 15 April 1687. (1.) We are come according to the ancient custom. We cannot forbear to acquaint you of the pains that the Jesuits take to entice our Indians to Canada upon pretence to convert them to their religion. We desire it to be hindered. We wish your people a happy journey to Ottawa and hope they will do no harm to anyone; then they will go in peace. *Here they gave a belt of wampum*

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twelve deep. (2.) Renew the covenant of the Governors of Boston, Maryland, and Virginia with the Five Nations. *Here they gave a belt of wampum thirteen deep.* (3.) You, Corlaer, are the head of the covenant; let its chain be kept bright. We come to grease it that it rust not. *Here they gave a belt of thirteen deep.* (4.) We have now renewed the covenant. Our old Sachem Canondondawe is dead, and Tahaiadoris is come to perform the ceremony in his stead. (5.) Another complimentary speech, and the gift of a fathom of wampum. ANSWER TO THE MAQUAS.—We shall send to the Governor General, and if the Jesuits strive to entice away your Indians, you are Sachems, you must not allow them to go. Tell them that if they leave their country with the Jesuits they will anger Corlaer exceedingly. Our people going to Ottawa will do you no harm. You never find the covenant on our side rusty, but always bright. *Here was given 25 fathom of wampum string and one cask of rum. Certified copy.* 2½ *pp.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LX., Nos.* 50, 50I., II.]

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

On the 2d of this month, I received in this city the King's orders and yours of the 30th March. They were transmitted to me, by Monsr de Champigny who remained at Quebec to select and send off the Militia of the Colony.

It gives me great joy to learn that the King has had the goodness to succor this country, and that you continue to afford it the honor of your protection. I leave to the Intendant the duty of advising you of the arrival of M. d'Amblemont and of the other vessels which bring us troops and ammunition, and of reporting to you the condition of every thing.

I have come in advance in order to make all the arrangements for our march and to receive earlier the answers I was expecting from the Iroquois by the Fathers de Lamberville. The younger has arrived alone with letters from his elder brother who has resolved not to repair to Katarokoui without the Chiefs of the Iroquois; but I doubt much if these Savages, distrustful as they are, will come on hearing of my marching with a retinue too great to be agreeable to them, for they would prefer that I should have no more than 20 attendants, so that they may be more frank in their Councils and in a position to address me arrogantly according to their invariable custom. It has been their particular care always to inquire about my escort. All this induces me to fear that the poor Father will experience some difficulty in extricating himself from the hands of those barbarians. This makes me very uneasy.

I found our people disgusted with past proceedings sufficiently to make it difficult for them to resolve on accompanying the troops, which obliged me to draw up a sort of Manifesto wherein I set forth the motives of this war. This was accompanied by a Pastoral letter of the Vicar-General; the entire population were seen after this to prepare with extreme alacrity for the march. All this was promulgated only at the moment it became necessary to assemble the people; therefore, such publication did not send forward the news of the war, but induced every body to prosecute it with good will. I send you both the one and the other, My Lord, so that you may correct me if there be any thing improper in them, and I may avoid committing a similar error in future. I am, moreover, very desirous not to do any thing with which you should not be acquainted either after or before doing it. I should wish much to be nearer you, so as not to make a move without your orders. But the distance, My Lord, requires decision on the part of those who are entrusted with the King's affairs; otherwise, the service will greatly suffer.

In the letters I had the honor to write you in the month of November of last year, I gave you, My Lord, a tolerably exact account of the state of public affairs. We have learned since from Missilimaquinack that Father Angelran, Superior of the Missionaries who are scattered among the distant nations of that region, and Sieur de la durantays who commands Missilimakinak and other posts in our possession, had experienced great difficulty in retaining all the Hurons and Outaouas, and preventing them repairing to the Senecas with a resolution to come to an understanding with, and submit themselves to the latter, and thus become their allies, and introduce a trade with the English who have made a strong impression on them by the cheapness of the goods their merchants offered last year at Missilimakinac, where they went as I had the honor to inform you by my letters. This Huron nation, naturally faithless and fickle like all Savages, and the Outaouas, although enemies of the Iroquois of long standing, would willingly side with the latter, through dread of their power

and through the lures of the English who promise them in addition to cheap bargains, to keep them in peace with the enemy and to make them masters of the entire trade of the other Far Nations with whom our Frenchmen are in the habit of trading. All this, My Lord, had created considerable embarrassment in the managing of these people so as to divert them from their purpose.

At length the Hurons and Outaouas decided to send me this winter the two most influential amongst them with four of our Frenchmen, who conducted them to us over the ice. Thus, My Lord, those Fathers have warded off the greatest misfortune that could overtake us at present from that quarter—to wit, the abandonment by this people of our alliance and their adhesion to our enemies. The post occupied by Sieur du Lhu at the Detroit of Lake Erie, and the Frenchmen whom Sieur de la Durantays has collected at Missilmakina [coupled with] the harangues of the Fathers backed by the menaces of Sieur de le Durantays, have been no mean assistance to Sieur Vallois. All this, My Lord, required the outlay of money to feed our Frenchmen who garrison the posts, to defray the expense of the journeys wherein diligence was necessary without any gain to those who were employed both on the route and in the posts where good guard is kept up as in a fortified town (*ville de guerre.*)

M. de Champigny and I have not forgotten to welcome our two Indian envoys whom we have been obliged to retain some months until the severe cold had terminated, before sending them over the ice as far as Lake Huron where they embarked on the 3d May, on the breaking up of the winter, according to the news we have received of them. They left seemingly with a firm resolution to accompany Sieurs de la Durantays and du L'hu with their people to join me, in accordance with my original project of last year and the orders I had dispatched to them, a report whereof I had the honor to transmit to you with my last letters.

I understand that the English have advised the Senecas that I was about to attack them, and have obliged them to recall, to the defence of their country against us, six hundred men of their Castle who had gone to attack the Miamies. Other parties who had gone to war against the tribes in the direction of Virginia are, also, come back in consequence of similar directions. Thus the terror which has seized our enemies is highly expensive to Colonel Dongan. I have, likewise, understood that a party has returned from Virginia bringing a dozen English prisoners whom they will also burn, and Mr. Dongan scarcely troubles himself about the matter.

A great number of those warriors have hunted in the neighborhood of Catarokoi. We are anxious, at present, to learn whether poor Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit missionary who remains at Onnontagué, will extricate himself out of their hands when they hear the great rumor of war, which, in consequence of the extraordinary preparations required to be made, it is impossible to prevent being bruited abroad, notwithstanding I have always given out that I was going only to the general meeting projected at Catarokoi, where I did not wish to be either insulted or trifled with. I always observed this tone until the moment of marching, when I considered it a duty to publish the Manifesto, accompanied by the Pastoral Letter.

In order to afford you an idea of Colonel Dongan's genius, I cannot do better, My Lord, than transmit you his artful letter which sufficiently indicates that I must be distrustful of him, and that he aims only at deceiving us in order to enrich himself and his merchants at the expense of this Colony.

I know that he has dispatched fifty men with plenty of canoes and provisions to reinforce and cover the retreat of the thirty men whom he sent off last fall to trade with our Outaouas.

He also invites the Senecas to go and meet them in order to act as their escort. You may rely on the truth of this intelligence.

If they have not retreated before we arrive at the lake, I do not believe they will have any reason to be satisfied with their voyage and trade. They are accompanied by several of our French deserters, without whom they had never dared to undertake that expedition.

On receiving information on the 12th November of last year, that one Gideon Petit, who keeps a house of bad repute at Chambly, was proposing to go over to the English, and had mentioned something about it himself, and engaged some one to accompany him thither, M. de Calliere caused him to be arrested and committed to prison where he remained some months until the Intendant and I notified Sieur Gaillard, the commissary, to set him at liberty, if there were no proofs against him. But we have since discovered, by his escape last March, that our suspicions were well founded. The running away of these people appears to me so much the more criminal under existing circumstances, as they are so many spies our enemies profit by to learn what we are doing.

The impunity of Sieur de Chailly casts great discredit on my prohibitions. At another time, My Lord, the crime would affect only the King's revenue, but at this conjuncture, the safety of the country is endangered by the information these lawless rascals convey to our enemies. Herein, My Lord, I have no other interest at heart than the King's service, for in other respects, I wish evil neither to this person nor to that. Gideon Petit says, that his design was to go to France last year in our ships, but he spread the report only the better to conceal his intention of going to the English. He is from Rochelle; his father was very unfortunate in business, and is dead; some bad debts are due to him in this country; since he has been here his trade has always been with the English; although large profits can be realized, he is no better off in his circumstances than the majority of those who have pursued this, and all other sorts of business which are prohibited by the King. Another named Salvaye, an inhabitant of the Seigniory of Saurel on the River Richelieu, has also disappeared. He is a man of activity whom M. de la Barre and M. de Frontenac employed as envoy to the English to negotiate with the Governors; a knave who pretends to be honest. I told him, last year, that I was aware of some proceedings of his which tended to the continuance of his trade; I thought to take him on the point of honor by some confidences and favors; He promised me Wonders. I knew enough to be almost certain of his designs, without, however, having any proofs, and it is herein the severities of authority are necessary without any formalities of law. However, as I have not yet the honor of being sufficiently known to you, and as in like severities we are liable to fall into the inconvenience of punishing people who would not be guilty in the eyes of the public, in order to avoid giving any one pain I thought it better not to commit to prison until we had set out for the war, as I was intending to do, both with regard to Gideon and Salvaye. On the whole, it is well, My Lord, that I receive a brief word of instruction from you for my guidance in this regard. I know well, My Lord, that these sorts of punishments may be dangerous, for a governor may, under specious pretexts, easily exercise his vengeance and commit injustice; but woe to him who thus abuses his Master's authority. He deserves not to be intrusted by the King with any command, but to be driven off as unworthy to serve and command any where.

I considered the inclosing of Villemarie[1] to be of too great moment in this time of war, to wait for your permission My Lord, to have it done. I had a quantity of stout and long

[1] See note, p. 281.—Ed.

pickets prepared, of which two-thirds, or at least more than the half, have been set up. I have given orders that a statement of this expense should be transmitted to you in order that you may be able to see that we, therein, have studied economy, as much as possible by making the soldiers work. I thought it necessary to spare the colonists in this expenditure.

I cannot do full justice to the care, application and knowledge of Mr. de Calliere, especially in what generally regards the service he loves and knows so well how to acquit himself of; he is an utter stranger to self-interest and applies himself always to the performance of his duty, and to making others perform theirs; he enters into all details; some may be dissatisfied, but the King is better served.

I omit entering into the detail of all the points in the Memorandum of the King's orders of the 30th March of this year which I have received from you, My Lord, as I postpone the answer to the whole until my return from the Campaign. For this letter is only intended to give you an account of our actual condition, and of my departure, which will take place on the 13th of this month.

The Intendant has arrived here with all our Militia, and accompanies me as far as Cataracouy in order that I may become acquainted with that post, and be able to give you an account of the expenses already, and yet to be, incurred thereon, and of the manner in which our army, on a small scale, will be embarked on Lake Ontario.

My plan is to proceed to the Senecas, the strongest Castle and the nearest to Niagara. My course will be along the Southern shore, contrary to the advice of a number of people who believe that I ought to go by that of the North as the surest and most tranquil. And here, I shall take the liberty briefly to detail to you the reasons I have for following the course I adopt.

The first is, that by following the Southern shore, I keep the enemy in a state of incertitude as regards the village to which I mean to go; for during several days it leads me along the Oneida, Onnontagué, and Cayuga Castles, and finally to the four Seneca villages, without allowing them to be certain as to which I intend to visit.

The 2d reason is, that I induce the enemy to come in quest of, and to meet me, for if they do so they will leave Tonty, La Durantays and du Lhu, on their side respectively, at full liberty to act without any uneasiness, whereas if I go by the North, the enemy coming to wait for me at Niagara, may fall on those Gentlemen who are to approach from that direction by Lake Erié. Those different and distant rendezvous do not fail to disquiet me for it is in the power of the enemy to profit thereby. All that I could do is to cause them to delay their arrival at Niagara, in order that I may be the first to reach the enemy to draw him towards me and away from the others.

I must inform you, My Lord, that I have altered the orders I had originally given last year to M. de la Durantays to pass by Taronto and to enter Lake Ontario at Gandatsitiagon[1] to form a junction with M. du Lhu at Niagara. I have sent him word by Sieur Juchereau, who took back the two Huron and Outaouas chiefs this winter, to join Sieur du Lhu at the Detroit of Lake Erie, so that they may be stronger and in a condition to resist the enemy, should he go to meet them at Niagara. I believe, My Lord, that I have omitted none of those precautions necessary for the dispatch of this affair which is of great importance. Success is in the hands of God alone, for, in truth, the skill of the most experienced is of very little avail in a wooded country where the inhabitants can live as long as they please without provisions

[1] See note 2, p. 112; and compare d'Anville's Map of North America, Improved. London, 1775. — Ed.

(sans manger), leaving out of consideration the punctual rendezvous which must be kept at a distance of three or 400 leagues.

We must be indebted to chance alone for prisoners, for should they incline ever so little to run away, how many of them can be caught?

From all this, My Lord, it is impossible for the most experienced to determine whether this war will soon terminate or not. I am truly persuaded that it is the interest of the Colony to preserve peace, but it is necessary that this nation be first destroyed or at least humbled. You must clearly perceive, My Lord, that it is my interest to terminate this war, for it is, indeed, a rough life to march a foot in the woods; to carry, oneself, one's own provisions in a haversack; to be devoured by mosquitoes, and to have no more comforts than a mere soldier. All these, My Lord, are not pleasures to make a Governor-general forget his duty by protracting a war, especially at my time of life.

All my hope is to spoil and lay waste their fields, and to this end we shall all apply ourselves; perhaps we may be able to catch their women and children.

I know not, yet, what Indians Tonty, du Lhu and la Durantaye will bring us, for we have fallen into great discredit with all those tribes.

I consider it very fortunate that the six hundred Senecas who had set out on a war expedition have come back, because all the Indian tribes having remained at peace and undisturbed during the summer, will be able to assemble and join du Lhu.

There is reason for strong hope if we have many Indians, for they alone are capable of pursuing the enemy into the woods accompanied by some of our brave Coureurs de bois, of whom I have taken with me those most experienced and most familiar with the route. It is one of them, who is in my guard, that has enabled me to have the Map prepared for you which I sent in order to afford you some idea of our expedition. We shall omit nothing, My Lord, that will be in our power, and shall endeavor to profit by all the advantages that God bestows on us.

It is of importance to become masters of the post of Niagara, and to form an establishment there. If time will permit me to have a second expedition got up against the Mohawks, I shall willingly attempt it; but I do not think I shall be able to do so before my return.

I leave Chevalier de Vaudreuil in the Colony to command the troops there, and to take care of the posts necessary to be occupied and fortified for their security and that of the inhabitants. He will employ himself in having pickets prepared whilst Monsieur de Champigny will go from Seigniory to Seigniory to issue all orders necessary for the good of the interior of the Colony which stood in need of the assistance you send us, and of an Intendant so experienced and so devoted as he. I cannot sufficiently thank you for having sent him to us, nor sufficiently express my wishes that you may have his like in every quarter where you require so faithful and so disinterested an officer. I do not think, My Lord, that you have any complaints of any differences between us, or of our union being prejudicial to the King's interests, although we are good friends. The seed of mischief-makers is not lost, for all that, in this country.

What has been maliciously reported to you of Sieur Provost, Major of Quebec, must not destroy him in your estimation, My Lord, since, without contradiction, he is the honestest, the most upright, and the least selfish, person I have found in the country; up to this time he is the only officer I have seen who has not meddled in any commerce, nor been mixed up with any of the past quarrels, having attended only to his duty. What I have learned for certain regarding

the report made to you of him, is, that he has a hired man as servant whom the contractor was employing as a mason to whom he was paying his wages. It is the custom of this country. Had I been previously informed of it, I should have told him not to have any thing to do with it, considering the consequences. The contractor, with whom M. de Meulles had agreed, is the best mason in the country, but a mighty great drunkard whom I distrusted; and therefore, having gone up last year with the Engineer, I requested the Major of Quebec, and Sieur de Comporté, our Provost, to watch him. It is a great falsehood that the Major had made use of any one's name for the purpose of supplying materials, since I know that he has no goods either at his house or any where else, and speculates in no sort of trade. This arises from revenge on the part of our little Engineer whom he opposed in regard to some men he had furnished him by my orders for the purpose of assisting him in preparing his Maps, and whom he did not pay, although I had given him some money for that purpose. M. de Champigny can inform you, My Lord, what sort of a man our Major is, and whether he be capable of dishonesty. Our Engineer is a fool, a rake and a debauchee who must be tolerated because we have need of him.

You are not to attach credit to any thing he will write you against others, as he acts only by caprice; he is a leaky vessel. Nevertheless, he is an admirable draughtsman and is very quick when he likes. M. de Vauban can easily give an account of his mental character. Had I not boarded and lodged him in my own quarters, I could not have got any thing from him, he being indebted every where. The Intendant will give you an account of the manner he had our store covered, the paved stone roof not being sufficient to prevent the water penetrating through the joints; besides, the lime and cement used in the work do not at all resist the frost of this country. It is a circumstance I have witnessed in several places since I came here.

I shall have the honor of writing to you on my return, about the Redoubts most necessary to be built. That of Niagara and that of Katarakoui are the most important at present. But all those establishments will soon fall to ruin if settlers be not introduced at those places for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and this prompts me to desire that the King should take that of Katarakoui out of M. de la Salle's hands, in order that people be sent thither to feed the cattle and cultivate the land. For the continual transportation of provisions, will cause the expense to always exceed the profit, and the same will be the case with Niagara. However, locating too many settlers there, has its inconveniences, for we must avoid the disease of the country which is to be too much dispersed. The Intendant and I, with the most experienced in the country, shall see what they deem most expedient, in order to communicate it to you this fall, and to afford you an opportunity of acquainting us with your orders.

You may rely on it, My Lord, that I shall study M. de la Salle's interest in whatever depends on me. Chevalier de Tonty intended to have gone to France last year, but I dissuaded him from so doing in order to prevail on him to proceed again in search of news of said Sieur de la Salle. Sieur de Tonty is a very enterprizing lad, of good qualities. It were desirable that the King would do something for him hereafter. We have also Durantays, du Lhu and la Forest with some others who, up to this time have done good service. I shall have the honor to give you this fall, a more reliable account of the conduct and of the capabilities of each of these gentlemen.

I have anticipated the order you gave of permitting our officers to contract marriage; two Captains have already got married, viz. Sieurs de Meloise and Dumus.[1] I expect that Sieur des Cayrac will also get married on returning from the campaign. Those [whose marriages] I opposed are young persons, minors having fathers and mothers who will never consent to such disadvantageous connections as those they wished to form, which cannot be of any benefit to the colony. We have also one lieutenant and two sub-lieutenants married.

I am with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient

and most faithful servant

Ville Marie, 8th June, 1687. The M. de Denonville.

Col. Doc. 35:40-77

att a Councill held June 22d 1687 35:70

pr̃sent
maj.r Brinkholly
maj.r Courtland
maj.r Dupuy

The number of the Councill being few & affaires and their present meeting being of greate consequence both to the king & Country wch the — threaten invading our Indians on this side of the lake it was thought fitt to call in m.r James Graham & m.r peter Schuyler mayo.r of the City of Albany persons well acquainted with the affaires of this Country for their opinion & advise in that affaire

And the proposition of the North Indians being read — m.r Schuyler affirmed the same to have been made before him at Albany and further sayes that there was an Indian sent by ye nicst to Rob.t Sanders desireing him to come him at Albany a gather to send him word where the ffrench were to be safe there — upon which the Councill taking into their consideracon that the french are actually about to invade the king.s of England forces & to destroy the Sinicas and those other Indians who undoubtedly & have ever been so esteemed his Majty of greate Britaine subjects & in reference to which that the affaire of Livingston directing the makeing the — propositions to the Indians wch is here read & approved of the Councill is not a fitt time for further consideracon of this affaire but to referred till ye next Councill.

35:71

At a Council held at St. James on Friday
24th of June 1687

Present

The order of Council of Wednesday ye 22d instant in relation to the Petition of the three Aguade Sachems and ye four Praying Indians of St Francis was read

And upon their humble request to take such order concerning ye premisses as he shall think fit

Ordered that Mr Secretary Blathwayt do write to Major Brockholls Governor of Albany to require the said Sachems to repair hither with all convenient speed to the end their Petition may be considered

ville y reste pour ménager nos affaires avec les Onontaguez, s'il leur prenoit envie d'entrer dans quelque négociation.

IX

ACTE DE PRISE DE POSSESSION

DU PAYS DES IROQUOIS DITS TSONNONTOUANS.

19 juillet 1687.

L'an mil six cent quatre-vingt-sept le 19 juillet, les troupes commandées par Messire Jacques-René de Brisay, chevalier, seigneur marquis de Denonville et autres lieux, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en toute l'estendue du Canada et païs de la Nouvelle-France, en présence d'Hector de Callières, gouverneur de Montréal audit pays, commandant le camp sous ses ordres, et de Philippe Rigaut, chevalier de Vaudreuil, commandant les troupes du Roy, lesquelles estant rangées en bataille, s'est présenté à la teste de l'armée Charles Aubert, sieur de La Chesnaye, bourgeois de Québec, député par Messire Jean Bochart, seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Verneuil et autres lieux, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, intendant de la justice, police et finances dans toute la France septentrionale. Lequel a dit et déclaré qu'à la requeste de mondit seigneur de Champigny, il prenoit possession du village de Totiakton, comme il a fait des autres trois villages nommez Gannagaro, Gannondata, Gannongaraé et d'un fort distant d'une demi-lieue dudit village de Ganna-

garo, ensemble de toutes les terres qui sont aux environs, tant et si loin qu'elles se peuvent estendre, conquises au nom de Sa Majesté. Et pour marque de ce, a planté à tous lesdits villages et forts les armes de Sadite Majesté, et fait crier à haute voix : Vive le Roy, après que lesdites troupes ont battu et mis en fuite huit cents Iroquois Sonnontouans, et fait le dégast, bruslé et ravagé leurs vivres et cabanes. Dont et de ce que dessus ledit sieur de La Chesnaye Aubert a requis acte. A luy octroyé par moy Paul Dupuy, escuyer, conseiller du Roy et son procureur au siège de la Prévosté de Québec. Fait audit village de Totiakton, le plus grand village des Tsonnontouans, en présence du Révérend Père Vaillant, jésuite, et des officiers des troupes et de la milice, tesmoins avec moy du procureur du Roy, soussignez les jour et an susdits. Ainsi signé en la minute : J.-René de Brisay, marquis de Denonville, Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, le chevalier de Callières, Fleutelot de Romprey, de Desmeloizes, de Ramesay, de Granville, François Vaillant, de la Compagnie de Jésus, de Longueil, Saint-Paul et Dupuy. Ladite minute estant par devers moy, conseiller secrétaire du Roy, et greffier en chef au Conseil souverain à Québec, soussigné.

PEUVRET.

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES

Canada.

Pays des Iroquois

40

19. Juillet 1687.

Acte de prise de possession du Pays des Iroquois de Monnoüaan

N°. 3.

MARINE ET COLONIES ARCHIVES COLONIALES

L'an mil six cent quatre vingt sept le dix neuvieme Juillet. Les troupes commandées par Messire Jaques Rene de Brisay Chr. Seig. Mis. de Denonville et autres lieux Gouverneur et Lieutenant général pour le Roy en toute l'Etendue du Canada et pais de la nouvelle France, en presence d'Hector Chr. de Calliere Gouv. et de Montreal aud. pais, commandant le Camp sous les ordres susdits Philippes Rigaud Chevalier de Vaudreuil Commandant les troupes du Roy, lesquelles etant rangées en Bataille s'est presenté devant le front de l'armée Charles Aubert Sieur de

la Benays bourgeois de quebec requis
par messire Jean Bochart Chevalier Sr
de Champigni, Noroy, Verneuil et autres lieux
conseiller du Roy en ses conseils intendant
de la justice, police et finances dans toute la
France septentrionale, lequel a dit et declaré
qu'a la requisition susdit Seigneur de
Champigni, il prenoit possession susdit village
de Cotiaklon où il a fait avec autres trois
villages nommés, Gannagaro, Gannondata
et Gannongaraé, et d'un fort distant d'une
demie lieue dud. village de Gannagaro
ensemble de toutes les terres qui sont aux
environs, tant et si loin qu'elles se peuvent
etendre, conquises au nom de Sa Majesté
et pour marque de ce a planté à toutes les
dits villages et fort les armes de sadite
Majesté et fait crier à haute voix Vive

MARINE ET COLONIES
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le Roy, apres que les d. trouppes ont battu et mis en fuite tout ce qui s'estoit trouvé d'ennemis dans et sur le d. fort brulé et ravagé leurs vivres et Cabannes. Dont et de quoy dessus le dit Sr. de la Chenaye Aubert a requis acte, à lui octroyé par moy Paul Dupuy Ecuyer Con.er du Roy et Comprocureur au Siege de la Prevosté de Quebec, fait au dit village de Notre Dame de Foye, le plus grand village des Onnontagans en presence du Reverend Pere Vaillant Jesuite et des officiers destroupes et de la milice, temoins avec moi dit Procureur du Roy soussigné les jour et an susdits, et ont signé en la minute Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye J. Renè de Brisay M.is de Denonville le Chevalier de Calliere, Fleutelot de Rompray, de Beauvelosez, de Ramezay, François Vaillant de la Comp.ie

de Jesus de Granville, de Longueil, Saint
Saud et Dupuy.

Collationné à l'orig. demeuré en mes
mains par moy conseiller-secretaire de sa
majesté et Greffier en chef au conseil
Souverain a Quebec Soussigné Signé
Peuvret.

Collationné et vidimé sur copie
Collationnée en papier etant au
secretariat du Chateau St. Louis de
Quebec ou elle est restée, par le
Notaire Royal en la Prevoté de
Quebec a ce requis et soussigné, —
Ce jourd'hui vingt cinq Juillet mil
sept cent cinquante. Signé —
Dulaurent.

François Bigot Conseiller du

Loy en ces Conseils, Intendant de justice
Police et finances et de la marine en toute la
nouvelle france.

Certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra
que Me. Du Laurent qui a signé la Collation de
l'autre part est Notaire Royal en la Prevoté de
Quebec et que foi doit etre ajoutée a la Signa-
ture en ladite qualité, en temoin de quoi nous
avons signé et fait contresigner ces presentes
par notre Secretaire, et a icelles fait apposer le
Sachet de nos armes. Fait en notre hotel a
Quebec le premier Avril mil sept cent cinq.te
Bigot, Et plus bas par Monseigneur

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9. Juillet 1687.

Acte de prise de possession
du Cayo des
Iroquois dits
Mohontsaus

L'An mil six cent quatre vingt sept le dix neuvieme
Juillet. les troupes commandées par Messire Jacques
René de Brisay chevalier seigneur Marquis de Denonville
et autres Lieux Gouverneur et Lieutenant général pour le
Roy en toute l'Etendue du Canada et pays de la nouvelle
France, En presence d'Antoine chevalier de Lallière
Gouverneur et Général aud. pays, Commandant de
Camp sous ses ordres Et de Philippe Rigaud chevalier
de Vaudreuil Commandant les troupes du Roy, Lesquelles
Estant rangées en bataille S'Est presenté a la teste de
L'armée charles Aubert sieur de la Chesnaye bourgeois
de quebec deputé par Messire Jean Bochart chevalier
Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Verneuil et autres
Lieux, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils Intendant de
Justice, Police et finances, dans toute la nouvelle
France Septentrionale, Lequel a dit et declaré qu'a la
Requeste de mon dit Seigneur de Champigny, Il a
pris possession du Village de Tsiakion comme
il a fait des autres trois villages nommés Gannagaro,
Gannondata et Gannongarae, Ci d'un four distant
d'une demie Lieue dud. Village de Gannongaro, Ensemble
de toutes les terres qui sont aux environs, Tant et
si loin qu'elles se peuvent Etendre, conquises au nom

de sa Majesté, et pour marque de ce a planté a tous les
Villages et forts les armes de sadite Majesté, et fait
crier a haute voix Vive le Roy, après que les troupes ont
battu et mis en fuite tout ce qui se trouvait d'ennemis
Et fait le dégast, brulé et ravagé tous leurs bleds et
Cabanes. Dont et de tout dessus les dits et de lad. Sauvage
Aubert a requis acte, a lui octroyé par moi Saul
Dupuy, Ecuyer, Conseiller du Roy et Juge Procureur
au Siège de la Prevosté de Quebec, fait au Village
de Kotiakon, le plus grand Village des Tsonnontouans
en presence du Reverend Pere Vaillant Jesuite et des
Officiers des Troupes et de la Milice, Temoins avec
moy d. Procureur du Roy, et signé la Minute et au
Insinuation, et contresigné en la minutte Charles Aubert
de la Chesnaye, J. René de Brisay, M. de Denonville
Le Chevalier de Callieres, Fleuriau de Rouprey, de
Desmeloizes de Lauzay, François Vaillant de la
Compagnie de Jesus, de Grandville de Longueuil
Sans Saul et Dupuy.

Collationné a l'original demeuré en mes mains
par moy conseiller Secretaire de sa Majesté en
Greffier en Chef au Conseil Souverain a Quebec
Soussigné, Signé Sanguet.

Collationné et Viziné sur la Copie
Collationnée en papier Estant au

c[illegible] secretaire du chateau S.t Louis de quebec en cette
Cie restée, Sauf le Notaire Royal en la prevosté de
quebec y residant, et signé, le jourd'huy dix
cinq Juillet mille cinq cens soixante huit / 44

Pellissier

(Vu le 10 Juillet 1701, Conseiller du Roy en ses
Conseils Intendant de Justice Police finances
et de la Marine en la Nouvelle France.

Veu le Rolle et tout ce qui a paru devant nous que Mr
Dubaudu qui a signé la collation cy dessus est
Notaire Royal en la prevosté de quebec dont foy
doit estre ajoutée a la signature entre qualité
et temoin de quoy nous avons signé et fait
contresigner cette presente par notre secretaire et y
fait apposer le cachet de nos armes. fait et
donné a quebec le p.r d'avril mil cinq cens
cent soixante huit. Pellissier

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Par monseigneur
Dubaudu

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9 Juillet 1687. Prise de possession du pays des Iroquois dit Thonontuans par m. de Denonville

45

L'an mil six cent quatre vingt

sept le dix neuf juillet, Les Troupes commandées
par Messire Jacques René de Brisay,
Chevalier Seigneur Marquis de Denonville, Et
autres lieux, Gouverneur et Lieutenant general pour
le Roy en toute l'Etendüe du Canada, es pays de la
Nouvelle france, En presence d'Hector Chevalier
De Callieres Gouverneur du Montreal audit pays,
Commandant le Camp sous ses ordres, Et de
Philippes Rigaud Chevalier de Vaudreüil Commandant
Les Troupes du Roy, lesquelles étant rangées
en bataille, s'est presenté a la tête de l'armée
Charles Aubert S.r de la Chesnaye Bourgeois
de Quebec, deputé par Messire Jean Bochart
Chevalier Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy,
Verneüil et autres lieux Conseiller du Roy en ses
Conseils, Intendant de la justice Police et finances
dans toute la france Septentrionalle; Lequel a dit
et declaré qu'a la Requête de Mondit Seigneur
De Champigny, il prenoit possession du village
de Totiakton, Comme il a fait des autres Trois
villages nommez Gamagaro, Gamondata,
Et Gannongarae, Et d'Vn tiers distant d'Vne demie
Lieüe dudit village de Gannagaro; Ensemble de
tout les terres qui sont aux Environs, tant et si

Lors qu'Elles se prennent à rendre, Conquis fut au nom
de sa Majesté, Et pour marque de ce, a Sainte
a tous Circonvoisins Villages le fort, les armes de ladite
Majesté, le fait Crier a haute voix, Vive le Roy,
Après que les dits Troupes ont battu et mis en
fuitte tout ces Iroquois Tsonnontouans: Le fait le
dégât, Brule, et ravage tout Vivres et Cabanes
Bon et decerque donné, Ledit S.r De la Chesnaye
Aubert, a Requis acte, a luy octroyé par moy
Paul Dupuy Escuyer Conseiller du Roy et
Son Procureur au siege de la Prevôté de Quebec
fait audit Village de Sotiakton le plus grand
Village des Tsonnontouans, En presence du
Reverend Pere Vaillant jesuite, et des Officiers
des Troupes et de la milice, Témoins avec moy
Procureur du Roy soussignez; les jour et an
susdits, Et ont signé en la minutte Charles
Aubert de la Chesnaye, S.r René de Brisay
M.r de Denonville, Le Chevalier de Callieres,
Chevalier de Rempart de Desmeloizes, De
Ramezay, François Vaillant de la Compagnie de
Jesus, De Granville, De Longueuil, S.r Paul
et Dupuy. Collationné a l'original demeuré

en mes mains par moy Con.er Secretaire de la
Majesté et Greffier en chef au Conseil Souverain
a Quebec Soussigné Signé Lemoyne avec paraphe.

Collationné a quebec ce 22
9 novembre 1712
Vaudreuil

MARINE ET COLONIES
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L'An Mille cinquante Vingt sept le dixneuf
Juillet, Les trouppes commandées par Messire Jacques
René de Brisay Chevalier seigneur Marquis de
Denonville le autres lieux, Conseiller en tous Conseils
pour le Roy en toute l'Estendue du Canada Lieutenant
la Nouvelle France, Et Messire d'Hector Chevalier de
Callieres Gouverneur de Montreal audit pays Commandant
les Trouppes sous ses ordres, le de Philippeaux Rigaud
Chevalier de Vaudreuil Commandant les trouppes du Roy,
Et Jean Leneuf Sieur de Beaubassin, s'est presenté
a la Porte de l'armée Charles Aubert Sieur de la Chesnaye
Bourgeois de Quebec Et Procureur de Messire Jean Bochart
Chevalier Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Vernueil
et autres lieux, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils
Intendant de la Justice police et finances dans toute
la France Septentrionale, Lequel a dit et declaré
que par ordre de Mondit Seigneur de Champigny, Il
prenoit possession du Village de Totiakton, comme il a
fait dire aux trois Villages nommés Tannagaro,
Tanondata, Tannogarae, Et d'un fort distant
d'une demie Lieue dudit Village de Tanagaro,
Ensemble de toutes les terres qui sont aux Environs,
tant et si loin qu'elles s'etendent Entendre conquises
au nom de Sa Ma.té Et pour marque de ce, a
planté a toutes lesdits Villages et fort les Armes
de Sadite Ma.té Et fait crier a haute voix Vive le
Roy, apres que lesdits trouppes ont battu et mis
en fuite tous les Iroquois Tsonnontouans, Et fait
bruler et ravager leurs Vivres et Cabanes.
Tout et de ce que dessus ledit Sieur De la Chesnaye
Aubert Requis Acte, Lui octroyé par moy Paul
Dupuy Ecuyer Conseiller du Roy Et son Procureur
au Siege de la Prevosté de Quebec, fait audit

Village de Totiakton, Lizlune grand Village
dite Tsonnontouans En presence du Reuerend
pere Vaillant Jesuite, et dite Assemblee de trouppes
de la Milice Canoine auec moy du Procureur du
Roy. Soussignez Luy Jouc Jean Jesuite. Et de signez
en la minutte, Jean Ruté de Brisay M.e de Denonville
Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, Le Chevalier de
Calliere, Chevalier de Rouzrey. De Demoloizire.
De Ramsay. de Grandville. François Vaillant
de la Compagnie de Jesus. De Longueuil. S.t Paul
Et Dupuy, Ladite minutte Atant par devers moy
Con.r Secretaire du Roy et Greffier en chef au
Conseil Souuerain de Quebec Soussigné J. /.

Jeuzet.

35:960

Information given by

Adondazakeerka Unedachsono Awitharo Iroquese Sachims of the Sinnekes together with [illegible]

[illegible] Engagement to his Excell. Thomas Dongan Esq. Capt. Genll. Governour in Chiefe and Vice Admirall in and over the Province of New Yorke, how the French have Invaded their Country and warr upon them, [illegible] Hall of Albany ye 2d day of August 1687 in ye 3d year of his Mats Reign [illegible]

WE say that the Occasion of our Warr with the Nation of the Sinnekes do proceed by reason they have killed many of our Men as they have likewise done to diverse Christians, for which cause we have done what lies in our power to Revenge the same, and are ready at all times to Serve his Excell. Thomas Dongan Esq. Governour &c. five years ago we were desired

by

1657

35:90(2)

By the Govern of Candia to Lunde Sucke men of his as wth a
Gratious Safeconduct to Peace and accordingly we Rencountred with some
of his Ships and took away what Brandy they had from him, and

B5ᵗ. 80 (8)

Sinnekes have observ'd and kept not doeing them any Wrong Butt
y⁴ ottowawa Indians were Included in y⁴ Late Peace Hostilities
[illegible] Sinnekes marched a Chosen Body of their
Senecas Called Cunkaux in their [illegible]
[illegible] Dis Embassy to Onnondage, [illegible]
[illegible] Tort all not Doing [illegible]
[illegible] Peace was made Each Sp.
[illegible] Indians who had at Lake Before y⁴ Peace Killed a Sinnek Sp.
one was about Winter & Invited to give him his Last Farewell
whom y⁴ said Cp.ᵗ D Boty [illegible]
Sinnekes Speaker [illegible] Dog was Dead
[illegible] was Sorry Away from his own People, and as [illegible]
Lye among the Sinnekes but that Sinnekes Assure that
[illegible] he would Do him a Mischief
[illegible] Decoure Kill [illegible]
[illegible] Sinnekes Cp.ᵗ [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] them that Unfriendly Manner [illegible]

French

French as came on this side off y Lake without a Pass from his Excell.
a Town of Oswego of (illegible) Hundred Two French one called
Grand Pierre & Comrade at ye 2 Hundred Boats from the
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
to come and speake with him at Cadaraghqui
[illegible] acquainted his Excell. what he [illegible] in Pursu
to his Excell. Commands wee being at Sea [illegible]
[illegible] no Pass did'n to Lake to [illegible] and therefore
to goe, and Short after wee heard [illegible] Comman
dian that had [illegible]
[illegible] had a Vision to warn us for to Sedition
[illegible] & Immediate and [illegible] brought to
[illegible]
[illegible] five Nations [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

35:9015

See a Bark neer Irondoguat y^t Landing Place a Lying by, &
not all anker, they sent four men in a Canoe to hails them, their a=
Direction being Expres^d not to doe y^t first any harm,
to gain Some
Spoke
what manner they lie, The Inward men
forthwith to y^e Cittes, and bid y^e Sachim make hast soon,
forthwith sent Twenty men to spy what it
ere, another Bark came to y^e first and
Spyed a great
and almost
men Sent the rest y^e forthwith to y^e
come
Some
come

Come to doe, to warr upon you; and to morrow I will march up with
my Army to your Castles, and assone as they had spoke, they fired upon
ye Queen, & they ran home and brought ye newes to ye King
that ye Castles [illegible] Then they drew their Cannon to y^e
[illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] most [illegible] Rebells [illegible] and
to ye Land side of Southwark of your Castles, [illegible]
ye French were as glad as they were and marched [illegible]
ye Lodging Place and ye Castles were [illegible]
assone as [illegible]

Castles, and [illegible]
a hundred in a small [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] were in to have [illegible]
and [illegible] and desired ye assistance [illegible]
me [illegible] & Spread to [illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible]

1

on ye ye officer could not bring them in a Posture to Engage, they
went out about Half a League from ye Castle on a hill and
there left their Arms, but ye officers could not Persuade them to
[illegible] A Body to Engage, [illegible]
see it out with [illegible] upon which [illegible]
[illegible] Right and Left [illegible]
French, and they came in sight of [illegible]
fell down on their Faces and ye Spaniard [illegible]
advance upon [illegible] many Coins [illegible]
coins [illegible] ye first Volley and then [illegible]
[illegible]
whole Regiment [illegible]
when the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

the first Party that gave way and so gott off from one another, and
in their Retreat was followed about halfe an English mile, and if
ye Enemy had followed three fourthes of a mile he would have come
Danger of Loosing his Gunns they came off and wounded
Fled to Mr. Cole's ye and not Come thro —

The good Indian I was in ye Engagement at the
was over, when ye Sinnekes were gott upon a hill
Fish spirit — come up, ye French called to
and ye old Sinnekes Replyed
we have but a Hundred men
you Fraid to fight

ye any of ye
Gott, they were to
Come
ye
Come
Come

3

Propositions to the five Nations Westward Viz.t to the Sheife Sachems & Captaines of the Sinnekes Cayouges Onondages Onneydes & Maquase by the Governour in the Citty Fort of Albany the fifth Day of August 1677 In the third Yeare of his Ma.tie Reigne.

Brethren.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

I am Verry Glad to see You all here in this house and am hartely glad
Also that You have Justified No greater Love by the French
beleeue there Intention was to Destroy you all if they
prized You in your Castles & Soone as heard of
Warr with You, & Gave You Notice of it & came up here
might be Ready to give You all the Assistance & good
Could a time Would Allow me
Am now About Sending a Gentleman to England to the
to Let him know that the

I am Verry Glad to see You all here in this house and am hartely Glad
Also that You have Sustained No Greater Loss by the French though I
believe there Intention was to Destroy you all if they
- -prized You in your Castles & Is Soone ab- heard of
Warr with You, & Gave You Notice of itt & Came up here my Self that
I might be Ready to give You all the Assistance & good Advice that my
Greate time Would Allow me
I am now About Sending A Gentleman to England to the King my Master
to Lett him Know that the French have Invaded his Territories here
Side of the Greate Lake & Warr'd upon the Brethren of the
Fond Intend Willingly know whether the Brethren have Given
Govern. of Canada. My Provocation or not And if they have how
in What Manner Because I am Obliged to give a true Accot
of this Matter, this Business may Cause A Warr between the
King of England & the French King both in Europe & here &
I must know the truth, & know the Govern of Canada Dare
Enter into the Greate

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

King of Englands Territoryes in a hostile Manner Without Provocation if he thought the Brethren were the King of Englands Subjects, Butt You Lancing two or three Years Agoe made a Covenant Caine with the French Contrarie to my Comands which I Knew could not hold long it being Void & Null Selfe Amongst the Christians soe much as Christians Subjects as You are Ought not to Treat with Unforeigne Nation it not Lyeing in Your Power, have your Selfs brought this Trouble upon You and as I believe is the Only Reason of there falling Upon You at this time.

Brethren I took it Verry ille that After You Putt your Selfs in the Number of the Great King of Englands Subjects that You should Ever Offer to make Peace or Warr Without My Consent You know that Wee Can Live Without You, but You Cannot Live Without us, for You Never Found that I told You A Lye, And Did Offer You Assistance as You Writes, Further You Would be Advised by me for I know the French better than any of You Do.

Now Since there is a Warr begun upon You by the Governo. of Canada I hope Without Any Provocacon by You Lately, I Desyre & Comand You that You Give harken to no Treaty butt by My Advice which if You follow You shall have the benefitt of the Great Name of Friendship that is Lately Concluded betwixt the Crowne of

Number of the Subjects of King of England Subjects that you should
Ever Offer to make Peace or Warr Without My Consent You know
that Wee Can Live Without You, but You Cannot Live Without us, for
You Need Found that I told You Alyo, And Did Offer You Assist
-ance as You Wanted, Further You Would be Advised by me for I know
the French better than any of You Do.

Since there is a Warr begun upon You by the Governo. of Canada
I hope Without Any Provocacon by You Given, I Desyre Comand
You that You Wee harken to no Treaty butt by My Advice which if
You follow You shall have the benefitt of the Great Name of Friend
Shipp that is Lately Concluded between the Great King of England
& the French King Which Came out of England the Other day
which I have Sent to Canada by Anthony Espinard, In the Meane
time I Will Give You Such Advice as Will be for your Good &
Supply You With Such Necessarys as You Will have Need off
First my Advice is that as many Prisoners of the French as You take
that You Draw not there Blood butt Bring them home & Keep them
to Exchange for the People of yours Which they have Prisoners
Already or may take hereafter.

12

That

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

That if Possible You Can Consider it see; I would have you take one or two of your Wisest Sachims
Or One or two Cheife Capt.s of each nacon to bee A Councille to Manage all the
Affaires of the Warr, & they to Give Orders to the rest of the Officers what
they are to Doe, that Your Designes May bee kept Secrate, for After it is Soone
Abrought to many People it is Blazed Abroad, And Your Designe often
times Frustrate, & those Cheife men to keep Correspondence with me by A
Trusty Messenger

As for the Great Matter in Consideracon is with the Brethren how to Strengthen
themselves & Weaken Your Enemy, My Opinion is ~~that the Brethren how to Strengt~~
~~and weaken them & Weaken your Enemy~~ that the Brethren Should
Send Messengers to the Ottowawas & Sinickticks & the further Indians & Some
of the Nations of those Nacons (if any You have) Cost to buy the hatchotts & to
Make A Covenant Chaine & that they may putt Away all the French that
Are Amongst them, and that You Will Open A Cash for them this Way
they bring the King of Englands Subjects likewise only the French have been
Admitted to trade with them For all that the French have in Canada they had it
of the Great King of England that by that meanes they may Come
here freely Where they may have Every thing Cheaper then Among the French

As to the Great Matter in Consideracon is with the Brethron how to Strengthon themselues & Weaken Your Enemy, My Opinion is ~~With the Brethren how to strengthen~~ ~~and therebye to Weaken your Enemy~~ that the Brethren Should Send Messengers to the Ottowaws & Sinkletacks & the further Indians & some of the Chiefs of those Nacons if any You have left to buy the hatchetts & to Make a Confiant Chaine & that they may putt Away all the French that Are Amongst them, and that You Will Open a Path for them this Way they being the King of Englands Subjects likewise only the French have been Admitted to trade with them for all that the French have in Canada they had it of the Great King of England & that by that meanes they may Come here freely where they may have Every thing cheaper then Among the French they paying You an Acknowledgmt Yearly for the path & that You & they joyne together &c. the French & make So firme a League that whoever is enemy to one must be so to both

Another thing of Concord is that You ought to Doe what You Can to open a Path for all the North Indians & Mahikanders that are all Ottowaws & further Nations & Will Endeavor to Doe the Same to bring them home for they not Dareing to come home your Way & the French on ye Other hand Intending to keepe them there In Purpose to joyne with those further Nacons Against You for your Distruction Alsoe You Know that one of them is worse then Six of the Other Therefore all Meanes must be Vsed to bring them home & Vse them

13

Kindly

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

Ridley as they passe throw your Country; My Advise is further to you, that
Indiangers goe in the Behalfe of all the five Nations to the Christian Indians
att Canada to Perswade them to Come home to their Native Country & to joyne
in a Generall Protection which will be Another Great Meane to Weaken your
Enemys & if they will Not be Adviced, then you know What to Doe with them,
I think it Very Necessary for the Brethren Security & Assistance, & to
Endamage the French to Build A Fort upon the Lake, Where I may Keepe
Stores & Provisions in Case of Necessity, & Therefore I would Have the Brethren
Lett me know what Place Will be most Convenient for itt
I would not have the Brethren to Keepe their Corn in their Cattles as I feare the
Indians doe butt bury itt A great Way into the Woods Wherefore King George
May know where it is, for feare of Such an Accident as hath happened the
Senikes
I have Given My Advice in your Gen.ll Assembly by Mr Dirick Wessells and
Mr Rus the Interpreter, how you are to Manage your Parties & how Necessary it
is to gett Prisoners to Change for your Owne Men that are Prisoners with the
French,
I am Glad to heare the Brethren are so United as Mr Dirick Wessells tells
me they are, & that there are no Rotten Members nor French Spyes Amongst
them,

I would not have the Brethren to keepe their Corn in their Cattles as I doare the Inondages Doe butt bury itt A great Way into the Woods Wherefore George may know where it is, for feare of Such an Accident as hath happened the Sinnakes

I have Given My Advice in your Gen.ll Assembly by Mr Dinick Nevills and Russ the Interpreter, how you are to Manage your Cattle & how Necessary it is to gett Prisoners to Change for your Good Men that are Prisoners with the French,

I am Glad to heare the Brethren are so United as Mr. Dinick Nevills tells me they are, & that there are no Rotten Members nor French Spyes Amongst them,

The Brethren may Remember My Advice I Sent you this Spring not to goe to Cadarachqui, if you had. they would have Served You as they Did your People that came from hunting for I told You then that Canada the French better than You

There is no Advice or Proposition that I made to the Brethren all the whilst I by one of his Letters that he had Given to an Indyan to Carry to Canada & was brought back, Therefore I Desire the Brethren not to Receive him or Any French Spirits Any More, Sending Sent for English Spirits whom

You

14

You Can bee Supplyed with all to Content;
I Will have the Brethren looke out Sharpe for feare of beeing Surprized
I beleeue all the Strength of the french Will bee att Cadarachqui &
Onyagro Where they Build A fortt now, And att Joy Riviere Mont Royall
& Chambly they being frontier Places,
Lett me Putt You in mind Againe not to make Any Treaties Without My
order which Will bee more Aduantagious for You, then Your Owne
Selfe for then You Will bee Looked Upon as the King of Englands Subjects
And Lett mee know from time to time whatsoeuer thing is Done.
I Shall say More Thane Spoken to You Relating to the Warr

I Must Chide You & bid You (if it be true what I heare) You are
not people of your Words for I Remember three Yeares Agoe the Treaty
I found. of Virginia was done, & by my Order forgaue the brethren
What euill they had Done in Virginia & Maryland before & Accordingly
both their hatchetts Are

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Extract of a Letter from Mr Stephen Fouace to Mr Robert Quarry

Sir

I must Chide You & to Your (if it be true what I heard) You are not people of your Words for I Remember three Years Agoe the Grand Council of Virginia was here, & they my Friends forgave the Brethren what evill they had Done in Virginia & Maryland before & accordingly both their hatchetts & Your hatchetts were buryed here Without in my Presence Notwithstanding Since I heare the Brethren have been there this last Spring And have Killd & Slaine Gentleman With Some other, And Now I heare A Party of Oneydes is now there att the Head of James River With an Intention to Ruine all the Indyans thereabouts & have taken Six of those Indians Prisoners & Were Denyed to sell upon the English that live the Out Plantacons to facilitate there Designe All Which is Discovered by a Virginia Indian that Was with them three Years A Prisoner And Now Runn Away & Gives the English this Intelligence which has Occasioned the Country thereabouts to bee in Allarm & the Councill of Virginia

15

21

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Yor Ma[illegible] Come to New Yorke With an Intention to have Satisfac=
=tion of the Nations for that they have Done, Doe the Brethren
[illegible] they Can Mr arr with all the Christians in America who are a thousd
[illegible] part one of Thousand Pt Seems You Make no Difference between Yor friends
& Yor foes, What Would You Doe att, The Christians Will not endure
it from one Another Much Lesse from You that are Indians, if it Was not
for mee who have Protected, you these fower Yeares Past, for all the Kings
of Englands Subjects are bound to Live With one Another &t any
Enemy that Will Fall Upon them Therefore I Charge & Comand You
forthwith Assoon as You are Gott home to Send me those Sachems As were
as they are Come to your Cattles, As I must tell You Plainly if you Will
Not forbear Doing of Mischiefe there hereafter I Will Dig upp the Axes
Against & Give them in the hands of My Lord Howard & My Selfe
Will Joyne With him & War Upon You & then You Will be totally Ruined
For the Governd of Canada himselfe Makes his Complaints to the
Att home that Protest People that Murders the King of Englands Sub
in Virginia & Maryland & Breaks all the Covenant Chaines they ma
Therefore Doe this no More nor goe Neare Virginia for if You Doe it Will
bee Impossible for me to Protect You Any Longer Butt bee Looked
Upon as Foes as your Selfes, if You have Any Party out that Way, Send
them forthwith & Suffer none of your People to goe that Way Any more
& Will Prove to Your Mr Be Assured Most Humble

[illegible] Sr there were necessary I will Lay upon the Axes
& will joyne with him & Warr upon you & then you will be totally ruined
for the Governd is [illegible] annexd himselfe Makes his Complaint to the King
att home that [illegible] protect & Cover that Murders the King of Englands Subjects
in Virginia & Marylands & Breaks all the Covenant Lawes they make
therefore Doe this no More nor goe Here Vnpleasd for if you Doe it Will
bee impossible for me to Protect you any Longer But bee Lookes
upon as Traytors to your Selfe, if you have any Cartys out that Way, Send for
them forthwith & Suffer none of your People to goe that Way any More
I will Trust to Your Complaint of your [illegible] to the King by promising him that
You will Make him Satisfaccon As soon as the Warr with the French
is Over & I Doe not Doubt but you will Make Good Whatso
ever Promise, that I may not bee found A Lyer.
Shane Said this of You all in Gen.ll Yett I must Exclude My Brethren
the Quakers Who I finde alle Ever Have Kept their Word, hauing
heard they ever did & thanke in Doeing Any ill thing nor Contrary

16

Since I came to the Govern.t Except the makeing Peace with the French three Yeares I gott which has been the Cause of all my Troubles) which Makes me Watch for their Welfare & Labour Work with all my Art that I Can, the Rest of the Brethren, But I hope the Shame of Doing ill things will bring them to Do nothing, but what honest men Ought to Doe which is to keepe their Words with Every Body & Obey my Comands which is the Only Meanes to eat well & Sleep well Without Feare or Disturbance.

And Lastly I must Recommend onething to the Officer & Captains not to Suffer Any of your People to be Drunk During the Warr, it will Loose the Reputacon of a Souldier to be Drunk in time of Warr for feare of Advantages that the Enemy May take of them.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

for the Speed to Loose their Woods with Every Body & Obey my Comander which is the Only Means to eat Well & Sleep Well Without Fear or Disturbance.

And Lastly I must Recommend nothing to the Officers & Captains not to suffer Your People to be Drunk During the Warr, it will Loose the Reputacon of a Souldier to be Drunk in time of Warr for fear of Advantages that the Enemy May take of them.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

The Copy Exam'd

by Rob. Tunstall Cl.

A true Copy Exam'd by

[illegible] Secretary

I am now about sending a Gentleman to England to ye King my^s Master to tell him how y^t ye French have Invaded his Territories here on this Side of ye great Lake and waged warr upon ye Brethren his Subjects, and therefore I would willingly know whether ye Brethren have given ye Govern^r of Canada any Provocation or not, and if they have how and in what manner, Because I am obliged to give a true account of this matter This Business may cause a warr between ye King of England and ye French King both in Europe & here, and therefore I must know ye Truth. I know ye Govern^r of Canada dare not enter into the Great King of England's Territories in a hostile manner Without Provocation, if he thought the Brethren were ye King of England's Subjects, But you having 2 or 3 years ago made a Covenant chain with ye French Entrance to my [illegible] which I know could not hold Long) it being writ in it self against ye Christians forasmuch as Subjects (as you are) ought not to Treat with any foreign Nation, it not Lying in your Power, have your Selfs brought this trouble upon you and as I Believe is ye only Reason of their falling upon you at this time) —

Brethren I tell it you all, that after you put your Selfs in ye Number of ye Great King of Englands Subjects, that you shou'd ever offer to make Peace or warr without my Consent, You know y^t we can Live without you, but you cannot Live without us, for you never found that I

told

told you a lye, and did offer you assistance as you wanted, Should you
Could be advised by me. for I know ye French Both- that any of you de-

Now since there is a Warr^t Issued upon you by ye Govern^r of Canada
I hope without any Provocation by me given, I Desire and Command you
y^t you will hearken to no Treaty but by my advice which if you follow, you
shall have ye Benefit of ye Small Skill of Friendship that is Lodg'd
Concluded between ye Great King of England and ye French King,
which came out of England ye other day, which I have sent to Canada by
Anthony Esquire, In ye mean time I will give you such advice as will be
for your good and supply you with such Necessaries as you will have need
of:

First Only advice is y^t as many Prisoners of ye French as you take
y^t you Doe not there to Load, but keep their Lives for Exchange
for ye People of your Own that may have Prisoners already or may take here-
-after:

2 That if Quite you Can order it soe, I would have you take one or two of your
next Sachims and over two chiefe Capt^s of each nation to be a Coun-
-cil to Manage all affairs of warr, and they to give Orders to y^e
Rest of ye Officers what they are to Doe, that your Designs may be
kept Private, for after it comes amongst so many People, it is Blazed abroad,
and your Design oftentimes Frustrate, and those chiefe men to keep

Correspondence

Correspondence with me by a trusty Messenger

3 Now the great Matter in Consideration is with ye Barbers how to secure their themselfs and Brethren w^t Safety, My Opinion is, y^t ye Barbers should send Messengers to ye Mowawes and Twichtwichs and ye further Indians and some of ye Prisoners of those Nations if any you have Left to Bury the Hatchets and to make a Covenant chain and that they may Pull away all the French y^t are amongst them and y^t will upon a Path for them this way, they being ye Kins of Englands Subjects likewise, and ye French have been admitted to Trade with them for a Cessation Since I have in Canada they had it of ye Great King of England, that by that means they may come here freely where they may have Every thing cheaper than among ye French This Paying you an acknowledgment yearly for ye Land by the they joyn together against ye French and make so firm a League that whatever is Enemy to one must be so to Both

4 Another thing of Concern is, that you ought to do w^t all you can to open a Path for all ye North Indians and Tallatisander that are all Cheuana, and further nations, and Shall Endeavor to doe y^t and to bring them hither, for they not daring to come home your way as y^t French or ye other hand Striving to keep them there or Purpose to joyn with those further Nations against you for your Destruction, Cherefore you know y^t one of them is worth ten Six of ye other, Therefore all meanes must be used to bring them hither and use them kindly as they Pass thrw your Country

5 By Sig

5 My advice is further to you that wee express you in y^r Behalfe of all y^r five Nations to ye Christian Indians all Canada, to Perswade them to come home, to y^r native Country and to Promise them all Protection, which will be a very great means to weaken your Enemies and if they will not be advised, then wee know what to doe with them

6 I think it Verry necessary for y^r Brethrens Security and assistance, and to y^r Endammageing y^r French, to build a fort on ye Lake, where I may keep Stores and Provicions in Case of Necessity, and therefore would have y^r Brethren Lett me know what Place will be most convenient for all.

7 I Would not have y^r Brethren to keep those Coats in their Castles, as Heer y^r Onnondages doe but bury it a great way into ye woods, where few People may know where it is, for fear of such an Accident as hath happened y^r Sure.ties

8 I have given my advice in your generall Assembly to y^r Five Nations and Explained and Interpreted how you are to manage your Policys and how necessary it is to get Prisoners to change for your owne men y^t are Prisoners with the French

9 I am glad to hear y^r Brethren are so united at y^r Dish Quewelh tells me) they are, as y^r Sons are no Better members nor freinds y^n you amongst them.

10 The Brethren must Remember my advice and tell you they must not to goe to Cadaraqui, if now had they would have Served now as they did your People y^t came from hunting, for I told you then y^t I knew ye French better than you

11 Here

11 There is no advice or Proposition that I made to ye Brethren, all y^t while y^t the Priest lived att Onnondage, but he went it to Canada, as I have founde by one of his Letters y^t he had given to an Indian to Carry to Canada, and was brought here, Therefore I Desire Brethren not to Receive him or any french Priest any more, Having Sent for an English Priest whom you can be Supplyed Next to Onondt

12 I Would Tell ye Brethren Look out sharpe for fear of being Surprized I Believe all ye Strength of ye french is at Cadarackqui & Onyagara where they Build a fort now and at Trois Riviere Port Royal & Chambly they have fortifyed Places

13 I Tell me Brethren in Minde again not to make any Treaties without my Consent, for it will be much advantageous for you, then you had Power to Treat, for he no matter Could Impose any thing upon you, but I shall from time to time Advise you what is Best

This far I have Spoken to you Relating to ye Warr

+ Now (I must Chide you and tell you (if it be true what I hear) you are not People of your words for I Remember three years ago ye Great Governour of Virginea was here, and he & you Ancients Sung ye Brethren what Evill they had Done in Virginia and Many Sad Stories, and accordingly both their Hatchets And your Hatchets were buried over withoute, in my Presence, Notwithstanding since I hear ye Brethren have been here this Last Spring and have told a fine Gentleman

(Forth

[5 Aug 1687](II)

Demands Five Nations admit any provocation they may have given the French to attack them. Urges they make peace with Far Nations (Ottawas, Twighttwees,etc.) to try to convince Christian Indians to return home from Canada, and allow English to build fort on "the Lake" (Ontario). Chastises them for hostilities in Virginia.

This manuscript begins at Paragraph 2 of N.Y.Col.Docs.3: 438-441: "Gov. Dongan's Propositions to the Five Nations..." 5 August 1687." He proposes an executive committee of the Five Nations comprised of two wisest sachems, and one or two warriors of each nation. They are to keep in touch with him by messenger. Proposal for peace with Ottawas and Miamis is to open path for them to Albany for trade. Advises them not to keep corn in Castles but bury it in woods. He is glad they are united, for a strong League is in the English interest. Urges them not to receive any more French Priests at Onondaga.

This document is incomplete.

See N.Y. Col.Docs. 3: 438-441 for end of text.

WNF

friends the Maquess of Albany to disswade them from warring with the French and to encourage them to come and live at Canada, or otherwise he would with all his Indians of Canada come and live with his relations and friends the Maquess of Albany, provided Corlaer, meaning thereby his Excell^{cy} the Govr, did send preists in the Castles which he hath long promised but not performed.

And lastly said Examinants doe declare that one of their Troopers by name Abell Merrion was by jealouse or command of the Govr De Nonville shot to death because he was a Frenchman Borne altho' now subject of His Maj^{ty} of England & had a passe to trade at the Ottowawa with the rest of the Troop:

NANNING HARMENTSE
FREDERICK HARMENTS
DERICK VAN DER HEYDEN

sworne before me
NICHOLAS BAYARD Mayor
A true copy examined by JOHN KNIGHT De Sec^{y}

Governor Dongan's Propositions to the Five Nations.

[Board of Trade Papers, New-York, III.]

Propositions to the Five Nations westward vizt to the Cheife Sachems and Captaines of the Sinnekes, Cajouges, Onondages, Onneydes and Maquasse by the Govr in the Citty hall of Albany the fifth day of august 1687. in the third year of His Maj^{ties} Reigne.

Brethren.

I am verry gladd to see you all here in this house, and am heartely gladd also that you have sustained no greater losse by the French, tho' I believe there intention was to destroy you all, if they could have surprised you in your Castles, and as soon as I heard of there designe to warr with you, I gave you notice of itt, and came up here my Selfe that I might bee ready to give you all the assistance and good advice, that soe short a time would allow me.

I am now about sending a Gentleman to England to the King my Master, to lett him know, that the French have invaded his territories here on this side of the greate Lake, & warred upon the Brethren his subjects, and therefore I would willingly know, whether the Brethren have given the Govr of Canada any provocation or not, and if they have, how & in what manner? because I am obliged to give a true account of this matter; This bussinesse may cause a warr between the King of England, and the French King, both in Europe & here, and therefore I must know the truth. I know the Govr of Canada dare not enter into the greate King of England's Territoryes in a hostile manner without provocation, if he thought the Brethren were the King of England's subjects, butt you having two or three years agoe, made a Covenant chaine with the French contrarie to my commands, (which I knew, could not hold long) it being void in ittselfe amongst the Christians, forasmuch as subjects (as you are) ought not to treat with any forraigne Nation, it not lying in your power, have your selfs brought this trouble upon you, and as I believe is the only reason of there falling upon you this time.

Brethren, I took it verry ill, that after you putt your selfs in the number of the great King of England's subjects, that you should ever offer to make peace or warr, without my consent; you know, that we can live without you, but you cannot live without us; for you never found, that I told you a lye, and did offer you assistance as you wanted, provided you would be advised by me for I know the French better than any of you doe.

Now, since there is a warr begun upon you by the Govr of Canada, I hope without any provocation by you given, I desyre and command you, that you will hearken to noe treaty, but by my advice, which, if you follow, you shall have the benefitt of the great chaine of friendshipp that is lately concluded between the Great King of England and the French King, which came out of England the other day, which I have sent to Canida by Anthony Lespinard; in the meane time I will give you such advice as will be for your good and supply you with such necessarys, as you will have need off. First, my advice is, that as many prisoners of the French as you take, that you draw not there blood, butt bring them home and keepe them to exchange for the people of yours, which they have prisoners already, or may take hereafter. That if possible you can order it soe, I would have you take one or two of your wisest Sachems, and one or two Cheife Capt^{ns} of each Nation to bee a Councill, to manage all the affairs of the warr, and they to give orders to the rest of the Officers, what they are to doe, that your designes may bee kept private, for after it comes amongst soe many people, it is blazed abroad, and your designe often times frustrated; and those Cheiffe Men to keep correspondence with me by a Trusty Messenger.

Now, the greate matter in consideration is with the Brethren, how to strengthen themselves and weken your Enemy; my opinion is, that the Brethren should send Messengers to the Ottowawas and Twichtwichs and the further Indians, and some of the prisoners of those Nations (if any you have) left to bury the hatchetts and to make a Covenant Chaine, and that they may putt away all the French, that are amongst them, and that you will open a path for them this way, they being the King of England's subjects likewise only the French have been admitted to Trade with them (for all that the French have in Canida they had it of the great King of England) that by that meanes, they may come here freely, where they may have every thing cheaper then among the French, they paying you an acknowledgement yearly for the Path, and that you & they joyne together agst the French and make so firme a League, that whoever is Enemy, to one, must bee soe to both.

Another thing of concerne is, that you ought to doe what you can, to open a path for all the North Indians and Mahckanders that are att Ottowawa and further Nations, and I will endeavour to doe the same to bring them home, for they not daring to come home your way, and the French on the other hand striveing to keep them there on purpose to joyne with these further Nations against you for your distruction, and you know, that one of them is worse then six of the other, therefore, all means must bee used to bring them home, and use them kindly, as they passe throw your Country.

My advise is further to you, that Messengers goe in the behalfe of all the Five Nations to the Christian Ind^{ns} att Cannada to persuade them to come home to their native Country, and to promisse them all protection, which will be another great means to weaken your Enemys, and if they will not bee advised, then you know what to doe with them. I think it verry necessary for the Brethren's security and assistance, and to the endamageing the French, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where I may keepe stores and provisions in case of necessity, and therefore I would have the Brethren let me know, what place will be most convenient for itt. I would not have

the Brethren to keepe their Corn in their Castles as I heare the Onondages doe, butt bury itt a greate way into the woods, whereof a few people may know where it is, for feare of such an accident as hath happened the Sinnakes.

I have given my advice in your Generall Assembly by Mr Dirick Wessells and Akus the Interpreter, how you are to manage your parties and how necessary it is to gett prisoners to change for your owne Menn, that are prisoners with the French.

I am glad to hear the Bretheren are so united, as Mr Dirick Wessells tells me they are, and that there are no rotten Members nor French spyes amongst them.

The Brethren may remember my advice I sent you this Spring not to go to Cadarachqui; if you had, they would have served you as they did your people that came from hunting, for I tould you then that I knew the French better then you.

There is no advice or proposition that I made to the Brethren, all the while that the Priest lived att Onondaga, butt hee writt it to Cannada, as I have found by one of his letters, that hee had given to an Indyan to carry to Canada, and was brought here; therefore I desire the Brethren, not to receive him or any French Priests, any more, haveing sent for English Priests whom you can be supplyed with, all to content;

I would have the Brethren looke out sharpe for feare of being surprized; I believe all the strength of the French will be at Cadarachqui & Onyagaro, where they build a Fort now, and att Troy Riviere, Mont Royall and Chambly, they being frontier places.

Lett me putt you in mind againe, not to make any Treatiers without my means, which will be more advantageous for you, then if you had done itt yourselfs, for then, you will bee looked upon as the King of Englands Subjects, and lett me know from time to time, whatsoever thing is done.

Thus farr I have spoken to you relating to the warr.

Now I must chide you, and to tell you (if it be true what I heare) you are not people of your words, for I remember three years agoe, the Greate Govr of Virginia was here, and he by my means, forgave the brethren what evill they had done in Virginia and Maryland before, & accordingly both, their hatchetts and your hatchetts were burried without in my presence, notwithstanding since, I heare the Brethren have been there this last spring and have killed a fine Gentleman with some others, and as I heare, a party of Oneydes is now there att the head of James' River with an intention to ruine all the Indyans there abouts, and have taken Six of these Indyans prisoners and were desygned to fall upon the English that live in the Out Plantations, to facilitate their designe, all which is discovered by a Virginia Indian, that was with them three years a prisoner, & now runn away and gives the English this Intelligence, which has occassioned the Country thereabouts to bee in allarm, and the Govr of Virginia is come to New Yorke with an Intention to have Sattisfaction of the Brethren for what they have done; Doe the Brethren think they can Warr with all the Christians in America, who are a thousand against one of you, it seems you make no difference between your Friends and your Foes, what would you bee att; The Christians will not endure it from one another, much lesse from you that are Indyans; if it was not for mee who have protected you these fouer yeares past, for all the King of England's subjects are bound to joyne with one another against any Enemy that will fall upon them; therefore, I charge and Command you forthwith as soon as you are gott home, to send me those prisoners, as soone as they are come to your Castles, and I must tell you plainly. that if you will not forbear doeing of Mischeife there hereafter, I will dig upp the Axes againe, and give them in the hands of My Lord Howard, and I myselfe will joyne

with him & warr upon you, and then you will be totally ruined; for the Governor of Cannada himselfe makes his complaint of me to the King att home, that I protect people, that murders the King of England's subjects in Virginia and Maryland and breaks all the Covenant Chaines they make; therefore, doe this noe more, nor goe neere Virginia, for if you doe, itt will bee impossible for mee to protect you any longer, butt bee looked upon as badd as your selfs; if you have any partys out that way, send for them forthwith, and suffer none of your people to goe that way any more. I will strive to stopp My Lord Effingham's mouth, that he makes noe complaint of you to the King, by promising him that you will make him satisfaction, ass soon, as the warr with the French is over, and I doe not doubt, butt you will make good whatsoever I promise, that I may not be found a Liar.

I have said this of you all in Generall, yett, I must exclude my Brethren the Sinakers, who I find, are brave Men and honnest Menn, having never heard, they ever had a hand in doeing any ill thing nor contrary to my Orders, since I came to the Govern^{t} (except the makeing of that unlucky Peace with the French three yeares agoe, which has been the cause of all these troubles) which makes me soe eager for their welfare and could wish with all my heart, that I could say the same of all the rest of the Brethren, butt I hope the shame of doing ill things, will bring them to doe nothing, but what honnest Men ought to doe which is, to keepe their words with every Body, and obey my commands, which is the only meanes to eat well and sleep well without feare or disturbance.

And lastly, I must recommend one thing to the Officers and Captaines, not to suffer your people to bee drunk dureing the warr, it will loose the reputation of a Souldier to bee drunk in time of warr, for feare of advantages that the Enemy may take of them.

a True copy examined

p^{r} Robt Livingston Cl.

Answer of the Five Nations to Governor Dongan.

[Board of Trade; New-York Papers, III.]

Answer of the Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges and Sinneckes to the Governour att the Towne House of Albany the sixth day of August 1687.

First, the Speaker being a Maquase Sachim, called Sindacksegie made a speech to the Saichims of all the Nations, and put them in minde of what was proposed to them yesterday by His Excellency concerning the meanes proscribed for the strengthening of them and weakening of their Enemies, and how convenient it would be for them not to make any peace without His Excell^{cy} and what badd success, that unlucky peace had, that they made three yeares agoe with the French neere to Onnondage upon their own heads, notwithstanding they being charged to the contrary by his Excell^{cy} and how they now feel the smart of it and alsoe repeated the great reason His Excell^{cy} had to chide them for the mischief done in Virginia, for now they are very sensible, that promising will not doe without a performance, and that they all know, that wee have unanimously concluded, that no parties whatsoever goe out that way

for the future, if they doe & any mischeiffe happens to any of the King's subjects, every body in particular that has a hand in it, shall answer for it, Wee Sachims will not concerne our selves any more to speake in their behalfes;

The said Maquase Sachim called Sindachsegie, made a speech to His Excell^{cy} the Govr in the behalfe of all the Five Nations and answered the propositions thus:

Wee have understood your Excell$^{cy's}$ propositions yesterday, and amongst other things we finde, that your Ecell^{cy} is very desirious to know what provocation we have given to the French to cause them to warr upon us; wee have bin consulting one another from break a day and made as much inquiry as wee could, of what evill has been done in General and what in particular. Wee are resolved to speake the truth, and all the evill we have done them is, that about six yeares agoe some of the Sinnekes and some of the Onnondages went aboard of a French Barke att Onnyagaro, that was come to trade there and took out of the said Barke a Caske of Brandy and cutt the Cable. This was done in the Govern^{t} of Sir Edmund Andrews, three yeares before the peace was made with the French, who gave orders not to suffer any French to Trade there; since which peace, [made] as aforesaid, wee have given the French no provocation, only wee doe acknowledge about a yeare agoe, there was a Frenchman called, Grandmason, with his partner came to a place called Aquarage neer to Onnyagaro, where some of the Sinnekes and of the Onnondages, took a hundred Bevers from him, hee having noe passe neither from His Excell^{cy} the Govr nor the Govr of Canada, in doing of which, wee have only obeyed his Excell^{cys} orders, who told us to lay hands upon all people that came in any part of the King of England's territories without such passe, and the Govr of Cannada hath often told us, that if any of his people came here towards Albany to trade, that wee should plunder them; but this cannot bee the quarrell, since wee gave the said hundred bevers back againe; the only reason as wee imagine makes the French quarrell with us is, that wee have given our Land, and submitted our selfs to the King of England, which wee confirmed sollemnly, when the Govr of Virginia was with you heere. It is true, wee warr with the Farr Nations of Indians, because they kill our people, & take them prisoners when wee goe a Bever hunting and it is our Custome amongst Indians, to warr with one another; but what hath the Christians to doe with that to joine with either one side or other? O Brethren, you tell us, the King of England is a very great King, and why should you not joyne with us in a just cause, when the French joynes with our Enemies in an unjust cause; O Brethren, wee see the reason of this, for the French would faine kill us all and when that is done, they would carry all the Bever trade to Canida, and the great King of England would loose the land likewise, and therefore, o Great Sachim beyond the Great Lake, awake and suffer not those poor Indians that have given themselfs and their Lands under your protection to bee destroyed by the French without cause; they are angry also that his Excell^{cy} gives passes to the Christians, here to goe to the further Nations of Indians to Trade, and because we goe to shew them the way whereby the French thinkes, they will loose their Trade, and that there will be a path open for those Farr Nations to come here to Albany and Trade, which exasperates the French, and makes them fall upon us. Wee must acknowledge, that a party of Sinnekes and Onnondages have plundered some French, that they found in their Enemies Country, supplying them with Ammunition, which they thought was very unreasonable, and have also taken some Ottawa Indians prisoners, who are our Enemies, but upon His Excell^{cy} the Gov^{rs} command, wee have sent them home againe by Cap^{tn} Roseboum last fall, and by Major Macgregory this spring, notwithstanding they

had killed several of our Indians out a Bever hunting and of our women in there planting of Corne. As for what His Excell: proposed yesterday, consisting in several articles, wee shall not answer to every particular, only to the principal heads, in which His Excell^cy may rest satisfyed wee approve of very well and shall performe.

As for the making of a peace with the Farr Nations, wee doe take that to bee very good Council, and will undoubtedly contribute much to the strengthening of us and wakening of our Enemies, the French, and therefore are willing to accept of your Council to make a peace with the Ottawawaas, and to that end we will send such of their people as have bin some yeares agoe prisoners among us to them to endeavour to effect it, and are satisfyed, his Excell: advice is farr above what wee could ever have thought of and do render much thankes to His Excell^cy for it and present His Excell^cy with three Belts of wampum; wee give his Excell^cy many thanks for your good advice concerning the changeing of what French Prisoners wee gott for our people, wee will follow it and doe no harm to any French wee gott, but strive to gett our people exchanged for them which will strengthen us, and desire as soon as wee gett any, that His Excell^cy would write to the Govr of Canada to make an exchange. As for the Twichtwicks Indians, who are our mortal Enemies and have killed a great many of our people a Bever hunting, wee know not whither wee can effect a peace with them; nevertheless upon your Excellency's desire wee will try and doe our endeavour—doe give three Belts of Wampum.

Wee doe acknowledge that your Excell^cy's advice to us is very good in every thing, and particularly concerning the French Jesuite whom wee are resolved not to receive any more, nor none from the French; and if any of the Five Nations are inclined for English Jesuits, they will come to acquaint your Excell^cy with it. doe give three Belts of Wampum.

Desire againe to be excused if they answer not to every article of the proposition made yesterday, and will strive to answer to principal points; his Excell^cy desired our advice, where it will be most convenient for him to make a Fort, and though there are diverse places, where there is good store of Salmond neer at hand, yett the best place (all things considered) in our opinions will be at a place called Cajonhago[1] where there is a River, that goes to the Lake of Cadarachque. doe give three Belts of Wampum.

Wee must acknowledge that our young Men are very mischeivous and unruly, and that His Excell: has done much for us in the business of Virginia with my Lord Effingham, by causeing the axes to burryed, butt before wee could gett home from makeing of the peace, a party was gone that way, and so yearely since that time contrary to our knowledge, have continued so to doe, soe that wee have now unanimously concluded once more to warn them, and if they still proceede to goe that way to the Southward towards the English plantations, they must answer for itt particularly; whosoever does the mischiefs, wee will not take their part any more. doe give four peeces of Bevers.

You acquainted us yesterday, and often times before, that you knew the French better than wee. Wee believe you did, and wee have reason to know them now alsoe; as for your desireing of an open path for the Ottoawa, Tionondade[2] Kichtage Twichtwichs and other further Nations of Indians to come here, wee will open a path that they may come freely, and as soon as wee come home, shall consult who ought to goe to them to acquaint them herewith,

[1] See note, ante p. 431. — Ed.

[2] The Tionondades or Dionondades were a tribe of the Wyandot, or Huron Nation, and occupied, originally, the south-western part of Upper Canada. *Gallatin's Synopsis*, 70. — Ed.

and send down a Messenger to give notice to your Excell^{cy}, who^{1} are pitched upon to perform the journey as agents for us; doe give four peeces of Bever.

Wee doe acquaint you that wee are intended to wadge warr with the French as long as wee have a man left since they soe unjustly have begun the warr; but if the French should chance to propose any articles of peace to us, wee shall send a Messenger to your Excell: to acquaint you, soe that your Excell: may be assured that wee never will make a peace^{2} without your Excell:'s commands. The Mahikanders and other River Indians living here are likewise subjects of the Great King of England, whom his Excell^{cy} will be pleased to make use off and send to the Farr Nations of Indians to help to effect the peace.

Wee are much inclined to get our Christian Indians back again from Canida, but know noe way to effect it except by takeing one or more of their prisoners and send them into the Castle to tell the rest, that they may come freely, and to know why they fight against their Brethren. doe give a Belt.

Desyre that the Govr may looke out sharpe towards the River of Canida, and send them word if any news come that way, and as soon as any news occurs in there parts shall not bee wanting to give your Excell: a particular account. doe give a Belt of Wampum.

After the proposition was over, they told his Excell: the Govr by way of discourse, that the Indians living at the Kill van Coll or there abouts, when they were in the Maquase Country last, acquainted them, that they had a sort of poyson that could kill their Enemyes without fighting, and since these Indians are living under his Excell^{cys} Govern^{t} desires if it be true his Excellency would see to gett some^{3} of them and send it us up that they may poyson the French.

a True copy, examined p^{r} me

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apprehensions of death, however was prevailed with to make a will, by which has constituted Mr. Delaval his executor, his affairs are in great confusion and he judged to be indebted £300. besides what his engagements may be to you, his Excell: being at Albany. The Councill sealed up the office in which state it now remains and will continue until His Excell: pleasure be knowen. Mr Knight in the mean time does the service of the office. Last night I received a letter from his Excell: in which aduiseth that the French had assaulted the Senaquaes, and were worsted, report by other hands saying the French had 300 men killed, the certainty wants confirmation, however, its consequence is like to be very injurious to us, we having already very little trade, besides are likely to be ingaged in a bloody warr. whose events is uncertain, we are strangely surprised with the french proceedings, not knowing what moves them to invade his Majtys dominions, without giving notice, and so soon after the publication of the treaty of Commerce betwixt the two Crowns—*P* the next which will be Jacob Maurits His Excell: will give you a full account of his resolves, he having sent a messenger to the French which is not yet returned. Five days agoe, My Lord Effigham ..... Sr Robert Parker arryved here from Virginia, he laments the Governours absence otherwise wer satisfied with his entertainments: all your friends are well, my wife kisseth your hands and joins with me in the request that you would give our duty to our Father, our service to Major Baxter, to whom please to excuse not writing, being strained with time and accept of the assurance that I am

Sir

Your affectionate friend and most humble servant

Ja Graham

INFORMATION GIVEN BY SEVERALL INDIANS TO THE GOVERNOR. AT ALBANY, 6. AUG. 1687.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

The Govr of Canada last fall, sent word to the Sachems of all the Five Nations to come and speak with him at Cadarachqui this spring, which wee acquainted His Excellency withall, but in pursuance to his Excellcys commands wee being the King of England subjects, thought ourselfs noways obliged to hearken to him, and therefore refused to go, and shortly after we heard by an Onondage Indian that had lived long at Cadarachqui, that the Govr of Canida had a design to warr upon us, for hee had seen a great deal of amunicion and iron Dubletts brought to Cadarachqui, and that a Frenchman at Cadarachqui told him, that they would warr with all the Five Nations, About ten days after wee gott the news, that the Govr of Canida with his army was seen encampt att the side of the Lake with many Canoes about halfe way between Onnondage and Cadarachqui: upon which they sent a hundred men to the Lake side to spy; who see a Barke neer Irondequat the landing place a lyeing by and not at anker they sent four men in a Canoe to haile them, their orders from the Sachems being expressly not to doe the French any harme, and when they hailed them, the French answered in base language: Enustoganhorrio, squa, which is as much in their language as the Devil take you, whereupon they paddled for the shore, and told the rest of their companions, what answer they had, the hundred men went forthwith to the Castles, and told the Sachems, what they had seen, who forthwith sent twenty men to spy what theire designe was, and they see another Barke come to the first, and while they were theire as scouts spied a great many of the Twichtwich Indians come by land, and had almost environed them before they were awarr of them: the twenty men seeing this,

went up forthwith to the Castles and had much adoe to gett through, and the Sachems having sent out three Spyes, after the twenty, to see what the French would have, and before the three were come to the Lake side (it being about twenty miles from their Castles) the French Army out of Barks and Cannoes was landed, they seeing that. called to them and asked what they were intended to do, A Maquase answered out of the Army. You Blockheads, I'll tell you what I am come to doe, to warr upon you, and to morrow I will march up with my army to your Castles, and as soone as hee had spoke they fyred upon the three Indns butt they runn home and brought the news to the Sachems about the twighlight, The Sachems upon this news concluded to convey their wives and children, and old men away, and beeing busy thereabouts all next day, most parte retiring to Cajouge, and the rest to a Lake to the Southward of there Castles in the meantime the French were as good as there words, and marched up halfe way between the landing place and the Castles and there encamped that night; As soon as the women and children were fled, their fired their own Castles and all the men being gon to convey them away except a hundred in a small Fort who had sent out Spyes and received information that the French were upon their march towards them. they sent forthwith messengers to them that were conveying the Women and Children and desired the assistance of as many of their young men as could conveniently bee spared to turn back and face the French and give battle: whereupon 350 turned back and joyned with the hundred, butt being all young men, were so eager to fall on, that the officers could not bring them in a posture to engage, they went out about halfe a league from the Castle, on a small hill, and there stayed for the French army, but the officers could not persuade them to be in order there neither, all being so fiery to engage, and having scoutts out, brought them intelligence, that they were approaching and how they marched, viz: the Right and left wing being Indians and the Body French, and when they came in sight of the Sennekes, the French not seeing them satt down to rest themselves and the Indians likewise; the Sennekes seeing this advance upon the left wing being Indians, the French seeing them stood to their arms and gave them first vally, and then the enemy Indns that were on the left wing; whereupon the Sennekes answered them with another, which occasioned soe much smoak that they could scarce see one another, wherefore they immediately runn in and came to hardy blows and putt the left wing to the flight, some went quite away and some fled to the reare of the French, and when that wing was broake, they charged and fyred upon the French and the other Indians. The French retired about 150 paces and stood still, the Sennekes continued the fight with their Hatchets, butt perceiving at last that the French were too numerous and would ot give ground, some of the sennekes begun to retreat, whereupon the French Indians cryed out, the Sinnekes run and the rest heareing that followed the first party that gave way and so gott off from another and in their retreat were followed about half an English mile, and if the Enemy had followed them further, the Sinnekes would have lost abundance of people because they carried off there wounded men and were resolved to stick to them, and not leave them.

The young Indian that was in the engagement relates that after the engagement was over, when the Sinnekes were gott upon a Hill, they see a party of Fresh French come up, the French called to them and bid them stand and fight, but the Sinnekes replyed, come out four hundred to our four hundred and, wee have butt a hundred men and three hundred boyes, and wee will fight you hand to fist, The said Boy being asked, whether he see any of the French with Gorges about their necks, it was to hott, they were to numerous,

There was amongst the 450 Sinnekes five women, who engaged as well as the men, and were resolved not to leave their husbands but live and dye with them

A true copy examined p me

Robt Livingston Cl

Answer of the [illegible]
[illegible] and Sinachsegic [illegible]
Governors Commissioners [illegible] Wednesday [illegible]
last at Albany the xi [illegible] last 1687
Among Regard Was [illegible] Sinachsegic [illegible]

Translated by [illegible]

First The Sinachs Sinachsegic a Sachimake called Sinachsegic [illegible] as spoke to the Sachims of all the Nations and put them in mind of what was passed [illegible] at his Excys Coming the many Councills for the Strengthening of [illegible] the Covenant chain made for them not to make any peace without his Excys and what Success that Unluckie peace had, that they made their peace with the Senekaes to Innendago upon their Land Contrary to the Consent of his Excys and how they now find the Effect of it and that they had to Treat Him for his Protection Now in Virginia, for which purpose [illegible] and not Doe without a Confirmation of that peace and Covenant chain and the Sachims whereupon Each Went out that way for the Ratifying of the Antient Amity of his Kings Subjects Every body in particular that have Seen it Shall Answer for it Now Sachims wee Come our Selves any more to [illegible]

The Said Chiefe Sachim called Sinachsegic Made a Speech to his Excy the Governor in the behalfe of all the five Nations & made the Propositions that

Wee have Understood your Excys Propositions and Amongst other things Doe finde that your Excy Desires to know what Reasons wee have Given to the Sachims to Cause them to Warr upon us, Wee have Been Consulting [illegible] Each day, and Made as much Enquiry as wee Could of what Kind has been the [illegible] and Now are Resolved to Speak the truth, and as wee have Done [illegible]

Agor Some of the Sinnekes and some of the Sinnekaes [illegible] Onijagaro that was gone to trade there and took out of the said Cooks Jack of the Cable this Cable, this was done in the Governmt of Sr Edmd [illegible] was made with the french who gave orders not to suffer [illegible] praer made as aforsaid wee have given the french so [illegible] Lodge, about a yeare agoe there was a french man called [illegible] to a place called Aquarage near to Onijagaro where some of [illegible] Sagers took a number of Goods from him for having no pass [illegible] his Excye the Governour nor from the Governour of Canada, In Doing of which wee have only obeyed his Excyes orders who bid us to lay hands upon all people [illegible] Englishe Surveyors, without such pass; and the Governour of [illegible] that if any of his people came here towards Albany to trade [illegible] But this cannott bee the Quarrell since wee gave [illegible] Only Reason as wee Conceive called the french [illegible] Our Lands and submitted our selves to the King of England [illegible] whom the Governour of Virginia was with us may [illegible] Nations of Indians because they kill our people and take their goods when wee come to hunting, and it is our Custome amongst Indians to warr with our enemies [illegible] Christians to doe with that to Goyo Either with our selves [illegible] the King of England is a very Great King. [illegible] a Just Cause when the french Goyo without [illegible] Cause, Wherefore wee See the Reason of this for the french wold raise [illegible] they wold Carry all the Goods there to Canada, and the Great King of England wold Loose the Fore Countries, and therefore O Great Sachim beyond the great Lake and by all reason not those poor Indians that have given themselves and their Lands under your protection to bee betrayed by the french without a Cause; They are sorry also that his Excye Gives passe to the Christians here to goe to the further nations of Indians to trade and Because wee goe to show them the way Whereby the [illegible] they will come there to trade, and that there will bee a path opened for the [illegible] to Come here to Albany to trade which exasperates the french and makes them [illegible]

Must Acknowledge that a party of his Sirocky, and [illegible] some Spark that they found in their Granary [illegible] amunition which they thought was very Acceptable [illegible] of the Ottowana Indians prisoners who are our Enemies [illegible] Comand now have sent their Chief Captt Kondiaronk, and of the Maygregory this Spring notwithstanding they had killed [illegible] Indians and a Boor hunting and of our women & Children [illegible]

As for what his Excy proposed yesterday Consisting in several [illegible] we shall not answer to Every particular, Only to the principall heads. In [illegible] we approve off boys we and shall perform.

As for the making of Peace with their Fore nations, we [illegible] to our Good Council and will Endeavour [illegible] much to this Christian [illegible] Enemies the French, and Ottowas the which to accept of [illegible] with the Ottowans, and to that End we will [illegible] yeares agoe mutuall Amasadors from to Endeavour to [illegible] Excys advice, as farr as in [illegible] to Expect to [illegible]

2 And Give his Excye many thanks for your Good advice [illegible] what French prisoners we gott for our people, we shall [illegible] French we gott, Butt thier to gitt our people Exchanged for [illegible] And desire as soon as we gett any that his Excye will write to the Gov[r] of Canada to make an Exchange.— As for the French Canada Indians we [illegible] are Indeed a great many of our people a Boor hunting we know not whether we Can Effect a peace with them Nevertheless upon [illegible] desire we will Doe our Endeavour, for give 3 Belts of Wampum

3 Wee do acknowledge that your Excys advice to us [illegible] in Every thing and particularly concerning the French Gossips, whom we [illegible] to Consider and more no news from the French and of any of their Nations we shall Send English Gossips they will come and acquaint your Excye with it for we 3 Belts of Wampum

4 Desire Rewan to bee Carefull if they arive not to doe
: Sihon made Yesterday and will strive to answer to prime
advice where it will bee most Convenient for him to ma
Divers grave where there is good Store of Salmond
Call things considered in our opinions will bee att a plac
How is a River that goes to the Lake of Tadarachqui, for

5 Wee must acknowledge that Our Affaire here are now m
Exigs has done much for us in the Businesse we bring
by reasonn the axes to bee Paid Butt before wee
the praw, a party we gott that was Cald for yeare
knowledge have Continued to bee for that wee have
to warne them, and if they shall goeth to get
English Marchants they must assure the
will not take their party any more for your 4, &c

Wee arrived in Virginia the 26th of June last where that
were Wee ordered Our Ship, and wee have since
on an Open Day for the Governor, Councell, Cheife Citizens of the
Nations of Indians to come hither wee will Com
as soon as wee come home shall treate who Ought
will. And Sir Doune is mellinge to give Notice to your Excie
upon to Informe his Journey as a token for us Wee Your

7 Wee Doe acquaint you that wee are Intended to make
wee have a man left, since they to Virginia have
their Chaire to Decide any article of peace to us
Excie to acquaint you for that your Excie may
a Peace with the French without your Excies
Indians Living here are Likewise Subjects of the Crowne of England whom
Excie will bee pleased to make Use of and bid to the same

4

Answer of the Maquase Oneydes Onnondag
Cayouges & Sinnothes to his Gouernour a
the Towne house of Albany the sixth day of
August 1687

Firste the Speaker being a Maquase Sachim called Sindarhsegie
a Speech to the Sachims of all the nations and put them in minde
what was proposed to them yesterday By his Excellency con
the meanes prescribed for the strengthening of them and weaken
their Enemies and how conveniant it would be for them not to
any peace without his Excellency and what badd Success that un
peace had that they made three yeares agoe with the ffrench in
Onnondage upon their own heads notwithstanding they being sha
to the contrary by his Excellency and how they now feel the sm
of it and alsoe repeated the great Reason his Excellency had to dis

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

The first the Speaker being a Maquase Sachim called Sindarhsegid made a Speech to the Sachims of all the nations and put them in minde of what was proposed to them yesterday By his Excellency concerning the meanes prescribed for the strengthening of them and weakening of their Enemies and how convenient it would be for them not to make any peace without his Excellency and what badd success that unlucky peace had that they made three yeares ago with the Iroquis nor to surrender upon their own heads notwithstanding they being charged to the contrary by his Excellency and how they now feel the smart of it and also repeated the great Reason his Excellency had to chide them for the mischiefs done in Virginia for now they are very sensible that promising will not do without a performance and that they all know that we stand unanimously concluded that no parties what soever goe out that way for the future if they doe and any mischiefe happens to any of the Kings Subjects Every body in particular that has a hand in it shall answer for it We Sachims will not concern Our selves any more to Speake in their Behalfes &c. - - -

18

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1

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

said Ollaqnasso Sachim called Sindachsegie made a speech to his
Excell.y Gouernour in the behalfe of all the fiue nations and
answered the propositions first

Wee haue understood yo.r Excell.: Propositions yesterday and among
other things Wee finde that yo.r Excell.: is very desirous to know what
provocation Wee haue given to the ffrench to cause them to warr
upon us Wee haue bin consulting one another from Breakaday
and made as much enquiry as wee could of what euill has been
done in gen.: and what in particular Wee are Resolued to speake
the truth and all the euill Wee haue done them is that about six
years agoe some of the Sinnekes and some of the Onnondagoes went
aboard of a ffrench Barke att Onnyagaro that was come to trade
there and took out of the said Barke a caske of Brandy and cut
the cable of this was done in the Gouernm.t of S.r Edmund Andros
three years before the peace was made w.th the ffrench who gaue
Orders not to suffer any ffrench to trade there Since which peace aforesaid Wee haue given the ffrench no provocation only Wee doe acknow-
ledge about a yeare agoe there was a ffrenchman called grand mason
with his partner came to a place call.d aquarage neer to Onnyagaro
Where some of the Sinnekes and of the Onnondagoes took a hundred

-there and took out of the said Basket a Caske of Brandy and cut
the Cable of this was done in the Gouernm: of Sr Edmund Andrews
three years before the peace was made wth the ffrench who gaue
Orders not to suffer any ffrench to trade there Since which peace ab
aforesaid Wee haue giuen the ffrench no prouocation only Wee doe acknow
ledge about a yeare ago there was a ffrenchman called grand mason
with his partner came to a place calld aquarage neer to Onnyagara
where some of the Sennekes and of the Onnondages took a hundred
Beuers from him, hee hauing no passe neither from his Excell
the Gouernour nor the Gouernour of Canida In doing of which
wee haue only obeyed his Excell: Orders, who told us to lay Imbar
upon all people that came in any part of the King of England's
Territories without such passe and the Gouernour of Canida hath
often told us that if any of his people came here towards Albany
to trade that wee should plunder them but this cannot bee the
quarrell since wee gaue the said hundred Beuers back againe the
only Reason ab wee imagine makes the ffrench quarrell wth us
is that wee haue giuen our Land and submitted our selfs to

the King

R

King of England wth wee confirmed Sollemnly When the Governour of Virginia was with you here It is Sad wee warr with the farr Nations of Indians Because they kill our people and take them prisoners when wee goe a Beuer hunting and it is our Customs amongst Indians to warr with one another, But what hath the Christians to do wth that to joyne wth either one side or other O Brethren you tell us the King of England is a very great King and why should you not joyne wth us in a iust cause when the ffrench joyned w our Enemies in an unjust cause, O Brethren Wee see the Reason of this for the ffrench would faine kill us all and when that is done they would Carry all the Beuer trade to Canada and the great King of England would loose the land likewise and therefore O Great Sachim beyond the Great Lake awake and suffer not those poor Indians that have given themselfs and their Lands under yor protection to be destroyed by the ffrench wth: out Cause they are angry also that his Excell: gives passe to the Christians here to goe to the further nations of Indians to Trade and bring wee goe to show them the way whereby the ffrench thinke they will loose their Trade and that there will be a great Concourse of those farr Nations to come here to Albany and Trade which would make

take awake and suffer not those poor Indians that have given themselfs
and their Lands under yor protection to be destroyed by the ffrench &c: out
Cause they are angry also that his Excell: gives passe to the Christians
here to goe to the further nations of Indians to Trade and bring
wee goe to show them the way whereby the ffrench thinke they
will loose their Trade and that there will be a Path opened for those
farr Nations to come here to Albany and Trade which exasperates the
ffrench and makes them fall upon us Wee must acknowledge that a
party of Sinnekes and Onnondages have plundred some ffrench that
they found in their Enemies Country supplying them wth Ammunition
which they thought was very unreasonable and have also taken
some of the Ottowa Indians prisoners who are our Enemyes but
upon his Excell^cy the Governours Comand wee have sent them
home againe by Capt Rosebourn last fall and by Maj^r Magregory this
Spring notwithstanding they had killed Severall of our Indians
out a Beer hunting and of our women in their planting
of Corne. As for what his Excell^cy proposed yesterday Consisting
in Severall Articles wee shall not answer to every particular

20 Only to

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

To his principal heads in which his Excell^t may rest satisfyed wee
approue of very well and shall performe

As for the making of a peace with the farr nations wee doe take that to
be very good Councill and will undoubtedly Contribute much to the Streng-
thening of us and weakening of our Enemies the ffrench and therefore
are willing to accept of yor Councill to make a peace with the Ottawawaas
and to that end wee will send such of their people as have bin some
yeares aged prisoners among us to them to endeavo^r to effect it and are
satisfyed his Excell^t advice is farr above what wee could ever have thou
of and do render much thanks to his Excell^t for it and p^rsent his Exce
with three Belts of Wampum Wee giue his Excell^t many thanks for your
good advice concerning the bringing of what ffrench prisoners wee gott
for our people Wee will follow it and doe no harm to any ffrench wee
goll but strive to gett our people Exchanged for them which will bring

and to that end wee will send such of their people as have bin some-
yeares aged prisoners among us to them to endeavo: to effect it and
satisfyed his Excell: advice it lyes above what wee could ever have thought
of and do render much thankes to his Excell: for it and p:sent his Excell:
with three Belts of Wampum. Wee giue his Excell: many thankes for your
good advice concerning the changing of what ffrench prisoners wee gott
for our people wee will follow it and doo no harm to any ffrench wee
gott but strive to gett our people Exchanged for them which will Neing-
thers us and desire as soon as wee gott any that his Excell would wa
the Governour of Canida to make an Exchange. as for y Owichtwicks
Indians who and our mortall Enemies and have killd a great many
of our people a Beuer hunting wee know not whither wee can
effect a peace with them Nevertheless upon yo: Excell desire wee will
try and do our Endeavour doe giue three Belts of Wampum.
Wee doe acknowledge that yo: Excell advice to us is very good in
every thing and particularly concerning the ffrench Jesuite whom
wee are resolved not to Receave any more nor none from the
ffrench and if any of the said nations are inclined for English Je-
suits they will come to acquaint yo: Excell with itt do giue 3 Belts of Wam-
pum.

Desire againe to be excused if they answer not to every Article
of the proposition made yesterday and will strive to answer to
principall points his Excell desired our advice whether it will
bee most convenient for him to make a fort and through the

are Diverse

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Diuerse places whose ther is good Store of Salmond neer at hand
yett the best place all things (considered) in our opinions will bee at
a place called Casonhage where there is a River that goes to ye Lake
of Cadaracqui de giue 3 Belts of Wampum

5 Wee must acknowledge that our young men are very mischeivous
and unruly and that her Excell had done much for us in the
Busines[s] preferred of Virginia vnto my Lord Effingham by causeing the
axes to be buryed, but before wee could get home from making of the
peace a party was gone that way and so yearly since that time
Contrary to our knowledge have continued soe to doe soe that wee have
now vnanimously Concluded once more to warn them and if they
will proceed to go that way to the Southward towards the English
plantations they must answer for ill particularly whosoever does ye
mischeiffe wee will not take their part any more do giue 4 peeces Beuers

6 You acquainted us yesterday and oftentimes before ye you knew
of the French better then wee[w] believe you did and wee have Reason to
know them now also, and as for yo[r] desiring of an open path
for the Ottawa

Contrary to our knowledge have ffurthermore see to doe soe that wee have
now unanimously Concluded once more to waen them and if they
will proceed to goe that way to the Southward towards the English
plantations they must answer for ill particularly whosoever does y
mischiefe wee will not take their part any more do give 4 pieces Beuers

6 You acquainted us yesterday and ofttentimes before y you knew
of the ffrench better then wee. beleeve you did and wee have Reason to
know them now also, and as for ye desiring of an open path
for the Ottawa Honondade Kichtage Wochowecks and other farther
nations of Indians to come here, wee will open a path that they may
come freely and as soon as wee come home shall consult who ought
to goe to them to acquaint them herewith and send Downe a messen-
ger to give notice to ye Excell, whe that are pitched upon to inform
the Governo as agents for us, doe give 4 ps Beuer

7 Wee doe acquaint you that wee are intended to wage warr wth
the ffrench as long as wee have a man left unes they doe unjustly
have begun the warr. But if the ffrench should chance to propose
any articles of peace to us wee shall send a messenger to ye Excell
to acquaint you soe that ye Excell may bee assured that wee never
will make a peace without ye Excell: Commands of the Maikanders
and other River Indians lending here, likewise Subjects of the Great King

22 of England

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England whom his Excell will bee pleased to make use off and send to the farr nations of Indians to help to Effect the peace —

8. Wee are much inclined to gett our Christian Indians back again from Canada but know no way to Effect it Except by takeing one or more of their prisoners and send them into the Castle to tell the Reason why they may come freely and why they fight against their Brethren. doe send a Belt of Wampum

9 Desyre that the Governour may look out Sharpe towards the River of Canada and send them word if any news come that way and assoon as any news occures in these parts shall not be wanting to give yo Excell: a particular account doe send a Belt of Wampum

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

After ye preposition was over they told his Excell the Governr by way of discourse that the Indians liveing at the hill doe tell us thereabouts when they were in the Maquas Country last

and as soon as any more occurrs in these parts shall not be wanting to give yo Excell: a particular account Given at Bell of Warspurin

After ye propostion was over they told his Excell the Governr by way of discourse that the Indians liveing at the Kill van Coll or thereabouts when they were in the Magnas Country last acquainted them that they had a sort of poyson that could kill their Enemyes without fighting and since these Indians are liveing under his Excellencyes Government desires if it be true his Excellency would see to gett some of them and send it us up that we may poyson the ffrench

A true Copy Examined

A true Copy Exd

John: Knight Secry

per me

Robt Livingston

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and send down a Messenger to give notice to your Excell^{cy}, who[1] are pitched upon to perform the journey as agents for us; doe give four peeces of Bever.

Wee doe acquaint you that wee are intended to wadge warr with the French as long as wee have a man left since they soe unjustly have begun the warr; but if the French should chance to propose any articles of peace to us, wee shall send a Messenger to your Excell: to acquaint you, soe that your Excell: may be assured that wee never will make a peace[2] without your Excell:'s commands. The Mahikanders and other River Indians living here are likewise subjects of the Great King of England, whom his Excell^{cy} will be pleased to make use off and send to the Farr Nations of Indians to help to effect the peace.

Wee are much inclined to get our Christian Indians back again from Canida, but know noe way to effect it except by takeing one or more of their prisoners and send them into the Castle to tell the rest, that they may come freely, and to know why they fight against their Brethren. doe give a Belt.

Desyre that the Govr may looke out sharpe towards the River of Canida, and send them word if any news come that way, and as soon as any news occurs in there parts shall not bee wanting to give your Excell: a particular account. doe give a Belt of Wampum.

After the proposition was over, they told his Excell: the Govr by way of discourse, that the Indians living at the Kill van Coll or there abouts, when they were in the Maquase Country last, acquainted them, that they had a sort of poyson that could kill their Enemyes without fighting, and since these Indians are living under his Excell^{cys} Govern^{t} desires if it be true his Excellency would see to gett some[3] of them and send it us up that they may poyson the French.

a True copy, examined p^{r} me

ROB^{t} LIVINGSTON

Information received from several Indians.

[Board of Trade; New-York Papers, III.]

Information Given by Adondaraheerha, Unedachseno, Awitharoa, Cheife Sachems of the Sinnekes together with another young Indian of 15 yeares that was in the engagement, to the Govr at the Towne House of Albany, the sixth[4] day of August 1687.

Doe say that they know not of any cause that ever any of the Nation of the Sinnakes did give to the French in their lives to warr upon them, as they have this summer by a sudden surprize, for, whatever [act] that they have done, which they beleeve the French are angry att, will represent to your Excell: Four or Five yeares agoe, wee were desyred by the Govr of Canada to plunder such Men of his as went a Tradeing without his pass, and accordingly wee rencountred with some of his people and took away what Brandy they had from them, butt lett them keepe the rest of their goods; and about three yeares agoe neare to a Castle of our

[1] "who *that* are" *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, XXXV. — Ed.
[2] "with ye French." *Ibid.*
[3] "*of it* of them." *Ibid.*
[4] Second. *Ibid.*

Enemys called Kichtages,[1] wee met with a company of French agoing to supply them with powder Lead and Gunns by way of Trade, which the Sinnakes thought was very ill done for them, to strengthen their enemies att that rate; Whereupon, wee took the ammunition and other goods from them, some whereof we carryed away along with us, and the Lead which was too heavy and could not carry wee threw into the water. The French have also an old grudge of an accident that happened thirty yeares agoe; the Sinnakes and Onnondages had besieged a Castle of there Enemyes, in which a French Preist was, who in takeing the Castle was killed, which businesse the French always Ripp up.

But all these things were forgott and forgiven and buryed in oblivion by the Govr of Canada called Monsr Labarre three yeares agoe, when hee came with an army to Cayhuhage[2] a dayes journey from Onnondage, when it was concluded, that if the Sinnekes should doe any harm to the French hereafter, they would make Warr upon them, which the Sinnekes have observed and kept not doing them any wrong; but the Ottawawa Indians who were included in the late peace, shortly before, haveing most barbarously murdered a Cheife Sachem of the Sinnekes called Aanhaax in there Castle, who was gon there to trade tho' the Preist did endeavour to prevent it, and received a wound in his arm by striveing to save him; that Act not being quite forgot by some of the Lew'd young Men after the peace was made, tooke a Captn of the Ottawawaes prisoner, who had a little before the peace killed a Sinneke Captn & was about bringing him home to give him to that family unto whom the said Captain did belong, butt hee Runn away, and meets with a Sinneke Indian and his sonne a Bever hunting, who tells him that hee was Runn away from his owne people, and was intended to goe and live among the Sinnekes, but this Sinnek, suspecting that hee had some evill designe, and being affraid hee would doe him a mischeife by reason of the incoherences of his discourse, kill'd this Ottawawa Captn without any orders or privacy of the Sachems or Captn of the Sinneke Nation, which is all the evill they have done to the French or the Indians in League with them since the peace, except that they by Corlaers (that is His Excell^{cys}) orders, who told them that they might plunder such French as came on this side of the Lake without a passe from his Excell^{cy} or from the Govr of Canada, plundered two French, one called Grand Mason and his comrade and tooke a hundred Bevers from them, which were again restored, all which they imagine must bee the quarrell that the French have with them. The Govr of Canada last fall, sent word to the Sachems of all the Five Nations to come and speak with him at Chadarachqui this spring, which wee acquainted His Excellency withall, butt in pursuance to His Excell^{cys} commands, wee being the King of England Subjects, thought ourselfs noways obliged to hearken to him, and therefore refused to goe, and shortly after wee heard by an Onnondage Indian that had lived long att Cadarachqui, that the Govr of Canida had a designe to warr upon us, for hee had seen a great deal of amunicion, and iron Dublets brought to Cadarachqui, and that a Frenchman att Cadarachqui told him, that they would warr with all the Five Nations. About ten dayes after wee gott the news, that the Govr of Canida with his Army was seen encampt att the side of the Lake with many Canoes about halfe way between Onnondage and Cadarachqui; upon which they sent a hundred Men to the Lake side to spy; who see a Barke neer Irondoquat the landing place a lyeing by and not att anker, they sent four Men in a Canoe to haile them, there orders from the Sachems being expressly not to doe the French any harme, and when they hail'd them, the French answered in base language, *Enustoganhorrio squa* which is as much in theire language,

[1] Illinois. Compare *Charlevoix, Hist. Nouv. Fr.*, 4to. I., 486. — Ed.

[2] Salmon River, Mexico Bay, Oswego county. See note, ante p. 431. — Ed.

as the Devil take you, whereupon they paddled for the shore, and told the rest of their companions what answer they had; the hundred Men went forthwith to the Castles, and told the Sachems, what they had seen, who forthwith sent twenty Men to spy what theire designe was, and they see another Barke come to the first, and while they were there as Scouts spied, a great many of the Twichtwich Indians come by land, and had almost environ'd them before they were awarr of them; the twenty Men seeing this, went up forthwith to the Castles and had much adoe to gett through, and the Sachems having sent out three Spyes, after the twenty, to see what the French would have, and before the three were come to the Lake side (it being about twenty miles from there Castles) the French Army out of Barks and Cannoes was landed, they seeing that, called to them and asked what they were intended to doe, A Maquase answered out of the Army, You Blockheads, I'lle tell you what I am come to doe, to warr upon you, and to morrow I will march up with my army to your Castles, and as soone as hee had spoke, they fyred upon the three Ind^{ns} butt they runn home and brought the news to the Sachems about the twighlight. The Sachems upon this news concluded to convey their wives and children and old Men away, and beeing busy thereabouts all next day, most parte retiring to Cajouge, and the rest to a Lake to the Southward of there Castles, in the meane time the French were as good as there words, and marched up halfe way between the landing place and the Castles and there encamped that night; As soon as the Women and Children were fled, their fired there owne Castles and all the Men being gon to convey them away except a hundred in a small Fort who had sent out spyes and received information that the French were upon there march towards them, they sent forthwith Messengers to them that were conveying the Women and Children and desired the assistance of as many of their young Men as could conveniently bee spared to turn back and face the French and give battle; whereupon 350 turned back and joyned with the hundred, butt being all young Men, were so eager to fall on, that the Officers could not bring them in a posture to engage, they went out about halfe a league from the Castle, on a small hill, and there stayed for the French army, butt the officers could not persuade them to be in order there neither, all being so fiery to engage, and haveing scoutts out, brought them intelligence, that they were approaching and how they marched, vizt the Right and left wing being Indians and the Body French, and when they came in sight of the Sinnekes, the French not seeing them satt downe to rest themselves and the Indians likewise; the Sinnekes seeing this advance upon the left wing being Indians, the French seeing them stood to their arms and gave them first volly, and then the Enemy Ind^{ns} that were on the left wing; whereupon the Sinnekes answered them with another, which occasioned soe much smoak that they could scarce see one another, wherefore they immediately runn in and came to handy blows and putt the left wing to the flight, some went quite away and some fled to the reare of the French, and when that wing was broake, they charged and fyred upon the French and the other Indians. The French retired about 150 paces and stood still, the Sinnekes continued the fight with there Hatchets, butt perceiving at last that the French were too numerous and would not give ground, some of the Sinnekes begun to retreat, whereupon the French Indians cryed out the Sinnakers runn, and the rest heareing that followed the first party that gave way and so gott off from [on] another and in there retreat were followed about half an English mile, and if the Enemy had followed them further, the Sinnakes would have lost abundance of people, because they carried off their wounded Men, and were resolved to stick to them, and not leave them.

The young Indian that was in the engagem^{t} relates, that after the engagement was over, when the Sinnakes were gott upon a Hill, they see a party of Fresh French come up, the French

called to them and bid them to stand and fight, but the Sinnakes replyed, come out four hundred to our four hundred, and wee have butt a hundred Men and three hundred boyes, and wee will fight you hand to fist. The said Boy being asked whether he see any of the French with Gorges about there necks, it was too hott, they were too numerous.

There was amongst the 450 Sinnekes five women, who engaged as well as the Men, and were resolved not to leave their husbands butt live and dye with them.

A true copy examined p^r^ me

ROBT. LIVINGSTON Cl:

Governor Dongan to Monsieur de La Barre.

[New-York Papers, B. I. 19.]

S^r^

I received your other letter and do believe that you have bin misinformed as to the Irequois they haveing traded with this Government above forty years and nowhere else, unlesse they did it by stealth: I am sure they are nearer to this place then yours, and all to the south and south West of the lake of Canada; Wee have pretences too, and it seemes a cleare demonstration that those lands belong to the King of England, haveing all his colonies close upon them, those Indians who have pipes through their noses, would faine come to trade at Yorke, did not other Indians hinder them, haveing from hence such trade as they want which is in no other Governm^t^ and that you have none of but what you have from us. As for any dispute about them I suppose Your people and ours may trade amongst them without any difference—I give you thanks for the passes you sent and assure you nobody hath a greater desire to have a strict union with you and good correspondence then myself who served long time in France and was much obliged by the King and Gentry of that Countrey; and I am sure no man hath a greater respect for them then myself and would never do anything that may cause a misunderstanding, but I am but a servant in this place and therefore need say no more but that I am

Your humble servant

[168¾.] (Signed). THO. DONGAN

Monsieur de La Barre to Governor Dongan.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.]

[New-York Papers, B. I. 20.]

Montreal 15th June 1684.

Sir

The unexpected attack which the Iroquois, Senecas and Cayugas have made on a fort whither I had sent a gentleman of my household to withdraw thence Sieur de la Salle, whom I sent at their request to France, and the wholesale plunder of seven French Canoes laden with

FROM A PAPER SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY M. DE CALLIERES. DATED QUEBEC, 16 JULY, 1687.

[Paris Doc. II.]

I yesterday received a letter from M. de Denonville from Cataracouy of the 3rd of this month, informing me that he sends me fifty Iroquois taken near that place, to forward them to France in the King's Ships, conformably to his orders. I'll take advantage of the delay of the *Fourgon*, in which I shall have them embarked, and as the crew is too few to convey so many prisoners, very difficult to be guarded, I reinforce them by some passengers and sailors from a merchantman, the Catharine, which was wrecked last autumn near Tadoussac, and could not be got off.

M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER.

ATTACK ON THE SENECAS; ERECTION OF FORT NIAGARA.

[Paris Doc. III.]

Ville Marie, 25 August, 1687.

The first thing with which I occupied myself on my arrival [at Irondequoit Bay] was to select a post easily to be fortified for securing our batteaux to the number of 200 and as many canoes. We cut 2000 palisades which we finished planting in the forenoon of the 12th of July.

I had brought with me Sieur d'Orvilliers as the fittest to receive the whole of Canada into his hands; for the loss of this post would be the assured loss of the whole country which obliged me to leave 440 men there.

On the 12th I departed at three o'clock in the evening with all our French and Indian allies and Christians having caused them to take 15 days provisions. We made only three leagues that day across the woods which are very open.

On the 13th about four o'clock in the afternoon, having passed through two dangerous defiles, we arrived at the third where we were vigorously attacked by 800 Senecas, 200 of whom fired, wishing to attack our rear whilst the remainder of their force would attack our front, but the resistance they met produced such a great consternation that they soon resolved to fly. All our troops were so overpowered by the extreme heat and the long journey we had made that we were obliged to bivouac on the field until the morrow. We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages who cut the dead into quarters, as in slaughter houses, in order to put them into the pot; the greater number were opened while still warm that their blood might be drank. Our rascally Otaous distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities and by their poltroonery, for they withdrew from the combat; the Hurons of Michilimaquina did very well, but our Christian Indians surpassed all and performed deeds of valour, especially our Iroquois of whom we durst not make sure having to fight against their relatives. The Illinois performed their duty well. We had five or six men killed on the spot, French and Indians, and about twenty wounded, among the first of whom was the Rev: Fath: Angleran, superintendent of the Otaous missions, by a very severe gunshot. It is a great misfortune to us that this wound will prevent him going back again, for he is a man of capacity, of great influence who has conducted everything at Michilimaquina well, and to whom the country

owes vast obligations. For had it not been for him the Iroquois had been long since established at Michilimaquina.

We learned from some prisoners who had escaped from the Senecas that this action had cost them 45 men killed on the field, 25 of whom we had seen at the shambles; the others were seen buried by this deserter, and over 60 very severely wounded.

On the next day, 14th July, we marched to one of the large villages where we encamped. We found it burned and a fort quite nigh, abandoned; it was very advantageously situated on a hill.

I deemed it our best policy to employ ourselves laying waste the Indian corn which was in vast abundance in the fields, rather than follow a flying enemy to a distance and excite our troops to catch only some straggling fugitives.

We learned from deserters that the Senecas had gone to the English where they will not be allowed to want for anything necessary to make war on us. Since that time I have had no news of the enemy.

We remained at the four Seneca villages until the 24th; the two larger distant 4 leagues, and the others two. All that time was spent in destroying the corn which was in such great abundance that the loss, including old corn which was in *cache* which we burnt and that which was standing, was computed according to the estimate afterwards made, at 400 thousand minots of Indian corn.[1] These four villages must exceed 14 to 15 thousand souls. There was a vast quantity of hogs which were killed; a great many both of our Indians and French were attacked with a general rheum which put every one out of humor.

'Tis an unfortunate trade, my lord, to command savages who, after the first broken head ask only to return home carrying with them the scalp which they lift off like a leather cap. You cannot conceive the trouble I had to detain them until the corn was cut.

During the whole time we were in the Senecas country we did not see a single enemy, which caused me divers alarms lest they had been at our batteaux, but terror and consternation deterred them too much from effecting their first threats.

Returning to our batteaux I should have greatly wished to have been able to visit other villages, but the sickness, the extreme fatigue among all and the uneasiness of the savages who began to disband, determined me to proceed to Niagara to erect a fort there in their presence, and point out to them a sure asylum to encourage them to come this winter to war in small bodies.

I selected the angle of the Lake on the Seneca side of the river; it is the most beautiful, the most pleasing and the most advantageous site that is on the whole of this Lake, the Map and plan of which you will have if Sieur de Ville marie will take the trouble, for I tormented him considerably for it; I sent him expressly to Quebec that he may have nothing else to do.

This post being in a state of defence I left a hundred men there under the command of Sieur de Troyes who made the Northern expedition last year. He is a worthy fellow who richly deserves some share in the honour of your good graces and protection. He can be very useful to you in many things; he is prudent and intelligent, very willing, and has well served on land.

This post has caused much joy to all our farther Indians, who having no place of retreat, scarcely dared to approach the enemy. They have made me great promises—especially our Illinois—to harass them this winter by a number of small parties.

M. de Tonty had returned with them designing to invite them to come. He could collect only very few savages because an alarm had been spread among them of a large body of Senecas having departed last fall on a war expedition against them, which fell through on the information Mr. Dongan gave the Senecas that I was about to attack them; yet, as this large force had marched six days,

1 A minot is equal to three bushels.

it was the cause that of six @ 700 savages on whom we relied, only 80 came, which was the reason of their having been obliged to come to the fort of Detroit to join Sieurs du L'hut and de la Durantaye not being able to take the Senecas in the rear.

On quitting Niagara I left M. de Vaudreuil there for a few days with the troops to cut fire wood, after having done what was necessary for lodgings. The inconvenience of this post is, that timber is at a distance from it. M. de Callières and I returned without delay with our *habitans* to issue the orders necessary for the interior of the Colony.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I have not yet told you, my lord, that the *habitans* who left the lower part of the Colony, will on their return to their homes, have made four hundred and sixty leagues from the 24 May to about the 17th or 18th of August. You will well conceive that, what with the two forts which it was necessary to build, the destruction of the enemy's corn and the thirty leagues of road we had, going and coming, to travel by land, they will not have been idle.

It was impossible for us to do any more than we accomplished, for provisions would have failed us had we made a longer delay. It is full 30 years that I have had the honour to serve, but I assure you, my lord, that I have seen nothing that comes near this in labour and fatigue.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

You ordered me to send you the prisoners we took. You have perceived, my lord, it was impossible for us to make any among the Senecas, and even had we made any, we should have distributed them among the savages our allies and those who made the seizure in the neighbourhood of Fort Cataracouy who are themselves native Iroquois, but for the most part from villages north of Lake Ontario where there had been some fine and large which the Iroquois south of said Lake forced to join them; this began to swell their numbers and depopulate the northern border. It would be for our interest to repeople these villages because they would be more close allies, and under our control.

Among the prisoners there are some I cannot send you, being near relatives of our Christian Indians. Besides there are some of the Onnontagué village whom we must manage with a view to detach them from the Senecas, and to use them for purposes of negotiation if necessary. As I have not yet any news of the movements of the Iroquois, I should much like not to dispose of all these prisoners. Nevertheless, my lord, as you desire them, I shall content myself by retaining those only who will be of use to me and are guiltless of all the disorders of others. Yet, my lord, be so good as to keep them in a place from which they can be withdrawn, in case of need and we finally come to a general arrangement; I believe that would be a very useful thing. Regarding their women and children, I had them distributed through all our missions in the Colony. All the men, women and children had themselves baptised, testifying joy on that occasion. It remains to be seen if it be in good faith.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The copper of which I sent a sample to M. Arnou is found at the head (*au fond*) of Lake Superior. The body of the mine is not yet discovered. I have seen one of our voyageurs who assures me that he saw, 15 months ago, a lump 200 weight, as yellow as gold in a river which falls into Lake Superior. When heated, it is cut with an axe, but the superstitious Indians regarding this piece as a good Spirit would never permit him to take any of it.

Gov. with intention to Brake & divide
Ind. French from the Port & to Weary them
But the Port of the French coming up
Side the Simnoes Stand and Retreat
Whereupon the Goivernr. fortified himself
& Lay there that night Army not far from
35:35(1) the Simnoes Castle, Onat morning
Being Rainy wether the whole army marched
towards the Simnoes Castle. And the
Goivernor gave orders that the wounded
ones Should be Carried a Long. as they did
But the Dead Frenchmen ware Left upon the
field unburied; the Indians Carried their wounded
ones also with them but Buried their Dead
Eight franchmen ware killed and many wounded
amongst w.h one Priest that Lived amongst
the ottowa dearly wounded, Foure Ottawa
Indians & Two others ware Killed & Several wounded
Coming to the Castle, the Simnoes had
already Burnt them, and there Army
made a Stand, The French Indians, hearing
that the Simnoes ware in a Castle not
far off would goe to Inquire after them
But the Goivernr. would not Lett them goe,
the Indians said it is we that must fight
& therefore Lett us goe to find out our
Enimies, the Goivernr. would not, but
Did Send foure hundred French to Surround
the Simnoes & the Rest of the army
Should follow, and Coming to said Castle
found no Simnoes there. So returned in the
Army & Said that the Simnoes ware fled
hearing found Several Goods upon the
Fields w.h the Goivernr thought Strange
Cause the Simnoes Spoke to him of their Valour

next morning the Governor Gave order to
downe ax the Indian Corne, wch the Indians Refused
so the French did it them selves by wch Stratagem
one hundr ware saved, the French ware five dayes
a marching from one Castle to the other. by
they Castle they Stood one night & one day to Cut
downe & destroy the Corne in one Village they
Sent Scouts Dogs and found & destroyed & burned
all the Corne, and so Returned to Irondequat
a five Leagues sometimes attending but not
Indeed to do any Mischiefe, two days
they Staid att Irondequat, when the Governr
Gave orders to goe by water to Oniagoragh
wch the Oneida Indians Perswaded and went but
to Cadaraghqui but ten or twelve Canoes with
French went after them who att last perswaded
them to goe along to Oniagaragh. Except two
Canoes (wherein this Informant was one) and
found Fifty Indians who Escaped. ——
Since that time this Informant has heard
that the French Have made a Fortt
att Oniagaragh & Have sent great Guns.
And foure hundred Frenchmen in itt
and that they orders that all the Farr
Indians are to meet there when he Goes
out again, the Governr hath also left
foure hundred men att Cadaraqui ——
This Informant coming at Mont Reyall
saith he Hath heard that five Ships with
Soldiers ware arrived att Quebec & that
more ware to Come, Saith also that last
Spring a great many arrived out of France
with one thousand one who afterne Mr Laudd
marched up to Mont Reyall & went with
the army into the Southward Country & is
there now att Oniagaragh, all the Rest
of the Frenchmen are returned

Being asked wither they knew in Canida
that the fore nations were united, he
answered no, But that Kryn a magiaas
borne and Capt. of the Xtian Indians, was
to come with five more over with the
deponant to his Matie ware of the Fort
at the first Cattell of the Onagniaas, from
95(2) whence his message was to be sent to the
onidaes and onondages, to know wither
they would have Warr or noe, if they
were united with the five nats, and that
they ware sent by the Jesuit that is in
their Cattell and believe it to be the
Governors order, the Jesuit told them that
they should go by night into the magiaas
Cattell, for fear they should be seene
& taken by the English & put in prison
And coming from Canida about halfe
way to the magiaas land they met with
Capt. Ebro Stocking, to whom Kryn deliv.
his message, and then would Returne
But an Indian Called Jannitie told him
why will you Returne come along with
us wth noe, the Jesuit bid him not to go
so farr, that he might be in the hands
of the English for they would keep him
prisoner, and he Returned —
Being asked how many Soldiers was
killed in this last Battle, saith he was

And that is all he

New Jersie 1687 Septemb the first in fore Jamis

The Examination off Adandidagy ho (a mahaas
ott the Second Castle a Cristias Liut from
Albany a prisoner) Taken before Mr
Stephanus Van Cortlandt

Being asked of it was not Shaund, Shall
be left but owne Country. and that he went
to Canida with the French to fight against
his Brethren and Owne Country, answered that
and that when he came last Spring to Canida
the priest off the Indias Castle had him
welcom and said it was well done to Come and
see his friends, and asked him what his
Business was, the Indias answered him
to Change my Nation for Ever, and
then I intend to return, But when he
was to Come away his Relations would not
suffer it because the French had Given
Contrarie orders, the Xtian Indians asked
him whether he intended to goe & fight
with the French against their Enimyes
or not, he answered Nay, whereupon his
Relations answered him. You Shall be forced
to goe and the French will put you in
prison till the warr is done and the
Army Returns, and be he was forced to go
3 fore Daies after the French came and gave
him and all the Indians in the Xtian Castle
each Thirty Bullets & a Dribbel hand fire
off Powder and Ball them to appeare at
a French Gentlemans House Named Mont Royal
the Xtian Indians being about one Hondred
and twenty or Thirty Strong. In Onandaga
the French and other Nations off Indians
all appeared att Mont Royall and the
3 Second day after that, the Governour with
the Number off the French being found Mentioned

and of all the Indians one thousand —
The army went all by water in about
two hundred boats in Each boat one
Seaven & Some ten men, the Rest went
in Canoes, they ware Some time forced
to draw the boats with Cords against
the streames, the provisions ware part in
the boats and a great Deall sent up
before att Cadraghie, they ware going up
from mont Royall to Cadraghie three days
making very short Journis, at Cadraghie
they Rested three days, from thence they
went & lay att night upon an Island
the night after they lay att Cadranganhie
next morning about nine the Clock they
Saw ten onnondages at Ajankage, the
Generall gave orders not to Meddle with them
upon that the onnondages gave a great Shout
and went their way, and the army went
along the streame to a passage that goes
to the Cayougas, the day following they saw
a Brigantine att ancor and all the army
went a shore & lay there that night —
one of the french went a board the Brigantine
where Armont was as this Informant has heard
next day the army went along. and att
Jedandage the Generall landed fifty men
to discover the place, & the rest went on
to Irondoket, where at the Same time
they mett with the Iroquets that came
from twigtwig and Dowaganha with
their Indians, then the Generall ordered
the Ottias Onagniae & some other Indians to
be Sent in the middle of the armie and there
there three days till the fort was finished
in wch time four or five Indians came

and esked what the matter was & they
the French came so strong in their Towne
the Iroquis answered (by a Xtian meaning
we come to invett you, the Sinnekes liked
again & sd why doe yer make a forrt, you
should but come on. for we intend to kill
them all in a short time, and so Run away
the third day the army marched by the
afternoone & came that night about half
way betwen the Lake and Sinnekes Castle
next morning very early after prayer, they
marched on, all the Indians being put on
the Right side some what before the French
and soe marched on till about noone, when
the Indians would but them forth, but the
Generall bid them march on, till they
came upon a great hill; from whence
the Generall sent three Dowaganhas to find
out the Sinnekes Castle, who were out but
a little time a returning said that the
Sinnekes were aware by the Ly in of passage
upon wch the Generall gave order that one
hundred Indians should be drawn out & sent
to discover the Sinnekes, who went but not
far before the army. then the Generall
sent out again three Dowaganhas Indians
and one Frenchman to discover who went
out and stood in the path till the army
came to them, and a little time after
four hundred Sinnekes appeared at the
Right side of the army were the French
Indians were and with a great cry or
Shout, fired upon them without wounding
one man, being to farr off but the Sinnekes
advancing came nearer by and fired again
when the French Indians got some wounded
who fired also upon the Sinnekes and drove
them off them, but the Sinnekes came on

Indians and tooke an Indian out of the
French army and cut off his hand, the
Rest firing Stoutly upon one another
till the Doriwagan Ras & other French Indians fled
without Returning to the fight, but the
Magicaas came up againe and Stood their
Ground till the whole body of French came
firing all at once upon the Sinnekes
for that the Sinnekes Retreated hideing
25(1) Got Some Dead and wounded in that firing
The Governor forbid following of them
fearing Least Seaven Franchmen killed and
many wounded, and five Dead Indians and
Seaveral wounded, of the Sinnekes ware
killed Sixteen and Some wounded, Herein
the Governor gave orders that the Army Should
Fortify their Selves att the Same place ware
the Battell was, and So Stood Guard all that night
next morning the whole Army Marched toward
the Sinnekes Castell called Kohoharaghie Carrying
their Dead Franchmen Unburried, but the Indians
Buryed their Dead and Carried all the wounded French
& Indians with them to the aforesd Castell without
off the wounded ones Died, comming at S.d Castell
they found it all Burned, then the Governor
gave orders that the Xtian Indians Should Cutt
downe & destroy the Indian Corne wch they Could
for Feare of any ware but to destroy all that
they Could find, afterwards the Governor Sent
foure hundred men to an other Small Castle
Scarce a quarter of a mile to Surround the Same till the whole
Army Should come thinking the Sinnekes might
be there, but found the Same Burned also
but found a great deale of provisions wch
they destroyed finding only Some Dogs along
with them for they had Robbed us enough, Every
one Carried Some, and the Boats ware loaden
all Stronde heart with Corne & other provisions,

for the army there came to Cadaraqui where the Castles were Entred & lay at every Castle one night dureing all the time they could find, Except some out scouts wth the Mean Indians would Not shew them, the Iroquoits made Several Small attacks but never attacked the Army in time of March from the last Encampment Cadaraqui till the Army went back again by an other way as they came. to Iroquekatt being but one night by the way, and were but two days Still Marching the Governr gave orders that the whole army should go directly to Onnagaraqe, but the Mean Indians refused it, but would returne to Kadaraqui and so went that way, the Governr forthwith followed them with Seaven Canoes in each Company and stopt them saying what is the matter that you Leave us, it is best that we go and Returne together, but they would not till one Hunter John stood up & Spoke to every one saying to the rest of the Mean Indians You know what the Governrs will is that we should go up with him, if we do not he will force us to it, Comr. you are thirsty Let us go with him, So they were perswaded & Returned back with the Governr, Several Canoes endeavoured Much to escape but were so watched by the French that they could not except two or three Canoes, that Stole away were forced to go with the French, along the Riverside of the Lake till they came at Onnagaraqe being two Days by the way, where the French made a Fortt, and put two great Guns and Small peeces in it with Some hundred men to be there in Garrison, after they had been there five Days the Body of the Army Returned to Cadaraqui & Slept there one night and left there Some men there where they went to Mount Royall in two Days time this Deponent. Left the Governr & the Mean Indians went to their Castell.

Being ... Asked ... Answered ... Simmes ... Simmes ... Indians ... Indians ... Indians

EXAMINATION OF INDIAN PRISONERS.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

31 August, 1687.

A few days after the French came and gave him all the Indians in the Christians Castle, each thirty bullets and a double handfull of powder, and bad them appeare att a French Gents house, neare Mont Royall: the Christian Indians being about one hundred and twenty or thirty strong, in meane time the French and other Nations of Indians all appeared at Mont Royall, and the second day after that the Govr himselfe; the number of the French being two thousand and of all the Indians one thousand. The army went all by water in about two hundred boates in each Boate some seaven and some ten menn, the rest went in Canoes, they were sometimes forced to draw the Boates with Cordes against the Trenches, the Provisions being part in the Boats and a great deal sent upp before at Kadraghke: they were going up from Mont Royall to Kadraghke three dayes, makeing verry short journeys; att Kadraghkie they rested three days from thence they went and lay att night upon an Island, the night after they lay at Cadranganhie next morning about nine the clock they saw ten Onnondages att Aranhage; the Govr gave orders not to meddle with them, upon that the Onnondages gave a greate shout and went their way, and the army went along the shore-side to a passage that goes to the Cayouges; the day following they saw a Brigantine att anker, and all the army went ashore and lay there that night. Some of the French went aboard the Brigantine where Arnout was, as this Examinant has heard; next day the army went along and att Jedandago, the Govr landed fifty men to discover the place and the rest went on to Ierondokat where att the same time they mett with the French that came from Twightwig and Dowaganha with their Indians, then the Govr ordered the Xtian Maquasse and some other Indians to bee putt in the middle of the army and stayed there three dayes till the Fort was finished, in the meane time four or five Indians came and asked what the matter was, and why the French came so strong in their Country, the French answered (by a Xtian Maquasse) wee come to meet you, the Sinnakes asked againe, and said, why doe you make a Fort, you should butt come on, for we intend to kill you all in a short time. The third day the army marched in the afternoone and came that night about half way between the Lake and Sinnakes Castle: next morning very early after prayers they marched on all the Indians being putt on the right side somewhat before the French, and we marched on till about noone, then the Indians would boyle their potts, butt the Govr bid them march on, till they came upon a greate hill from whence the Govr sent three Dowaganhas to spye towards the Sinnakes Castle, who were out butt a little time, and returning said that the Sinnakes were neare by and lay in the passage, upon which the Govr gave order that one hundred Indians should bee chosen out and sent to discover the Sinnakes, who went but not farr before the army then the Govr sent out againe four Dowaganhas Indians and one Frenchman to discover, who went out, and stood in the path till the army came to them, and a little time after fouer hundr^{d} Sinnakes appeared att the right side of the army, where the French Indians were and with greate cry or shout, fyred upon them without wounding one mann being too farr off, butt the Sinnakes advancing came nearer by, and fyred againe, then the French Indians got some wounded, who fyred also upon the Sinnakes and wounded some of them, but the Sinnakes came so neare, and tooke an Indian out of the French army, and cutt off his hands, the rest firing stoutly upon one and the other, till the Douwaganhas and other French Indians fled without returning to the fight, butt the Maquass came up againe and stood their ground till the whole body of the French, came firing all att once upon the Sinnakes, soe that the Sinnakes retreated, having got some dead and wounded in that firing; the Govr forbidd following of them having gott seven Frenchmen killed and many wounded and five dead Indians and several wounded; of the

Sinnakes were killed sixteene and some wounded; forthwith the Govr gave orders that the army should fortify themselves at the same place where the Battle was and so stood there all that night. Next morning the whole army marched towards the Sinnakes Castle called Kohoseraghe, leaving their dead Frenchmen unburried but the Indians burried their dead, and carried all the wounded French and Indians with them to the aforesaid Castle, where one of the wounded men died at said Castle; they found itt all burned, then the Govr gave orders that the Christian Indians should cutt downe and destroy the Indians corne, which they refused: soe Frenchmen were sent and destroyed all that they could find. Afterwards the Govr sent four hundred men to another small castle neare by, to surround the same till the whole army should come, thinking the Sinnakes might bee there, butt found the same burned also, butt found a great deale of provisions which they destroyed, takeing only some beanes along with them, for they had provisions enough, every man carried some and the Boates were loaden at Jerondekott with corne and other necessaries, soe the army went to every place where the Castles were burnt and lay att every Castle one night destroying all the corne they could finde except some out fields, which the Xtian Indians would not show them, The Sinnekes made severall times small allarms, butt never attacked the French, since the first fight. From the last Sinnekes Castle, called Theodehacto, the army went back againe, by another way, as they came to Jerondekatt, being butt one night by the way, and were butt two dayes still there, then the Govr gave orders that the whole army should goe directly to Oneageragh but the Xtian Indians refused itt butt would returne to Kadaradkie, and soe went that way, the Govr forthwith followed them with seven Canoes, each seven menn, and stopt them saying, what is the matter that you leave us, itt is better that wee goe and returne together; but they would not, till one Smiths John stood up and spoke very loud, saying to the rest of the Xtian Indians, you hear what the Govr's will is, that wee should goe up with him, if wee doe not, he will force us to it; come, you are lusty men let us goe with him, soe they were persuaded, and returned back with the Govr, severall Canoes endeavoured yett to escape, butt were soe watched by the French, that they could not except two or three Canoes that stole away: soe were forced to goe with the French along the shore side of the Lake till they come to Oneagorah being two days by the way, where the French made a Fort and putt two great gunns and several Pattareras in it with four hundred men to bee there in Garrison, After they had bee_ there five dayes, the rest of the army returned to Cadarachque and slept there one night, and left there some men, from whence they went to Mont Royall in two dayes, there this deponent left the Govr and the Christian Indians went to their Castles.

Present
P: Schuyler Mayr
D: W.Ms Reld.
adr: Gerritse
Lawrus Van Schaik
Rend. Cuyler
Alb.t Rykman
} Aldermen

Roman Interpreter

Propositions

made by y.e Oneydes Sachims to y.e Mayor and Aldermen of y.e Citty of albany att y.e Citty hall y.e 3. Day of Septembr. 1687

Doc.e Say That in Obedience to his Excell.t the Govern.rs Commands, They have brought y.e Six women Prisoners and Delivrd them to Rob.t Livingston whose bonds they now Untye, which they by a mistake did take thinking they were there Enemies, since they were taken above one Hundred miles from Virginia doe give a Belt of wampum to Deer

Answer to y.e said Indians

Yow doe well to bring y.e Prisoners here upon his Excell. Commands, but if you had been honest men and kept your Covenant chain you would have saved your selfs this Trouble, for it is said that that you took them a Hundred miles off from Virginia, wee have advise from my Lord Howard of Effingham y.e great Govern.r of Virginia (who is come to N: York for Satisfaction for the mischeife you have done) that you took them away from y.e Wayneake Indian Towne where you made

129 an

131 The

an Attempt upon thend fort; and Entred into Severall English mens houses and Robbd and Plundrd them off all what was good in thend houses and throw ye Feathers out of thend beds and caryd away ye Tyckings, here is a Witness against you, (shewing them a Pare off womens Red stockings and a Childes Cap that some of thend People had brought along with them) well assure you if it had not ben for his Excell: the gov. Chief of Virginia would have Ward upon y.e Long agoe, which would have ben a worse Enemy a hundrd times then the French, and you may be assured the govern.t will be as good as his word, that is if you dow not forbear, his Excell: will digg up y.e axes and give one in the hands of y.e gov.r of Virginia, and he will joyn with our Brothrn of Virginia y.e King of Englands Subjects and then you will Pay once for all, Thend for B. mindefull of what y.e govern.t said to you in y.e Presence off y.e other 4 nations, and See w.th all speed to Send y.e Indian Boy you took away Like a Prisoner from your Grinds that are in Covenant w.th you in Virginia; and if you B minded to Shew your Courage You have an

opportunity

Opportunity to Show yr Valor against the
French your Enemies and not against your
Frinds yt. are in Covnant w.th yow.

The Indians Replyed

That yr Indian boy was delivrd to yr Inndi=
es to yr family of Dagajaeus there
Generall, and they will Send to him who will
Certainly Send him hither with yr first oppor=
tunity, and they Promisd and Engagd that
they never will goe nere yr English Plan=
tations for yr future, but will now Live and
Dye in yr Prosecution of yr war against yr
French

Exam. Pr me

Robt Livingston Cls

Present

Dr Schuyler Mayr.
Dr Wessells recorder
Dr Genike
Hend Wyckoff
Robt Ryckman
} 4 aldermen

Dr Sanders
Robt Sanders.

31.

Proposalls made by the Maquas

Sachems to the Mayor Aldermen
of the City of Albany in the City
Hall of the Said City on the Ninth
Day of September 1697

Rode was Speaker

Brethren.

HER MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

It is not Unknowne to You how that the Warr
of Said late begunn as Betwixt Warr upon
us Without any Provocation or cause the
Sixnos his Army where Exercises Hes
of Hostility Upon all Sorts Without
Respect of Persons he hath not only taken
of our Sorts Prisoners in time of Peace
but our Fortin the English also that Did
Resort there upon Severall Occassions in travelling
to Canada Which certainly You have no
good Right too as the French And Since
Amongst the rest Amot the Interpreter to
Sir Wm Johnson who hath Done good Services
for us in travelling up and Down in our
Country the Five Nations French
&c.
Onnondo

Prisoner According to our Custom Doe
Deliver him to his Fainter Mr Bennett in
his Cloaths and Room to Wash of the
Paint on his Face and Cover him
as well as We can.

The Governour of Indostan is naught,
it is time to Send, but Speak both
fair to the Peguant Stand here in
Shore Sence, and with all them that are in
Friendship with Mar Doe Justice
& Governour 14 Dec.

Let the Governour of India do what he will
but we will do ye on we shall not
break the Peace that is made the
Governour of India fall upon his Settlers
at Peguin 12 Dec.

Now we see ye spirit of Understanding and
wisdom not to Enter into any discourse
in Writing South Indian but

(b

about

To what Passe hee spoke by the Packing
his Ma[jes]ty was pleased to Give the
same Due Full Credit to Decr

The Premier Lord of Speaking
of Civil Affairs Shall now Pro-
ceed to Say Somewhat of Military
Affairs Relations there [illegible]

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

We are Extream Sory for that Misfortune
that befell our Coach in not hinging of
upon the Coming Commons ride it will
Spoil both Our Cloaths the Country and Place are
full of Gentle Mud to Commonly Suit
Dresse at this 12 Decr.

The Lords Spiritual Gentle told us that Here
Christ Not Come to Send Peace but
but we have great Reason to return
Him Thanks for his Peace for his Gos-
pell, Which We do now Hear, for We do Have
found it to be true That he hath Said of
Himself, And therefore We Trust in the

&c

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3

77 about

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Wee now and Declare and Denounce Warr
Openly against them, Wee have now all
Reasons Concerning Some minds &
Inclinations that Lyes out to Invade the
Rights of Canada to Destroy all the
Nations Settled by us & the French, and
there are three Reasons out the Same
Way, Which are Exact Name Speedily
The Fourth Call us out Against Our Good
Friend & Ally to Den,

Wee now Come and Declare and Denounce Warr
Openly against them, Wee have now all
Reasons Concerning Some minds &
Inclinations that Lyes out to Invade the
Rights of Canada to Destroy all the
Nations Settled by us & the French, and
there are three Reasons out the Same
Way, Which are Exact Name Speedily
The Fourth Call us out Against Our Good
Friend & Ally to Destroy

We may have the more freedom to be
Revenged of the french And if Any
of those Indians Newly Joyned in our
ouenant Shou'd be Inclined towards
the french and speak a Lick of the Same
Nell must go to the Smith and have
it Mended Doe give a belt of
Wampum to Each.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Wee to the proposall

Y'r Last Concerning Nell in Detaining
the french Sloop, but Wee are certaine
it Will be very Acceptable to his Excell'y in
: finding to send him home to New Yorke with
the first opertunity, We find that the Brethren
are Mightily Incouraged that his Excell'y hath pro-
: mised to you, but We Desire you to put the
Other Lower Locke in Mind of Keeping the
Same End of the Moon to Each the Number
ince it is the only Means to preserue the people
that Are Among the french.

You 17[illegible]

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But

We receive your Letters wherein you keepe the
Covenant wherein you are bound & Declaration
of what we have received in it as Comfortable
unto us to heare that the
Brethren are att Last united as wee hope
you are Wee see that you are Carefull to
Cause your Letters & Orders to
Your Memoires,

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

We since You are Lastly resolved to Warr
with the French & defend your Native Country
Wee wish you Good Successe & Victory
Trusting that Righteous God will
with mild Clemency & Indeed that of
your Great Enemies Councils will Dexterously
Execute Since you wish so Plain
Orders to Fight them here,

You never Intende Wee wish very Carefully
to Keep Your Solemn Covenants as wee Desire
the Brethren have done, and that Verry
Lately too and Execute what you have

any

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

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New-York

1687

Instructions for the Magistrates
to the Mayor & Aldermen
of Albany.

B. 1
P. 8

Present
Thayer Esq[r] Mayor
&c Aldermen &c Recr.

55:93(1)

Propositions made by the Lieu[t] Governr Secretary to the Mayor and Aldermen &c assembled at the Town House in the City Hall of the City on the 9th Day of Septembr 1687

Rode was speaker

Gentlemen

It is not unknowne to you &c that the Warr of Canada hath begun an Heraldi warr upon us without any Provocation & Cause he thereof his ex[cy] with an Excursion & Scottilati upon all Ingle without Regard of Persons he hath not only taken of our Ingle Subjects in time of Peace but our Indians English also & we doe there Lawfull occasions & Trafficks to Albanie which certainly you have as well as we & must tend to the Interest & Increase of that rest Province. The Secretary of State Governr who hath ye Indians trust & Friendship up and down in our Country and we have a Treaty & Union to engage to our Assistance doe therefore in the Name & Behalfe of our Soveraigne Lord the King

&c Com[n]

& Room to wash off the Tears of his wife and
[illegible] acceptable —

2 [illegible] give a Belt of wampa

11 dep —

[illegible] shall not walk [illegible]
[illegible] means to make [illegible]

4 [illegible] 3 lb 10 dep —

[illegible] shall no Buccaneer

Jeff

Brother have been, and y[e] Lady too,
and when you [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

Propositions of the Mohawk Indians to the Mayor, &c., of Albany.

[Board of Trade Papers, New-York, III.]

Propositions made by the Maquass Sachims to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Albany in the Citty Hall of the said Citty on the ninth day of September 1687.

PRESENT — P[r] Schuyler Esq[re] Mayor
Dirick Wessells Recorder
Ad[r] Geritse, Hend[r] Cuyler, Alb[t] Ryckman } Aldermen

Interpreters: H. Keeman & Rob[t] Sanders.
Rode was Speaker.

Brethren, It is not unknown to you how that the Gov[r] of Cannida hath begun an illegal war upon us without any provocation or cause, he throws his Axe every where and exercises acts of hostility upon all people without respect of persons hee hath not only taken of our people prisoners in time of peace but our Brethren the English also that were about there lawfull occassions in travelling to Ottawawa, which certainly you have as good a right to as the French, and since amongst the rest Arnot the Interpreter is also taken prisoner who hath don good services for us in travelling up and downe in our Country, and wee haveing a French prisoner according to our custome doe deliver him to the family of Arnout in his stead and Room to wash of the tears of his wife and children hopeing he will be acceptable.

The Gov[r] of Canidas hart is naught, it is turned upside downe, but wee hold fast the covenant chaine here in Corlars house, and with all them that are in friendship with Corlar doe give a Belt of Wampum 14. deep

Lett the Gov[r] of Cannida doe what hee will and pull as hard as hee can hee shall not break the chain that is betwen us and Corlaer, wee will hold fast, and let us all hold the chaine of friendship verry fast, and that will be the only means to make the Gov[r] of Canida fall upon his left side — doe give a belt of Wampum 12. deepe.

Lett your hart be full of understanding and hearken not to any private or common discourse of any prateing drunken Indian, butt to what shall be spoke by the Sachims, and wee will bee careful to doe the same. doe give a Belt 10 deepe.

Now, wee have done of speaking of Civill affairs shall now proceed to say somewhat of Military affairs.—

Tahajadoris there Gen[l] being speaker.

Wee are extream sorry for that misfortune that befell our people in not bringing off Cryn & his company prisoners here, it is a greate loss to all the Country and wee are full of griefe quite to Tionondoge[1] for itt. doe give a Belt 12. deep.

The Gov[r] hath often told us, that wee should not trust the Gov[r] of Canida, and wee have great reason to returne a thousand thanks to his Excell: for his good advice, which wee now doe, for wee have found it to be true, what he hath said of the French, and therefore wee take up the Axe now and declare and denounce warr openly against them; wee have now at

[1] The third castle, and capital, of the Mohawk country. See note, ante p. 163. — Ed.

Schennectida a Compy of one hundred and thirty men that goe out to morrow towards the Lake of Canida to doe all the Mischeife they can against the French, and there are three Companys out the same way, whom we expect home speedily, who forthwith shall go out againe. Doe give a Belt 10 Deepe.

You now have heard wee have proclaimed and declared warr agst the French which wee intend to pursue with all vigour, and for the better prosecution of the same wee pray your Excell: to engage and induce as many Nations of Indians as you can to joyn in the warr agst the French, and any Nation of Indians that can bee perswaded to lay downe the axe that your Excell: will doe your endeavour to effect it that wee may have the more freedome to be revenged of the French, and if any of those Indians newly united in our Covenant should be inclined towards the French, and break a linke of the chaine, wee must goe to the Smith and have it mended. doe give a Belt of Wampum 10 deepe.

Answer to the Propositions

You have done very well in delivering the French prisoner, and wee are certaine, it will bee very acceptable to his Excellcy, intending to send him downe to New Yorke with the first opportunity. Wee find that the Brethren are mindful of what his Excell: hath proposed to you, and wee desire you to putt the other fouer Nations in minde of doeing the same, and by noe meanes to kill the prisoners, since it is the only meanes to preserve the people that are among the French.

You need not doubt but Corlaer will keepe the Covenant Chaine fast and firme, and endeavour to link as many Nations in itt as possible, and will bee very glad to heare that the Brethren are at last so united as wee here are,[1] and see that you bee watchfull to purge your people of French spyes and corrupt rotten members.

And since you are absolutely resolved to warr with the French, and defend yourselves and Country, proceed and go on with vigour and courage and bee careful, that businesse may be carried on with more prudence and conduct, then that of Cryn was, which certainly will vex his Excell: exceedingly, since you were so often charged to bring him here.

You never did finde, wee were verry credulous of any common reports as sometimes the Brethren have been and that very lately too; and therefore when you heare any story, first satisfy yourselfs of the truth of itt by inquiring of the Magistrates before itt bee blazed abroad. Wee shall send downe the propositions to the Govr with the first [opportunity]—was given back 75gl: 10st white Wampum, for which the belts were exchanged and for a gun which was given to Tahajadoris there General.

Examined pr me.

Robt Livingston

[1] "as we hear *yow* are." Original in *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, XXXV.—Ed.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE COLONIAL

My Lord

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Since writeing my other letter, some messages have come to my hands from Albany, of their apprehensions of the French; which obledges me to Carry up Sheither Two hundred men, besides the Garrison and go and stay there this winter, and to gether five or six hundred of ye five nations about Albany & Schanechtade which will be a great Charge, but I see no remedy for it.

My Lord it is a great misfortune to this govern^t that there are so few of his Majesties Natural born subjects, the greater Part being Dutch; who if occasion were I fear would not be very fitt for service.

I am sending to the farther Indyans, to try if I Can make peace between them and ye Senecas, & also to ye Christian Indyans

about

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Comms. +

D. Schuiler
Ind. Mayr —
J: Clerk Recorder
Cha. Lodwick
Ben. Fullerton
Abr. Ryckman
} Aldr.

Lett. Leiden
Interpreter

Speech Made by the Onon-
dages to the Mayor and Aldermen of
the City of Albany the 14: Day of
Sept. An. 1687.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Wee heard the news this Spring from hence
that the French would warr upon us which Accord-
ingly is come to pass, our Brethren
seen here & heard his Excellys Propositions
concerning our Peace & Peace to be brought
upon foot & Receipt and not to stay in our Castle
and Repeating the Propositions, all which Wee
Lyke nothing of new Spell;

Wee Onondages and One of all the nations
except the Maquase who have don nothing I have
been Latly at Canada, and gott some prisoners
here but have Lesse Seen the Maquas,
The desire of his Excelly Six great Guns
for our fort at Onondage,

The desire of his Excelly desires us to come to Ca-
nada this spring to speak with him there, but
his Excelly Commandes us not to go, nor Wee
desyre, &c The desire of his Excelly desires us likewise

To take as many French Prisoners as we could,
and not to kill them, but we having received
Assurance by Order sent and Communicon
to his Excellcy, We the Governor in the name
of all Acknowledgm. and to Shew our Obedi
ence to his Excellcys Commands We have
saved the Lives of these two French Prisoners
upon pain of Death to your Excellcy haveing
taken them at Adarachqui.

The Governor Ordered us to look out where
the French Company was and where they made any
fires, We have found that they have encamped
on Mount Adarachqui and also a fourth
part of the Company, but We the Rangers
see that the French are Numerous and
entrenched themselves by Fortification, begin
to grow Saucy hearts, and therefore Desire his
Excellcys help and Assistance eg. the French,
without Which we are not able to
resist.

His Excellcy Discourses Concerning the Mak
ing a Fort at Crown Point &c. is made
out.

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HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

As Kinsdage & we are of Opinion that it would be better at Prego to Cast Lots Some may from Bondage they Dispose the remant Part and Fire Melt at Campan to Deep-

Answer of Hon. Capt. Coe

Sir We Do not but the Brethren are Sensible of the many Hons and Good advice you Receive of his Excelly and Certain-ty that in Advising you of not going to Adventure, which if you had the Event would have been Dan all Prisoners whereas you are the Life of the Army, & you Dare not Expose to Such Hazards in not Killing of the Enemy. Prisoners Must take Remant the Prisoners with it and Send the Prisoners Home

Sir We Have Also Remant his Excelly with your Request about the Great Guns but Sir we must tell you, you are not Provided in Nothing for Cannon, that would tend to your

Gration

After Ruine of the Frenck Shoud Sur-
prize You as they Did the Incklis for me
can assure You that they Intend to ruine
Not all if they can the Towne has
Incouraged Upon Happy Letter from the
Governo[r] of Canada for Apprehending Diverse
Orders Sent and Expected from his Excellcy
the Governr Generall of Boston Mr Henrie Pelham,
the Towne Could have the fine Jacob to
Stick to me Brother Mr Lee will Accasion
Diverse Misunderstands by the Brethren and Lett
Slip Out for nothing Minding to Set himselfe
Upon Earning for the Towne he has Sent up
this Sloop to all the fine Flacons and
Incouraging Remarks on Yesterday to the Hon
ble Mr Peter Schuyler Mr Wessen and Coll Pyn
& other Gentlemen of Albany Which Incouragements
Shall Not Be Wanting to Lett and Keeping Them
in Minde of their
Promise not to Omitt the Least Occasion
Presented Without Lamenting the Towne
For if You the Frenck Joyn Knaves with the

Jame

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Sam: Kate the[y] are and will Keate
Coxon Yon so long tell they Get Yon all
Into the Lake, and there Lye Lurkeing
And Get Lord Stay in the woods Just such
As are fitt for Warr, the French are
Making Great preparacons Both Shoes
& Snowshoes, and if they cannot meete
Yon this Wint. Will Indeed so do in y[e]
Spring therefore take not to Send Downe
the Wiggs & Indian and Sick Men According
to the Governs Order, Especially now
Since Wee here itt is A great Obstruction
To the Men that goe out A Hunting who
Stay att home to Provide for their Familyes
Itt Cane no More
Then what is Just Necessary for them that stay
Behind, the Rest bury it Secretly in the woods
if it be to Cast off to Bring when that he
Enemy May Get Into it;
The Governo. Hath Sent this Gentl. Mon.
Cane to Confer with an Assembly of the French
Indians Cotton for Bring You have Powder

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Consider and Lead to Warr with the French
And has Gott to Join in as Quick as
to Demand of the French Gouerno. that Lee
Retire and Send back our Christian and
Indian Enemies And to Know what
Reason he has to Invade our Brethren
in the Two Countrys the Governour is
Sending Agents to England to Acquaint
the Great King of England with the French
Designs, And then if any
Christian Indians Joyn to ye. Attacks with
any Forreigners Drive them back them
Upon the Election Choose for a Gott
We shall Acquaint his Excelly with it, butt
the Ensuing Front Nothing can be ex
pected to be Done in building a Gott
this Faton, Att the Leaving of Canada
Canada Force and not to be Faint Hearted
for Feed not Fear the French Strength
the Iroquois Will Stand by them & Assist them
in Execution of And your Wisdom Prudon
Shall

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Inclosed Mantanes Letter
was given back 30 q. white
Roling Wampum

Albany 6th: September 1709

Upon the Receipt of his Excellys Letters
& Mr. Garrets these Indians accompan
ied with Sons of the Emanakee Cayugas told
told that his Excelly was engaged from
home that they are Building that Fort
Paracon of Iron Rods Threaton the Indians
& Millians here for guiding the Stages
Ammunicon & therefore the Sachems would
to come up here and stay all Winter and would
bring the Garrison and Rest of the Militia
Corp. with him to assist the Southern
Occasion & has therefore Dismiss
hundred Men from the Uncles fifty from
the Cayugs sixty from the Onondags fifty
from the Sneydes and forty from the Mohawks
& the Schinnectady to Winter to joyne

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With the Gouns his Excell: Thought
fitting upon occasion Since it is to bee
Reported the French if they Dare come will
be met by the Navy of Ontario Lake,

Which Message Was very Pleasing and
Acceptable to said Indians and Would return
home with joy and Acquaint all the Nations
Herewith Who Long Sore Desirum quen
to be Left att Each Castle Mr Litton &c.
this Inclosed.

Examined p me

Rob. Livingston Sc.

A true Copy Examined by me

by

Will: Hyde Deputy

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Propositions of the Onondagas to the Mayor and Common Council of Albany.

[Board of Trade; New-York Papers, B. III.]

Propositions made by the Onondages to the Mayor and Aldermen of the Citty of Albany the 14th day of September An° 1687.

PRESENT — Peter Schuyler Esqre Mayor.
Direck Wessels Recorder
And^r^ Geritse, Hend: Cuyler, Abel Ryckmann } Aldermen
Robert Sandors Interpreter.

Wee heard the news this spring from hence that the French would warr upon us, which accordingly wee found to bee true, our Sachims have been here and heard His Excell^cys^ propositions concerning our wives and children to be brought here for releife and not to stay in our Castles and repeating the propositions, all which wee approve off very well.

Wee Onondages and some of all the Nations except the Maquasse (who have don nothing) have been lately att Cadarachqui and gott som prisoners there, butt have scarce seen the Maquass; wee desire of his Excellency six great Gunns for our Fort at Onondage.

The Govr of Canida desyred us to come to Cadarachqui this spring to speak with him there, but His Excell commanded us not to goe, whom wee obeyed, The Govr desired us likewise, to take as many French prisoners as wee could, and not to kill them, and we having received assistance of Powder lead and amunition of his Excell^cy^, Wee doe now offer our thanks, full acknowledgements and to shew our obedience to His Excell^cys^ commands wee have saved the lives of these two french Prisoners whom wee now deliver to your Excell^cy^ haveing taken them at Cadarachqui.

The Govr ordered us to look out where the French army was and where they made any Forts, wee have found that they have a strength and Men at Cadaraghqui and also a Fort att Onnyagaro, and since the Cayouges and Sinnekes see that the French are so powerful & strengthen themselves by fortifications, begin to grow faint hearted, and therefore desire His Excell^cys^ help and assistance ag^st^ the French, without which we will not be able to subsist.

His Excell^cy^ discoursed concerning the makeing of a Fort, which was proposed to be made att Kajonhare butt wee are of opinion that itt would doe better at Sowego a place a dayes journey from Onondage; They doe renew the Covenant Chaine and give a Belt of Wampum 10 deep.

Answer to the said propositions.

Wee doubt not but the Bretheren are sencible of the many favours and good advice you receive of his Excell^cy^ and particularly that in adviseing you of not goeing to Cadarachqui, which if you had, the French would have taken you all prisoners or killed you as he did the rest of the people, you doe well to obey his Excell^cys^ commands in not killing of the French prisoners; wee shall acquaint the Governor with it and send the prisoners downe.

Wee shall also acquaint His Excell^cy^ with your request about the Great Gunns, butt wee must tell you, you are not well advised in asking for Cannon, that would tend to your greater ruine if the French should surprise you as they did the Sinnekes, for wee can assure you, that they

intend to ruine you all if they can. The Govr has received a very angry letter from the Govr of Canada for supplying you with powder and lead and looks upon his Excellcy to be an Enemy to his Colony and an ill Man; The Govr will have the Five Nations to stick to one another & hee will bee as good as his word and stand by the Brethren, and lett them want for nothing, intending to be up himselfe in person early in the spring; hee has sent up orders to send to all the Five Nations and accordingly Keman is gon yesterday to tell them to send their wives & Children and old Men to winter at Cattskill Rooloffe Johnsons Kill and other convenient places along the River that wee may bee able of assisting them and also to putt them strictly in minde of their promise, not to admit of the least Proposition of peace without acquainting the Govr, for if you and the French will always bee at the same rate they are and will cheate and Cozen you so long till they gett you all into the snare; and therefore be advized and let none stay in the Castles butt such as are fit for warr; the French are makeing great preparations of snow shows and otherwise, and if they cannot ruine you otherwise will endeavour to do it by surprise; therefore, faile not to sende downe your Wives and Children and old Men according to the Govrs order, especially since wee here, itt is a great obstruction to the Men that goe out a warring, who stay att home to defend and prouide for their families, and leave no more corne in your Castles than what is just necessary for them that stay there, the rest bury itt secretly in the woods, if itt bee too farr off to bring hither, that the Enemy may not find it.

The Govr doth send this Gentn Monsr La Parre to Canida with an answer of the French Govrs angry letter for letting you have powder and lead to warr with the French, and has writt to him in as much anger to demand of the French Govr that hee restore and send back our Christian and Indian prisoners, and to know what reason he had to invade our Brethren in the Kings territories. The Govr is a sending a Gent; to England to acquaint the great King of England with the French doeings, & therefore if any Christian Indians comes to your Castles with any propositions of peace, seize them. As for the place you propose for a fortt, wee shall acquaint his Excellcy with itt, butt the year being spent, nothing can bee expected to be done in building a Fort this season, lett the Cajouges and Sinnekes have courage and not to be faint hearted, they need not fear the French strength, the Govr will stand by them and assist them if occasion be, and your wifes and Children shall be maintained and protected. Was given back 30 glss white string Wampum.

Albany 15th September 1687.

Upon the receipt of His Excellcys letters pr Marte Garrette, the said Indians accompanied with some of the Sinnakes and Cayouges were told that His Excellcy was informed from Canida, that they are makeing great preparation of snow shoes, threaten the Indians and Christians here for giving the Indians amunition and therefore the Govr was fully resolved to come up here and stay all winter and would bring the Garrison and some of the Militia along with him to assist the Brethren if occasion bee, and therefore desired a hundred Men from the Sinnekes, fifty from the Cayouges, sixty from the Onondages, fifty from the Oneydes and forty from the Maquasse to be att Schannectida this winter to joyne with the forces His Excellcy should bring up upon occasion, since itt is to bee believed the French, if they do come & will come by the way of Corlars Lake.

Which Message was very pleasing and acceptable to said Indians and would return home with joy and acquaint all the Nations herewith — there being some Wampum given to be left at each Castle as a letter about this affair.

Examined pr me.

Robt Livingston Cl.

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 512.]

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 472.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

Quebec, 12th October, 1687.

Sir,

I have received the letter of the ninth of September, which you have taken the trouble to write me. I have nothing else to reply than what I have already told you in my preceding, which is that you desired of me that we should refer the decision of the limits to our masters and not undertake any new expedition. Yet you will, of yourself, determine all the limits, and want me to subscribe, without the King's orders, to your pretensions.

You perceive clearly, Sir, that this is in absolute contradiction of what you stated to me were your intentions, not to do any thing which could disturb our good understanding.

You wish to justify yourself by M. de la Barre's advances to you which he ought not to have made, and which cannot in any wise prejudice the King's right over the villages that, according to you, are subject to the King your master. But, Sir, it is neither you, nor I, who are to decide this question which is referred to our Masters, who will make known to you their wills and what we are to abide by.

Meanwhile, Sir, it is well that I observe to you, that since nothing is determined between our masters whereby we might conclude precisely that the Iroquois belong to you, in your letter of the ninth of September you frankly avow that you have contravened the last Treaty of Neutrality entered into by their Majesties, inasmuch as you inform me that you have furnished the Indians with powder, arms and ball to make war on us. Take the trouble to read the Treaty of Neutrality and you will see that this is in reality a contravention of the third article, which forbids you to give any aid to the Indians with whom we shall be at war, and it is in virtue thereof that I was justified in retaining Mr Gregoire, your officer, with the detachment you had dispatched under his orders. Am I wrong, Sir?

Think you, Sir, that you have not, again, contravened the same Treaty of Neutrality, when you point out to me, in the same letter, the care you have taken to assemble the five nations in order to wage war on us, inasmuch as I have attacked only the Senecas against whom I had greater cause of complaint than against the others. If all this, Sir, be not making war on us, and contemning the orders you have to live at peace with the King's subjects, I know not how you understand it.

Your Messenger, however, will tell you, Sir, how I had not neglected to send back, before I heard from you, the said Mr Gregoire who will inform you that I was unable to see him before my return from the Senecas, and how he has been treated since he came down, by me, and by those under my orders.

Your menaces, Sir, are of no avail between you and me; let us adhere to our Masters' instructions and think only, you and I, of complying with their Majesties' commands and instructions to us.

If their Majesties agree that the Iroquois belong to you, so much the better for you; you will, at least, be bound to prevent them making war on our Indian allies, as we shall be obliged to prevent ours attacking them; and this, Sir, will be the means to arrive at a general peace which is absolutely necessary for the establishment of the Religion throughout the entire country. Then, Sir, when you will restrain your Indians we will restrain ours, and shall effectually deprive them of the use of arms whenever you will do the same by yours, should they misbehave.

Did I regard the style of your letter, and did not my orders to live well with you prevail over my private interest, I would still detain the four men whom I have here. But I am too happy to consider myself as nought in the matter, and to make on my side all the concessions, in order to put you entirely in the wrong, should you persist in the course you have hitherto pursued.

It therefore only remains now, Sir, to obey our Masters, and to cultivate mutual good understanding; to promote which, I will perform every thing consistent with my orders. We shall, afterwards, see whether you act in the same manner.

For that purpose it will be necessary for you to cease affording protection to the Indians who will make war on us, and to prevent the King of England's subjects supplying them with arms and powder.

You will, doubless, receive orders on that subject which, I am persuaded I, also, shall receive; they will be the rule of the conduct I shall always observe.

Meanwhile, should the Iroquois continue to commit acts of hostility, be assured, Sir, I will not forget seeking for means to make them feel the penalty.

I am aware the Senecas have sent some of our soldiers prisoners to Orange. I doubt not but you will give the necessary orders for the conveyance of all of them hither, as I have sent all of yours back.

As regards the Indian prisoners whom I have, you know very well that I cannot restore them, without embarrassing myself, until it be decided whether they belong to you. Besides, it will be time enough to speak of them, when the Iroquois will return to their duty. You are well aware that they have executed no part of the last Treaty of peace concluded at La Famine, which you have mentioned to me in your letter.

You will plainly see, Sir, whenever you please, that it depends only on yourself that we live always in friendship, according to our Masters' intentions.

I am deeply penetrated, Sir, with the grandeur of the King your Master, whose rare virtues have attached to him the hearts of all the French. We shall honor him, Sir, with profound respect and from inclination, and because we know that he has been long beloved by the King our most Christian master. Therefore, Sir, you may rest assured that I shall ever feel great pleasure in proving that I will, during my whole life, pay particular regard to the cultivation of a good correspondence with all belonging to him, as far as is consistent with my Master's interests.

I am, &c.

Voir la lettre de M. de
Tremonville du 8 novembre 1687

Question touchant le droit que les

françois et les anglois pretendent avoir sur les terres de la mer[illegible]
Septentrionalle, et en particulier sur les grands lacs françois o[illegible]
deux outaouäas

ARCHIVES

Vray dattes
la fin du mesme
cet

Cet Auteur de Champlain, a livre 6 qui traitte cette question,
dans son 6e Livre qui a pour titre, Les Voyages de la Nouvelle
France occidentalle dite Canada, faits par le Sieur de Champlain.
Et Paris chez Jean Berjon, Tenant dans la grande salle du Palais
1632.

Sur la fin de cette page 290. Le Sieur de Champlain
fait une espece de dissertation, qui decide clairement les
questions proposées et j'en joins le titre ainsi,

Abrege des decouvertes de la nouvelle france.

"Car de ce que nous avons découvert, comme les terres angloises,
depuis la Virginie jusques au port, Royal et de ce qu'ils
en nous pourroient pretendre suivant le rapport des Historiens
qui en font foi que je rapporte et des droits que nous devons juger a
nos Champs de tout autre passion,

Il ne faut donc savoir a fond cette matiere et estre parfaitement
eclairci du droit des françois et des Anglois auparavant que lire
et abreger du Sieur de Champlain ou l'on trouvera tout livre
bien examiné et il paroistra que les Loix de france
ont prise possession et toutte cette terre depuis la floride
jusques au cap breton auant tous autres princes chrestiens,

Il faut remarquer que par ces mots de cet abregé
Voicy ce qui s'en verra,

Qu'en l'année 1504. les bretons et les normands trouverent
cette premiere les grand bancs, et les isles nuisent ainsi que
le prouve l'Histoire de Nicolet et de Champlain
Imprimée a Roüen.

En 1523. Jean Verazon par concession du françois premier
prit possession de cette terre, commençant de 30 à 33e degrés
d'Elevation, jusques au 47e.

En 1535. jacques cartier entra dans le premier dans la riviere
de Saint Laurent et découvrit la plus part de cette coste
de Canada, il fut jusques au sault de Saint Louis, et prit
par tout possession,

En 1564. le Ribault et Laudonniere Estans allez en la Floride par authorité du Roy Charles y firent pour habiter et cultiver une praisie, y edifia la Caroline au 32. ou 33.e degré. Malet Autheur dict l'an 1603. et Lescarbot, Cosmographe de Champlain, Estant en Canada, y commandoit la colonie, et en 1609. il alla auec deux autres françois iusques dans le lac Champlain, dont il prit possession au nom du Roy Henry 4.e et le nomma de son nom, et dans son liure de ses Voyages il raconte qu'il fut apres auec deconuert le lac Champlain jusques dans les praisies dites Iroquoises,

Et en l'an 1611. ou 1612. il monta par la grande riuiere, Iusques au lac Huron qu'on appelle la mer douce, et de la il fut a la nation du petun, puis a la nation neutre, et a celle des Nassouteuec qui demeuroient a leur tour l'Hudroit qu'on appelle Lac Ecat, de cet Hudroit il alla aux terres Sauuages Hurons et Algonquines en guerre contre leurs Ennemis, et passa par des lieux qu'il descrit dans le Premier liure, qui ne s'estend autres qu'vers le Lac Erié,

Tout ce qui est dite cy dessus Il ne se trouue aucun Autheur qui dise qu'ils ayent pris possession dans l'Estendue de Canada, de la Virginie et de la Floride qu'en 1594. au lieu qu'vn François en y fit prise possession en 1504. En 1523. en 1535. en 1564. et l'on sçait que Monsieur de Champlain a fait glus seruir autant la Carte des Costes, Isles et Ports de mer que les Escrits selon ce qu'on sait des Costes, plus de dix ans deuant quelques Hollandois ou Anglois habitassent ladite Coste,

Voicy les fondements des pretentions des Anglois, Environ l'an 1594. quelques Anglois Estans aux costes de la Floride arriuerent vers ces lieux qu'ils appellerent Wocosa, et qu'ils nommerent depuis Virginie; jaquel Roy d'Angleterre, pour les Encourager leur donna de

grandes privilleges et autoritez de Sondre Sieur droit depuis
le 33e. degré jusques au 45. et 46. Ces lettres du
Roy furent expediées le dix auril 1607. en tres bonnes
potestatem facimus accupendi possidendique
fractus omnes ad quidum exque 45e. jla est
christianorum principi illi tenearitur, voila
tout le fondement dez Anglois qui est quasi fondu sur ce,
grace qui est dit dans ces susdites lettres du Roy jacques
Nous leur donnons toutes ces terres jusques au 45e. degrés
lesquelles ne sont point possedées par aucun prince chrestien
Or il est indubitable que du temps de la datte desdites
lettres le Roy de France possedoit actuellement pour le
moins jusques au 40e. degré de latitude a lendroit ou les
Hollandois se sont depuis glacez. Et en 1603. le sieur
Commandeur de Chaste estoit Lieutenant general pour le Roy
aux Christiens en la nouvelle france depuis le 40e. degré jusques au
52e. et mesme il est Constant comme il a cy dit et dessus
que dez lan 1523. Jean Verazon fit possession de toutte cette
coste, Commencant dez le 33e. degré jusques au 47e. et en
1564 cette françoise au nom de Charles 9e. print possession
de la floride au 35e. et 36e. ou estoit la Caroline, tout
cela se voit clairement dans ledit susdit dudit sieur de
Champlain, qui l'est bon de consulter pour en avoir plus de
Connoissance,

On peut encore voir presque tout le mesme dans
l'Histoire de la nouvelle france faite par le Sieur Lescarbot,
et Gravir chez Jean millot devant Saint Barthelemy
aux trois Couronnes, 1612.

Mais pour du general de Sondre au particulier touchant
les droits que les françois et les Anglois prennent avoir sur
ces grands dits françois et dits outaouatz, Et pour commencer
par celuy dez françois outre ce qui a cy dit cy devant du
Sieur de Champlain qui a print possession du lac Champlain
et dez terres dits françois ou il y a cy deux Soixante lieues
Longitude auparavant que l'on Hollandois ou les Anglois
Eussent mis le pied a la terre, Ny Manathe ou d'orange
Sauroit dire aussy que depuis plus de 40. ans les Roz de

Entretenu a Ire faire dans le grajde des françois qui seruoit
françois aux des gerres j'ay mis Simanois a les guerier
ont fait Castio & fait Crure descouurir dans les Cinq bourgades
françoises tout ensemble jusques a ces dernieres Cinquez qui les
Cruitez & Cquis les ont obligez de se retirer les vns
apres les autres,

En 1655. Monsieu de Lauzon gouuerneu et Lieutenan
Gneral pour le Roy en la Nouuelle france, a la
Solicitation des françois mes, Enuoya dans ces grajdes
en Cy Lieu nommé Gannentaa jusques a 60 françois, y
Compris Cnq auec Cy de 12. Soldats soubz, et
commandan nommé le Sieu du puy, lequel a fait construire
en Celieu Cy fort royal ou les susdits 60 françois
ont defriché et Semé les terres de bled françois et
autres legumes, y ont basty plusieurs grandes maisons
en y ont demeuré paisiblement sans aucune oppositio
de la part des hollandois qui possedoient a lorse
Manathe et orange, et qui bien loing d'eux
Mais lorse du grajde des françois achoptoient d'eux
quelques portions de leurs terres, quant elles se trouuoient
auoir, et ce qui est bien a remarquer c'est que les françois
Eux mes mes en 1654. sont venus en Ambassade et
quelles pour demander a Mondit Sieu de Lauzon ces
susdites soixante françois, et Lamées suiuant les Con
ventions, les ont enuoyez Eux mes mes, les
ont introduits au susdit Lieu de Gannentaa les y ont
placez et Establis, et les en ont mis en possessio
et y sont restez jusques a ce que quelques françois
ayant fait des actes d'hostilité dans Montreal, le
Commandan du susdit fort jugea a propos de se
retirer auec sa garnison pour mettre les susdits
soixante françois a couuert des mauuais desseins que
ces françois auoient formez contre eux,

Et ce qui est bien encore bien remarquable pour faire
voir que la terre des françois Estoit a la disposition

du Gouuernement de quatre grous (x) Pour des Gouuessions
comme dess autress. Ayant dit Son Gouuernement c'est
qu'il y auoit temps que le susdit Sieur du Puy auec ses
Soldats fut Enuoyé de la part du Roy grous construire
le fort susdit de Gaminta — et y tenir garnison
Ledit Sieur de Lauzon Gouuerneur donna en bonne forme
Une Concession d'Une pauty de dess susdits bruits au
Reuerend Jesuittes missionaires qui Estoient du nombre
dess soixante susdits françois, Laquelle Concession
est en 1655.

En 1666 grous rapprimes les François d'Agnié qui Estoient
Reuenus tous nous françois jusques dans leurs Habitations
Le Roy Enuoya Monsieur de Tracy Auec armée
Armée alla jusques dans leur pays dont ils se rendirent
maistres et y planta leurs armes du Roy prenant par
ce moyen Une nouuelle possession de la terre Dite
François Sainte Catherine appartenant dess anglois qui Estoient
grous lorde de Orange et Manatte, Et ce qui donne
grand poid a tout cecy c'est quand elle prise de possession
de la terre d'Agnié faite par Ledit Sieur de Tracy
Leurs armées a la main en Automne de l'année 1666;
Le printemps de l'an en 1667 Leurs deputtez des autres
quatre nations françois Vinrent trouuer Ledit Sieur de
Tracy en Quebec, Et la en Deue forme par eux a Signé
Et fait en Traitté du costé dite françois a leur façon, et
nous a la mesme fin de Donner aux françois, et
mesme leur paye et Soubz la Domination du Roy,
Leurs originaux ont Esté portez et approuuez en
France a la Sollicitation de Monsieur Talon Pour
Leur Entendant

Depuis ces temps la nos françois ont toujours de
Entretenu Commerce auec les françois, allant chez Eux
Tantost en barque, Tantost en Canot, et eux reuenant
chez nous a Catarakouy, et a Niagara ou le Sieur
de la Salle et ses gens ont Eu un magazin et le

Comme ce a continué, ce nore françois estoient toussjour en
paisible possession de terre de françois y allant et
venant, et jeusieurs y demeurant auec leur missionaire
jusques a ce que le Colonel Dongay gouverneur de la
nouuelle yorK nest aduisé en 1684. denuoyer dans les
bourgades françoises y planter leur armes du Roy
dangleterre, et en prendre possession, a laquelle cette
prise de possession estant de tant dannées posterieure
a celle des françois, ne peut pas donner aucun droit
aux Anglois sur ces terres qui appartenoient desja aux
françois par tant de tiltres anterieurs, comme on
a veu cy dessus, et par tant de droittz legitimes
et incontestables,

Car pour ce que dit ledit sieur Colonel Dongay, que le
pays des françois appartient a son gouvernement parce
quil est au sud de sa domination, on luy respond en
premier lieu quil nest pas au sud, mais bien a loüest
nordoüest de Manathe,

2° Que quand il seroit au sud cela ne peut pas deroger
aux droittz des françois qui en auoient prise possession
auant mesme que les Hollandois et les Anglois ayent
jamais mis le pied a Manathe, ou que depuis quils
y soient estez, sinon depuis quils ont commencé
ou quand ce ne seroit que depuis aucun droit

Tout ce qui maintenant au pays des outaouäatz, et
au droit que les françois ou les Anglois peuuent y
pretendre il nest pas besoin de rien dire pour montrer
que les françois y ont tout droit, et
que les anglois n'y en ont point aucun,

Car premierement ce pays des outaouäatz aussy
bien que celuy de la baye des puans, des miamis,
des illinois des ouabaches ont esté descouuerts, et
habitez par les françois il y a 40. ans au lieu
que les anglois ne sont venus aux outaouäatz

que de Lacz proposé et nom j amaix, dst aux Susdittz autrez
nationz, Ont doibt adjoustez ce qui a esté dit cy dessus dez
découvertez du sieur de Champlain qui dez Le Lacz 1612. monta
jusques au Lac Hurons et alla a plusiurez autrez nationz
comme cy la remarqué,

2.me de cette année 1633. trois cens nombre de françois estans
montez aux Hurons auez leurz prestre jesuittez missionnairez
cy habituerent, et dix ans apres le c.R Roy y enuoya trois
soldatz qui y residerent en garnison jusques a ce que la ruine
de toutte cette nationz Huronnez causée par les Iroquois obligea
tous les françois de se retirez pour cez temps. Mais Elz
Sont retournez Le peu apres en assez plus grand nombre et
Se Sont espandus dans toutz ces Lacz pays,

3.me Ce qui est plus au Singulier de cette matiere, c'est la prise de
possession de toutz ces pays faite par Monsieur Talon
Intendant de la nouuelle france en 1671. enuoya Le
sieur de Saint Lusson son Subdelegué dans Le pays des
outaouatez qui fit assemblez a Sainte Marie du sault les
deputez Le de toutes les nationz qui Sont a plus de cent lieuez
a la ronde, Elles cy rendirent Le 4.e Juin de la mesme
année pour Leurs Ambassadeurz au nombre de 14. nationz
et cez leur presence et de quantité de françois y planta cz
poteau, y attacha les armes du c.Roy, et declara a toutz
ces peuplez que les Lez auoit conquez Et pour les auoir Sous
La protection du c.Roy, et cz, on nom prendre possession
de toutes Leurz terrez, pour nez faire plus que nous de
la nostre et de la leur, ce que toutz ces peuplez accepterent
bien volontiez, La Commission du sieur Subdelegué portoit
ces propres termes, ce Sauoir que il estoit enuoyé pour
prendre possession des terrez qui se trouuent entre l'est et
l'ouest depuis Nouural jusques a la mer du Sud autant
en long quant qu'il se pouuoit, Cette prise de possession
s'est faite auez toutes les formalitez ainsy que il se
peut voir cy la relation de 1671. et plus expressement
dans Les actes de prise de possession dressez Et par cedit
sieur Subdelegué,

L'année 1672 la riuiere de Mississipi
et en mesme temps les Illinois Chaouanons et autres
peuples inconnus aux Europeans furent découuerts par
le Sieur Jollet auec le P. Marquette jesuitte, qui furent
jusques au trente deux degrés, et y plantèrent les armes
du Roy, prenans en leur nom possession de ces peuples
nouuellement découuerts,

Et quelques années après le Sieur de la Salle
poussa plus loing la mesme descouuerte jusques a la mer
prenant par tout possession par les armes du Roy
qu'il y a mis,

Tout ce qui est dessus monstre assez le droit qu'ont eu
ces françois non seulement de trafiquer dans ces pays, et sur ceux
des autochtones et tous les autres peuples et dessus
mentionnez,

Fait à Quebec au mois d'octobre de l'année 1687.

Mémoire de quelques choses que le Sieur
de Frontenac a ordre de dire de la part de Sa Majesté
au Roy d'Angleterre touchant les affaires
de l'Amérique.

Pour M. de Denonville gouverneur du Canada

Escrit au mois d'octobre 1687

Goods or Commodities imported or Exported together with the names of the Shipps @ acc[t] of their Burthen, Gunns, and men and names of the masters @ whether bound and Generally you are to keep a constant correspondence with our said Surveyor @ Auditor Generall touching our Revenue there @ to send unto him by all opportunities all such Informations as shall occur to you relating thereunto

Lastly and in regard it may happen that there may be some things which cannot be so well foreseen here, as observed by our Governor there, when you shall be upon the place, you are therefore to observe and follow such further Rules @ Directions as you shall from time to time receive from him for the managing collecting & accompting of @ for Our Said Revenue, provided the same be not contrary to the orders @ Directions given unto you or to be given by us or the Commissioners of our Treâry or High Treâr for the time being. Given at our Court at Whitehall this 13th day of December 1687 In the third year of our Reign

By his Maty[s] Command

SUNDERLAND P

Warrant authorizing Governor Dongan to protect the Five Nations.

[New-York Entry, II. 168.]

Trusty @ well beloved wee greet you well. Wee have been made acquainted by our Letter to our right Trusty @ right well beloved cousin @ Councilor Robert Earle of Sunderland President of our council and our Principal Secretary of State dated the 8th day of Sept[r] last past, and by our Papers transmitted by you with the late attempt that has been made by the French upon the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, who from all times have submitted themselves to our Government and by their acknowledgements of our Sovereignty are become our Subjects as also with the injurious proceedings of the French in surprising and detaining in Canada, divers of our subjects, as well Indians, as others, Wee do therefore think fitt that upon receipt hereof you forthwith demand from the Governor of Canada, the setting at liberty our said Subjects as well Indians as others surprised by them in the lawfull prosecution of their Trade together with the restitucón of their Goods, and effects: And as wee are sensible of what great prejudice it may be to us, and our Subjects, if any Incroachment be allowed on our Dominions or the French permitted to invade our Territories or to annoy our subjects without a due care in us to preserve the Peace of our Government, and to give all due protection to such as have brought themselves under our Subjection: Wee do therefore hereby charge @ require you, to give notice at the same time to the said Governor of Canada, that upon mature consideration we have thought fitt to own the five nations or Cantons of Indians, viz[t] The Maquaes, Senecas, Cayouges, Oneydes, and Onondagues, as our Subjects, and resolve to protect them as such, so as nevertheless upon Information of any Injury offered, or which shall be offered or done by them to any of the subjects of our good brother the most Christian King, to cause as we do hereby direct you, to cause entire satisfaction to be made for y[e] same, and the Indians with held from disturbing the French in any manner whatsoever Provided they do abstain on their parts from making Warr upon these Indians our Subjects or doing them any

injury. And in case the People of Canada shall notwithstanding this Declaration persevere in invading our Dominions and annoying those Indians you are with the utmost of your power to defend and protect them, and if need shall require to levy, Arm, and employ all persons residing within your Governm^{t} in the resisting @ withstanding the Invasion or attempts of the French, and them if there shall be occasion to pursue in, or, out of the limits of your said Governm^{t} and to do and execute all and every other thing which you shall find necessary for the protecting our subjects and preserving our Rights in these Parts, and for the better performance thereof, We do hereby give you full power @ authority to erect and build such Forts Castles @ Platforms and in such Place or Places as to you shall seem requisite for this service. and in Case it shall happen that upon this occasion the Ayde or Assistance of our neighbouring Colonies may be usefull, you are to give notice thereof to our Sev^{ll} Governors @ Proprietors in any of our Plantacôns upon the coutinent of America, to whom we have already sent orders to afford you such help as the Exigency shall require: And for so doing this shall be your Warrant Given at our Court at Whitehall the 10th day of November 1687 in the third year of our Reign

By his Mat^{y} command

Correspondence with the Governors and officers of the said King in those parts, and take care that no just Complaint be brought unto us against you in that behalf.

And so wee bid you farewell, From our Court at Whitehall this 22d day of January, 1687, in the third year of Our Reign.

By his Ma[j]ty Command,
SUNDERLAND, Pd.

"To our Trusty and well beloved William Penn, Esqre,
"Proprietor of our Province of Pensilvania in America."

Letter Gov. Thomas Dongan, N. Y. 1688.

Gentlemen:

The French having in May last [invaded] ye five Nations of Indians that live in this Govt, the King has graciously pleased to Receive them ffor his Subjects, and sent orders to me to protect them as such, ye Copy of wch ordr I herewith send you.

The last summer I rased 500 foot, fifty riflemen, 800 Indians, wch is a vast Charge, and this Govenment in no wise able to bear it, therefore, I Desire yt you will consider how necessary it is ffor the King's service and yr own security as of this province, & that [you] will help us wth some money ffor the Discharge of the Great Expence wee are at: The same I Desire of Virgenia, Maryland and East and West Jersey. The Government of Boston being to [help] vs with Six hundred men any other assistance cannot be proposed ffrom them.

Wee have been at more than ten thousand pounds Expence already.

I Desire ye ffavour of you, that whatever you [do] in this affair may be done with all possible despatch: if ever you have occasion, you shall have the same assistance ffrom hence.

What I Desire of you is by the opinion and advice of the Councill of this Province.

I am, Gentlmen
Yor most humble Servt,
THOS. DONGAN.

New York, March 30th, 1688.

James R:

Trusty & well beloved, wee greet you well; We have been made acquainted by yor Lettr to our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cousin & Counsillor, Robt Earle of Sunderland, Presidt of our Councill and our Principal Secretary of [State, dated on] ye 8th day of September last past, and by other papers transmitted by you, with the late attempt that has been made by ye French upon ye ffive Nations or Cantons of Indians, who ffrom all times have submitted hemselves to our Governmt, and by their acknowledgements of our

Sovereignty, are become our subjects as [well as] with ye Injurious proceedings of ye ffrench in seizing and Detaining in Canada Divers of our Subjects as well Indians as others, Wee doe desire

ffrst. That upon ye receipt hereoff you forthwith demand from ye Gove^{r} of Canada [the] setting at Liberty our said Subjects, as well Indians as others, surprised by them in the Lawfull prosecution of their trade, together with the Restitution of their Goods & Effects: And as wee are Sensible of what great prejudice it may be to us and our subjects, if any Encroachm^{t} be allowed upon our Dominions, or the ffrench permitted to [invade] the Territories of s^{d} antient Subjects without due care in vs to preserve the peace of our Govm^{t} and to give all due protection to such as have brought themselves under our subjection, We doe therefore hereby Charge & Require you to give Notice at ye same time to ye s^{d} Govr of Canada that upon mature Consideration wee have thought ffitt to own ye said Nations or Cantons of Indians, viz: of Maquas, Senecas, Oneydas and Onandagos, as our subjects: Nevertheless, upon any information of any Injury offered, or wch shall be offered by them to any of ye Subjects of our Good Prince, the most Christian King, to cause, as we doe hereby Direct you, to cause entire satisfaction to be made ffor the same, and ye Indians with held from Desturbing ye ffrench in any manner whatsoever, Provided they doe abstain on their part from making war upon those Indians our subjects, or doing any injury: and in case ye people of Canada shall, notwithstanding this Declaration Persevere in Inwading our Dominions and annoy those Indians, you are with ye utmost of y^{r} Power to Defend and Protect them, and if need shall Require, collect [the] armey and Imploy all persons Residing in y^{r} Governm^{t} Y^{t} Resisting and withstanding the Incursions or attempt of ye ffrench; and if there shall be occasion to persue in or out of the limitts of the said Government, doe and Execute all and Every other thing wch you ffind necessary ffor ye Protecting our Subjects, preserving our Rights in those parts.

And ffor ye better performance thereoff, wee hereby Give our ffull Power and Authority to Erect and Build such fforts Castles, Platfforms, in such place or places as to you shall seem requisite ffor this service.

And in case it shall happen, you shall think the aid & assistance of our neighbouring Collonies may be usefull, you are to give notice thereoff to our Seaverall Goven^{rs} & Proprietors in any of our Plantations upon the Continent of America, where wee have already sent orders to afford such help as ye Exigency shall Require, and ffor so doing this shall be yor warr^{t}. Given at our [court] at Whitehall ye tenth day of November, 1687, And third year of our Reign.

By his Maj^{tys} Com^{d},
SUNDERLAND.

[The foregoing document is very much mutilated by time.]

Col.Mss. 35:186-207 L

35:1876

His Majesty's Comm[issione]rs appointed & sent
with the Commissioners & the most Christian King
for the Execution of the Treaty of Peace in America
have proceeded His Majesty's Comm[issione]rs have
represented that having maturely considered his own
Right and the Right of his Crowne to the Bay
and Straights of Hudsons Bay and the Islands
adjacent & considering the Losses & Damages
sustained by the English Nation in the Trade of
Furrs by the Incroachments of the French upon
the Territories & Limits of the Hudsons Bay
Company & Hudsons Bay His Majesty upon the
whole matter conceives the said Company could not
in Honour and Justice recede from the Demands
made upon His own Right and the Right of His Crowne
to the whole Bay and Straights of Hudsons Bay
and Islands thereof as also upon the Reparation of
full Satisfaction for the Damages they have received
and restitution of the Forts taken by the
French.

His Majesty having likewise considered the
Memorial presented on the 9th of March last by the
Agents of the Hudsons Bay Company & that
Memorial referred to the Lords Commissioners for
Trade & Forreign Affairs & the Report made thereupon
& that they have considered the Memorial
and Petition of the Governor & Company of Adventurers
of England trading into Hudsons Bay
& do very much approve of the Reasons & Arguments
therein alledged & insisted upon & that the Right
of Sovereignty

or Cantons of the Indians viz. the Magnaes, Sinecas
Cayugues, Onondos and Jeondaques are His Matys
subjects as appears by their submissions and achnow-
ledgments made by them from the first Settlement
of these Parts, and now lately by their voluntary
submission made & confirmed as them in relation to
the Town & Fortress of Albany on the 8th & 9th days
His Matys Governor of Virginia and the
& consideration moved His Majesty
to protect & support those Indians in the
manner as others His Subjects have received from
previous accounts from New-York that the said Indians
were first treated with by the French and that means
was secretly used to withdraw the Indians from
their allegiance that there was all imaginable diligence
to prevent it. but that His Majesty is nevertheless
so far from giving them any countenance or
Encouragement to make war upon any the Governm
and the most Christian King maintains with
that as soon as it shall be made appear to His
Majesty or His Governor of New-York that any
have violated the Peace, His Majesty will
take effectual & due Satisfaction for same, and
[illegible] it hath been & now is
Governors Endeavour in whatever manner to
restrain private Parties from any
Hostilities against the Indians, so
is strictly to be observed, and all
all Persons Guilty shall be sent to Albany for the
punishment directed by Act of Parliament. Provided
that all Indians employed in the Service
of His Majesty or His Governor of New-York
may not be stopped in their
passage by the Governor of Albany
Governor of Canada
prisoners in their hands.

35:188(1)

Trans Laet

Syn Majesteyt hebbende geconsidereert
dat Memorial van d' Franse Commissarissen
Wegens d' Iroquois of Sinnekes, waerin
daer Clachte gemaeckt wort datt Collonel
Dongan gouverneur van N: Yorke en d' Inwoon
ders van dien Colony, haer mett
ammunitie hebben gefourneert & haer inge=
biest omte oorlogen tegens de Franse, heeft
gecondeert dat dit antwoort sall gegeven worde

Dat zyn Majesteyt seer Swondert is over
Clachte, in soo verr dat het well Bekent is
dat d' Vyve nacies of Cantons van Wilde be=
weste d' Maquas Sinnecas, Cayouges, onlyde
& onmiddagh zyn Majesteyt onderdanen zyn
als Blyckt by haer onderwerpinge & Erkentenisse
van onderdanigheyt gemaeckt vand' eerste In=
stantie bant Recht deser Plaetse & na om=
Langs by haer Vrywilligh Submissie & onder=
werpinge in geschrifte gemaeckt aen de Croon van
Engelant op de 30 van July 1684. voor zyne
Majesteyts Gouverneurs van Virginia &

N Yorke

N: Yorke,

In Conſideratie waeroff zyn Majesteyt sich Gobligeert om dit wilde te Bethermen & ondthouden in de selve manniere als andere zyn onderdaenen, hebbende Gewerring van zyn Gouvr. Joan N. Yorke dat dit voorsz wilde zyn eerst aengerant waer Franse, & dat er geen middle alhoos van hem was gemoveert mit dit wilde te doen oorloge op de Franse, maer tot Contrarie dat hy alle middle had aengewent om sulkes te weeren & voort Comen,

Maer dat zyn Majesteyt is niettemin so vele van haer te maintineren off Bermitt te geven om te oorlogen off om de Franse te Beschadigen, datt de alder Christelyckste Coningh magh Gebeuren zyn dat so dra als hett Bewesen sall worden aen zyn Majesteyt off zyn gouverneur van N: Yorke waerinne zye de Franse Jongstyckt hebben zyn majesteyt will sigh Draegen datt alle Behoorlycke Satisfactie gedaen sall worden & dit wilde wederhouden worden van eenigke Voorse schaede te doen aende Franse, op geenige maniere, Altyt met desen Gestande datt zy aen haer Kant onthouden van eenigh oorlogh te maken op dit wilde off haer eenigh quaet te doen,

En zyn Majesteyt alsoe ander Kant kan anders niet Gewagten maer datt alle nodige orders gegeven sall worden aen

Canada

Lanide om Schepe van zyn Majesteyts in=
dwaeren so wilde als andere Vry te Lande
die ons Rompelt waren Vand Crantz ende
Prosecutie van Hals wettigen Vand Clim
V. alda gevangens gedaen ende gevoert

His Majty's Commissioners Report
about y^e^ Magnetick.

Deed from Johannes Clute to Marten Cregier for land at Canastagione in exchange for another parcel of land

[342][1] To all Christian People to whom this Present writeing shall come John Clute heir to Capt. John Clute Deceased of Canastagione in ye County of Albany Yeoman Sendeth Greeting, Know yee that for and in Consideration of anoyr. Parcell of Land Transported to him ye Said John Clute by Marte Cregier of ye Same Place Yeoman as by ye Conveyance upon Record more att Large doth appear ye Receit whereof he doth hereby acknowledge & thereof and of Every Part and Parcel thereof doe Cleerly and freely acquitt Exonerate and Discharge ye Sd. Marte Cregier his heirs Executors administrators and assigns and Every of them for Ever by these presents, he the said John Clute hath graunted, Bartered, Exchanged, Released, Enffoeffed, and Confirmed and by these Presents doe graunt, Bargain, Barter, Exchange, Release, Enffoeffe, and Confirm, unto ye Sd. Marten Cregier all ye land that formerly Belonged to Dirk van Schelluyne Sometime Secry. of Albany Scituate Lyeing and being at Canastagione in this County on this side of the River haveing the land of ye Sd. Marte Cregier at the one Side and ye kill or Creek which is commonly called Schelluynes kill on ye other Side Streeching as farr as where ye Sd. kill or Creek Comes into the Maquaese River Includeing the Six morgan or Twelve acres Confirmed to his uncle Capt. John Clute by the late Governr. Francis Lovelace dated ye 15th. day of May 1672 Together with all and Singular ye Profits Commodities and appertenances whatsoever to ye Peece or Parcel of Land and Premises or any Part or Parcel thereof Belonging or in any wise appertaining or to or with ye Same now or att any time heretofore Belonging or used occupyed or Enjoyed as Part Parcel or member thereof and all Deeds Evidences and writteings touching and Concerning ye Premises only TO HAVE AND TO HOLD ye said Peece or Parcel of Land and all & Singular other the premises with there and Every of there appertenances unto ye Sd. Marte Cregier his heirs and assigns to the Sole and only Proper use Benefite and Behooffe of the said Marte Cregier his heirs and assigns for Ever and the said John Clute doth by these presents Covenant promise and Engage ye Said Peece or Parcel of Land and Premises so as it was Given by the Maquaes Indians & Confirmed to ye Said Dirk van Schelluyne by Patent with there and Every of there apper-

[1] An imperfect copy of the first part of this deed appears on p. 340.

tenances and Every part and Parcel thereof unto ye Said Marte Cregier his heirs Executors adrs. and assigns in his and there quiet and Peaceable Possession for Ever by or from any oyr. graunt or Conveyance whatsoever made or to be made by the said John Clute or his heirs and assigns In wittnesse whereof ye Said John Clute hath hereunto Sett his hand Seale in Albany ye 15th. day of Decemb 1687 in ye 3d. year of his Majes. Reign

Was Signed
JOHN CLUTE (L:S)

Signed Sealed & Deliverd
in ye prsence of
Hend: Cuyler Justice of ye peace
Robt. Livingston Cl.

1687.
Dec. 21. Virginia. **1,574.** Governor Lord Howard of Effingham to the Earl of Sunderland. I wrote from New York of the serious consequences that might ensue should the French succeed in transferring the Senecas from the Government of New York to that of Canada, and that I was confident that the Council here would represent the matter to the King. I now enclose the statement of their views. I take this opportunity to crowd in a petition of my own that I may come home this spring come twelvemonth on a year's leave. I dare not own that anything of my private concerns, the disposal of my children, and the settlement of my affairs, has a share in this petition, for these must give way to the King's service, but my private affairs do much require my further care. If leave be granted, I beg instructions as to the settlement of the Government here. I should prefer to see it vested in the Council, with the senior Councillor to preside, rather than in any specially commissionated Deputy Governor. *Signed*, Effingham. *Holograph.* 2 *pp. Endorsed.* Recd. 19 March. Read 10 April 1687-8. *Annexed,*

1,574. I. Extract from minutes of Council of Virginia, Oct. 21, 1687. The Governor acquainted the Council that he had used his visit to New York to endeavour to recover the prisoners carried off from Virginia by the Seneca Indians, and had renewed the former treaty with the Senecas, much to the honour and satisfaction of the English. The Council ventured to represent to the King that nothing can be more vital to the future prosperity of Virginia than the preservation of this peace with the Senecas. This can only be attained by the maintenance of those Indians under the influence and protection of the Government of New York. If the French succeed in reducing them by force under the Government of Canada, the consequences will be most serious to Virginia. *Signed*, Nicho. Spencer. 3 *pp.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXI., Nos.* 90, 90I., *and (without enclosures), Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXXIII., pp.* 195-198.]

the attic is filled up with snowshoes for the trip, to be used as soon as the weather permits. The names of the Christian Indians who reported this are Adirochronge and Rooskondawe.

Therefore I ask you to send over the number of Indians that I have advised you of before so as to be ready to collaborate with our people when the need arises.

You can hear from what the Indians say that if the French will do anything, it will be near this place, for they are very angry with us. Thus it will be very necessary that the brethren of the five nations send two or three hundred men here, having brought but few people now, until the spring, when I hope that more will be brought and will make a fortress on the Lake. If the enemy comes in your land as they did last year, I will be ready to come and work with you.

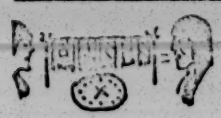
Brother Aquirachronge, the Governor of Canada has given you a cane[1] which, as I understand, has no face. Therefore I have sent you one which is not blind. I ask that you and all the five nations look through it and spy on the French and their Indians. I had forgotten that the Governor of Canada said that if the Senecas do not listen to him, he will kill them all. I assure you that if he could do that, he would not tell you so. When he does not kill you in his country, he will not do it in your country, or else he has to kill all of us too, together with the brethren, and he can not do that unless he takes us while sleeping.

Tho. Dongan

Symon Groot[2] Inhabitant of Skinnechtady in ye County of alby aged about 62 years born in a Village in north holland Called kellinwow Declares yt. he came into this Countrey in ye year 1638 being a boy & was in ye Service of ye west India Company when

[1] *Rotting.*

[2] According to the Duane Report, 1780, the Livingston Indian Papers contained drafts of three depositions—those of Groot and Labate which are given here, and another signed by Petrus Vinne and Barent Pulinds which is missing. They were prepared for the Governor and Council in order to prove the English claim of sovereignty over the Iroquois. *Cal. N. Y. Col. MSS.* 2: 171.



Deganawidah then recited all the laws of the Confederacy, recording each with a string of wampum. Hiawatha confirmed all that Deganawidah had said.

he came to n york wm kievet was governr & at albany Bastiaen Croll by whom ye Dept. lived 7 years in ye old fort (he being ye Commys or Commandr of ye west India Company) ye Sd. Croll had a great Trade wth ye. Sinnekes & ye oyr. Indians to ye westward, for in one year ye Deponent hath help to Trade & Pack up 37 thousand Bever yt were Sent to ye west India Company & ye [(*blot*)] ye Indians westward were always under ye Protection of this Place & brought Presents yearly & Renewed there Covenant chain in ye fort, and about 40 years agoe ye. Maquase being jealous ye french would make [war] upon them because ye Maquase were in warr wth ye french Indians Called Cahennajages for ye french would always assist those Indians, ye Deponent & anoyr called Solder Pieterse were upon ye Maquase Request Sent to ye Maquase Countrey wth horses to Ride Timber to make there Castle Strong against any attaque of ye french, & were att work 14 days, but then there were no Priests among ye Indians for this was ye 2 warr yt ye french & Maquase had, ye 3d. warr was in ye year 1666 when ye french came as far as Shinnechteady 20 mile from alby in Persute of ye Indians in ye midle of ye winter, & in ye Summer after into ye Countrey burnt there Castles Destroyd there Corn. Then a Peace was Concluded & hostages to be given on both Sides ye Jesuits were Sent to ye Indians, & Indians Sent some of there People to be hostages at Canida to Secure ye Peace fast & firm,

The Deponent Says further yt they have Endangerd them Selfs often in a warr wth ye Indians about Releaseing ye french Prisoners & Stealing them away in ye verry first warr about 40 year agoe there was a french Priest Stole from ye Indians about ye month of august who was wounded & kept in ye Commandrs house up in ye uppermost gart till march yt ye Sloops went doune to N yorke ye Deponent brought him Victualls 3 day all ye while ye french were Cruelly used by ye Indians then & ye Indians being askd why they torturd them they Sd they had learnd it of ye french.

This Deposition was taken before
me at albany ye 2d day of July 1688

Jean Labate born in Lorain in a village near Verdun called Bissonveau aged 74 years Declares yt in ye year 1637 he was brought in this Country by ye Renselaers, & brought up to ys Place then

calld fort orange, but ye land Round about it was called ye Collony of Renselaerswyck—ye fort was then Erected by ye west India Company a Purpose for a Tradeing house wth ye Indians, for they had ye Sole Indian Trade all oyr Persons yt came out in ye Service of ye Renselaers being obligd to Swear that they were not to Trade wth ye Indians, Says further yt ye 5 nations Called Maquase oneydes onnondages, Cayouges, & Sinnekes, allways traded wth the west india Company & were in amity with them & yt diverse of Indians wth Straws throu there noses came & traded likewise. When ye Deponent came first to n: yorke ye govrs name was Wouter van Twiller But there was anoyr govr before him who was Called Peter Minnuit, & ye Commander of ye fort was called Marte gerritse, & ye Director of Renselaers Collony was Called Jacob Plank.

Says yt in ye year 1638 when Willem Kievet was govr of Manhatanes or n: yorke he went frequently to ye Sinnekes Countrey as far as Jagaro being Sent by ye west Indian Compy & putt up ye Companys mark upon 3 great blak oak trees on both Sides of ye River at Jagaro[1] and there being then a warr between ye french & our Indians was Sent by ye then governr. to Release diverse Poor french Prisoners among which there were 5 Priests wh they [bought] of ye Indians wth money one of wh was called Pere Prisalie the names of ye Rest he forgot & some they Stole from ye Indians in great danger of there lives, & being affraid to Return to Canida they were Sent in ye Companies Ships to holland & So to france; The french had warr then wth all ye 5 nations, and Afterwards a Peace being Concluded, There arose a Difference between ye Maquase & ye french inso much yt ye Govr of Canida called monsr Tressi Came in Person in ye Deep of winter in ye year 1666 to Shinnectady a village 20 mile into or Countrey wth 500 men, in Pursuite of ye Indians but ye Indians being upon there guard ye french were forced to Retreat & lost most of his men before he gott home as we were Informed but ye Summer fol-

[1] It has been stated that the first formal treaty between any of the Iroquois and the Europeans occurred about 1643. McIlwain, liii. This, if a valid recollection, would seem to place such an event as early as 1638.

When the scouts who sought the smoke of Adodarho's fire returned to the Mohawk Council,

lowing ye govr of Canada Called mr Costell when ye Maquase were out a hunting came wth 6 or 700 men into ye Maquase Countrey & Burnt there Castles & Destroyd ther Indian Corn, upon which ye Maquase came home & Pursued ye french as farr as Canida, but could not finde them, & So came home & Rebuilt there Castles where they are now to this day. long after ye french made a Peece wth ye Maquase & then & never before ye Priests came into there Castles Butt ye Indians would not Receive them till ye first English govr. yt came to n: yorke gave them leave.

att ye Same Time govr. nicolls was a Raiseing of men to assist ye Maquase & Sent up as far as ye Sinnekes Countrey & Jagaro to Put up ye king of Englands Coate of armes, in al those Places.

In ye year 1667 ye ottowawaes Dionendadees & Twichtwicks came & gave Presents to govr. nicolls Desyreing that ye 5 nations may open a Path for them to come & Trade wth ye English; which they did & diverse have been here from time to time of those farr nations of Indians.

He Declares yt he & one Brier Cornelise who had an Indian Squae to his wife were Sent by Cornel Nicols in ye Spring 1665 to take Possession off ye Sinnekes Countrey onjagaro & ye Rest of those nations as they were Deliverd to ye English by ye Dutch govr Petrus Stuyvesant

This Deposition was taken before me at Albany ye 2d day of July 1688.

Actum in Albany[1]

His Excellency Thomas Dongan Capt Gen.ll & Gov.r
in Chiefe ..... Dr

To Sundry disbursments made by Peter Schuyler Esq.r Mayor
By ord.r of his Excellency for Sundry Gifts and Presents
Made to y.e Indians and Relief of Christian Prisoners

Nov.r 2	To the Indian Prisoners that Came from Canada		
	3 Guns at 50 p.r p.r	£2:14:0	
	3 p.s Tobacco	0:04:3	
	12 Lead	00:05:0	03.03.3
	To the maquase a Scalth Skin for Shoes & y.e Short Lowes		00.05.0
	To the mahikanders 6 Coat duffells 3 y.ds p.r	£2:16:0	
	6 Shirts	1:05:0	03.11.0
	To y.e maquas & North Indians 30 Lead	5	00.15.0
	To a Scatskill Indian for keeping up y.e Scatskill Indians a Hunt		00.03.6
	To an oneyde & his Boy that Came with a Lett.r from Onnondage & Gaines of Duffells two Shirts & 1 Hatt		01.06.1
	To Cattelaso for his Journey with the Wascoes to Canada two Shirts 2 y.ds & y.e Fathom Duffells		02.04.1
	To y.e Dopus & Catskill Indians 40 Lead 5		00.16.0
	To y.e Seneecoos Indians 2 Tobacco		00.00.10
	To Mechwans y.e North Indian one Shirt		00.03.6
	To Sattepa & Sopus Indians 2 Fath.m Duffells		00.18.03
	To y.e Mannattans Indians 6 Tobacco 12 Lead		00.00.2
	To a North Indian that has Been att N. York 2 Shirts		00.02.-
12.	To 2 North Indian that has Been at Albanoch y.e Latter Dayes		00.03.1/3
	To the Mannattans Indians when they went to New York 5 Bears Lead		00.04.2
	To a Cayouge Indian 1 Tobacco		00.00.5
	To a Blanket for Saheadans a Maquas Sachim Being one of y.e Blanketts Clad of Robert Livingston		
	To Jelem one Shirt and a Little Coat of a Yard Duffells	1	00.08.2
	To the Indian that Came with Dirk Wessells from Canada That Hath Been Prisoner there five Coats Duffells 10	42	
	Sundachsegie of ad Duffells	02	
	To one of y.e oneyder that was prisoner at Canada	03	
	To the Indians that Brought News of y.e Ottawawa Indians Coming Down	02	
		57 y.ds	
	att y.e C. & Ysted		03.19.4
			19.09.11

Item the other Do. . . . . £ 19-10.

N.B. the above 17 Yds is part of the Goods which Lieutenant Stone had of Abraham De Peyster the Rest 28 Yds was sent Mr. . . . . .

To the North Indians 2 Shirts for Helping Dirk Wessells to Lake . . . 07.
To a Sinnikes Indian that Brought a Lett.r from Arnout ad Duffs . . . 9.
To Corlaers Daughter 2 Shirts & a fathom Duffels . . . . . 16.
To the Six Nations of Indians when the Propositions . . . .

390 Lbs Diffels @ 4: 6	£	44: 06: 08
95 Shirts @ 3. 6		16: 12: 6
12 Gall. of Rum 6 Galls 4: allowed 13		
Being delivd by Robt Livingston @ 8/		03: 10:
3 Gross Pipes		00: 15:

To the Sachems after the Propositions in Private Gifts 13 fathom Duffels 26 Yards @ 4: 8 . . . 06: 01: 04

£ 71: 05: 6

Fourteen Rolls Tobacco 14: 2 lb: @ 6 . . .
Before the Propositions . . . . . 04: 07: 6 £ 76. 12

To a Maquase that brought 4 News that a Troop that was Lately Gone out was come Back again Shirt 3. 6
To an Onondagez that Brought 4 news that there were 400 French upon the River and Shirt 6. 0
To a shirt to an Onondagez 3. 6
To a Onyde a Shirt 4 Lead & 3 Tobacco 6. 9
To 4 French Prisoners 4 Yds Duffels for Coats @ 4: 8 . . . . . 02. 10. 2
To a River Indian that was with Dirk Wessells to Canada Blanket that I had of Robt Livingston 3 fath: Duffels . . . . . 01. 08.
To D.o two Shirts . . . . . 07.
To a Sachook Indian that Brought a French Girl Prisoner 2 fathom Duffels & 2 Shirts 01. 05. 6
To 10 Yds duffels for Coats for the French Prisoners @ 4: 8 . . . 02. 07. 10
To Cah. Peter Hoskins one Coat of Broadwaters 07. 06
To 4 French Prisoners 16 pair of Indian Shoes . . . . . 01 10.
To 4 Taylor for Sowing of 4 pr Breeches a Gorsne & Petticoat and 4 Indian Coats 02. 06
To the French Prisoners 10 Shirts & 4 pr Stockins . . . . . 02. 07.
To 2 Indians that are now Gone with Dirk Wessells to Canada 2 fath: Duffels & 2 Shirts 01. 05. 00
To Indian Captain a Blanket w.ch I had of Rt Livingstone . . . . .

£ 113 18: 4

	£	s	d
Brought from the other Side	62	7	6½
Dirk Jan Dec Heyde for himself & Witness a Journey to York Express & himself on Canoe to Albany alone with Mr Wells to N. York	05	02	—
To John Collin Ferryman for Ferrying over the Soldiers of Capt Jacksons Company the Troops &c as p Acct	08	06	—
To Arnout Van Schaick for Sugar &c for the Prison	03	09	—
To Anthony Lespinard for Coaches in Sundry Times for the Indians and for ye use of his Canoe Priced to Canada	02	16	11
To John Gow for his Journey to Schonectady by Night	—	06	—
To Peter Lockerman for ye use of his Canoe Twenty Seven Days to the Lake over with Provisions	01	—	03
To Hendrick Lansingh for ye use of his Waggon four Days to Schonectady as p his Acct	08	04	—
To Symon Schermerhoord & Claas Ryckt for their Going Express in a Boat Canoe to N. York with Mr Majr Hagregory Last fall with Letrs from the Govr of Canada	03	—	—
To Stephanus Van Schaick for his Journey to Onondago his Journey to Sundelsoh & Canajoharie in ordering ye first Road to said Place	20	—	—
To Abraham Schuyler for his Journey to Onondagoe with ye Majr and Alderman Van Schaick	07	10	—
To Abraham Schuyler Gerrit Luyckass & Frans Winne who were sent Express to N. York ye 10th of June 1690 Each 8 p Acct	04	10	—
To Gerrit Collier for freight of Indians and Soldiers from Albany as p Account	17	15	—
To Dirk Iverson for the freight of Prospect & Sloop and his Excellencys Horses &c to New York	10	—	—
To Jochim Staats for the Hire of his Sloop tried to & from Albany with his Excelly & Returned as p Acct	40	—	—
To John Van Loon for Sundrys Delivered as p Mrs & a Horse that Dyed in his Majties Service	13	13	09
To Dr Schuyler for Sundry Disbursments made by Him for the Seven Sloops upon Expedition and for Hire of Sloops for the French Agents as p Bill	24	05	—
	£ 210	04	11½
To Sundry Goods to ye Indians from page 1 & 2	£ 113	10	4½
	£ 332	03	4

His Excellency Thomas Dongan Capt Gen.
And Gov.r in Chief &c. Particulars &c.t Dr.

To Hendrick Lovie Shoemaker for making Shoes for			
the Red Coats as p Acct		03	12 —
To Richard Pitty for 3 Barrs of Double Beer for the			
Lord Howard		—	— —
To Gerrit Lawrence for Speckled Cotton for the Indian Women			
& Scopes for the Holders for the Horses &c. p Acct		02	— —
To Mrs Anna Van Schayck for Linnen		—	05 . 2
To Mrs Margarett Schuyler for Linning expended by the Indian Women		—	03 . 02
To Margarett Van Dam for Washing 206 Pcs		0	— 5
To Mary Crane Widow for riding the Gov.rs Goods		—	02 —
To 6 Hands		—	05 —
To Peter Bram Boy for Sundrys p Account		07	09 —
To John Cox Boy for Things furnished the Indians & Indian			
Tobias Free Negro Lying Sick Charged p Mark		—	04 . 03
To Geertien Coster for the Sciaught of Sundrys p Acct		0	02 . 2
To 2 p.r Blankets		1	1 — —
To 1 Suite Sheets		2	10 —
		£	31 15

97

The Colony of New York To Wm. Dobbs Dr

1754	To one Hundred pound of Gun Powd	05.12.—
	To one Barrel of Powd	03.12.—
	To 112 Barrs of Lead att 2½ p C	03.13.—
	To Genll Lawsings for Expences in Conveying the Ambassadors for Canada	—.15.—
	To Sd Lead for Ditto	02.05.—
	To Flint & Steel	—.07.6
	To one Belt of Wampum	—.10.—
	To an Express from New York to Albany	01.10.—
	To Hire & Voyage to Albany for Sloop Hired wth Passengers	10.—.—
	To freight of 3 Barrs of Bread att Anoth[r] time	—.04.6
		£ 32.11.—

Albany the 2[d] of March 1754

Errors excepted

Wm Dobbs

Canada

Sur l'Etablissement que les Anglois font
a la pointe de la Louisiane et autres endroits
Lesquels viennent d'être démantelés

M 9

On a reçu depuis quelques jours des
lettres de Philadelphia dans la nouvelle
Angle. du 8bre dernier, par les
quelles on apprend que les Deputés
des 6 Nations voisines des Sauvages
ont renouvelé leur Traité de Commerce
et Amitié avec M. Penn Gouverneur
en Chef, et proprietaire de cette
Province, qui leur a fait a chacun
en part.er quelques presents d'armes, &
et au nom des Anglois les a engagé
de luy promettre, que quoiqu'en paix
avec les François leurs voisins, ils les
obligeroient de discontinuer l'etablissem.t
qu'ils ont commencé de faire a la

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

pointe de la Couronne, et de les
menacer que s'ils ne l'abandonent pas
ils rompront la paix avec eux, et en ce
cas les Anglois doivent leur fournir
tout ce qui leur sera necessaire pour
soutenir cette Guerre.

The Mahoing Propositions to Gl: Dongan

Albany 16th 1687 (686)

Resp Subirn 24 XIV 103 (100)

They say y^t they have heard from time to time from his Excellencie, propositions y^t have passed between his Excell & ye Fathr- & for wch they give him thanks as also for ye- syringe his opinion upon ye whole matter- & they further- doe declare y^t as they have formerly by there owne Covnant obliged themselves soe they are ye same still- and united as one heart doe wholy refer themselves to his Excellencie who represents ye person of ye great King of England to doe for ye good of themselfs (as ye Govern^r what he shall think fitt for they cannot trust to ye Govr- of Canada his heart not beinge good,

What they father- to doe to examin whether they are his Majesties Subjects or not, wee have been so time out of mind and always united to his Govern^t, Let ye Govr- goe forward & remove ye french from Onyagra Cataraqui & Tyechsarondia wch is ye place where wee goe a beaver huntinge for it lies ye farr- most within ye french lands wee are allwayes obliged,

what relates to ye 15 months Cessation wee cannot see through it, it is only to blynd us & to take us at a greater advantage, as for payinge ye 200 beavers wee are now in Warr, what wee have promised wee willingly will performe but Lett y^m first restore ye prisoners & goods wch they robbed us of & satisfie for wch wee desire his Excell^y to use his utmost indevors as wee will also forth Removinge y^e forts wee desire y^e beavers & other goods wch were taken from our People at Cattaraqui where wee came from

106

See that what was desired from y^e

Silver huntinge may bee restor'd to ye people are
now in France & at Canada, Concerninge Exchan
=ginge of prisoners they desire it may bee in 40 days
but if ye time is to short they Consider accordi
to ye Excell, of forty Indians ye prisoner here his
friend & relacons doe not desire he should bee at
liberty but bee sent to N. Yorke

people are
ringe ffExchang:
ber in 40 days
ider accon vfit
mr Ferd his
ld re at

Replied

The Lord thanks them for refraining every thing
to him ~

Propositions of Governor Dongan to the Six Nations.

[New-York Papers, B. II. 92.]

8. Febr^{y} 168$\frac{4}{5}$

Bretheren.

The messenger that I sent into England to lett my Master know of the French invadeinge the Sinneks country, uppon which the Kinge has sent mee full orders to protect you and to raise as many men as I shall think necessary for your assistance, and alsoo ordered mee to demand of the Govr of Cannada all your prisoners that the French have taken and the goods they have taken from the Christians and alsoo to deliver to the French what prisoners wee had of thers which is the custome amongst Christians for hee is resolved that the French shall have nothing to doe with your lands or conquests; before that came to mee, the Governour of Canada sent the priest and another Gentleman to treat with mee and several papers have past between us and the contents of them are as follows —

First I demanded of him all the prisoners that are now in Canada and those that are sent into France; and to bee sent back againe, all those goods taken from the Christians and Indians, to break down the fort att Onyagra, and the Christian Indians who are kept in a fort at Canada with guards, may bee at there liberty to come to there country if they please.

1st. They demand satisfaction for the affront done to them as Ambassidors uppon there way hither by the Mahillendras [Mahikanders.]

2nd. They say they tooke your prisoners for fear of discoveringe of the Fench armies march towards the Senneks, and now that they keep them because they are there ennemies.

3rd. They say they look upon you not as the Kinge of England's subjects but as rebells to them by reason they have purchased the land long ago from you.

4th. They pretend they have built the fort at Onyagra to secure their people from your doinge them any harme when they are a tradeinge, but I know it is false it is merely for the trade and to keep possession of your lands, alsoo they desire farther that the difference between us be left to the decision of our two masters at home, and a cessation of armes for 15 months time, to see what our masters doe in the businesse and they desire alsoo the restitution of all their prisoners and they will restore ours, these are the material heads of what they say, the rest are all foolish stories and lyes of you.

Now Bretheren you see how the Kinge of England has adopted you his children, and will protect you, to the purpose he has sent me orders to raise men to assist you, you see on the other syde what the French desire, now I leave it to yourselfs to consider whether you will continue the warr or concent to the cessation of 15 months and the fort of Onyagra to stand or els to continue the warr and I to joyne with you with what power will be necessary — Therefore, consider seriously of this and give me your oppinions that I may take measures accordingly.

Colen.ll Dongan propositions to the Five Nations

(92) 680

24. XI

Propositions,

Propos.ns of 5 Nations of Indians by his Excellencie Tho: Dongan Capt Gen.ll & Gov.r of Albany 20 Feb.r 1687/8

97

The messenger sent into England to tell my Master know of ye French Invadeing my Countrys, upon which King has sent me full orders to protect you & to raise as many men as I shall think necessary for yo assistance & also ordered me to demand of you for Canada all yo prisoners that ye French have taken & ye goods they have taken from ye Christians and also to deliver to ye French what prisoners we had of theirs which is ye Custome amongst Christians for wch I Resolved that ye French shall have nothinge to doe with yo Lands or Conquests before ye arrivall of my Governor of Canada as wt & privat & an other gentleman to treat with me & several papers have past between us & ye Contents of them are as follows,

First Demanded of him all ye prisoners ye are now in Canada & those we are sent into France and wch we sent back againe all those goods taken from ye Christians & Indians to breake down ye fort at Nyagra & ye Christian Indyans we are kept in a fort at Canada with guards may have all their liberty to come to there Country if they please,

first they demand satisfaction for & affront done to them as ambassadors upon their way hither by ye Makkinsas.

99

2. they say they tooke yor prisoners for feare of
discouringe of ye french Nimes march towards y^e
Senicks & now y^t they keepe them because they
are there Enemies.

3 They say they looke uppon you not as ye King of
Englands Subjects but as Rebells to them by reason
they have purchased ye Land longe ago from you

4 They pretend they have built ye fort at Onyagra
to secure their people from ye Indians from
any harme when they are a Trading, but I
know it is false it is meerly for ye Trade & to
keepe possession of ye Land, also they desire
further y^t ye difference betweene us be left to y^e
decision of our Masters at home & a
Cessation of Armes for 15 months time to see
what our Masters doe in ye Business & they will
desire also ye Restitution of all their prisoners &
they will restore ours, these are ye materiall heads
of what they say ye Rest are all foolish Stories
& lyes of you.

Ten Brethren you see how ye King of England has
adopted you his Children and will protect you, to
y^t purpose he has sent me order to Raise men
to assist you, you see only what the
French desire, now I leave it to yor selfs to
consider whether you will continue ye Warr or
consent to ye Cessation of 15 months & ye fort of
Onyagra to Stand or else to Continue ye warr & I
to joyne wth you w^t what power will be necessary

(93) 681

Wherefore Consider Seriously of this & give me yo
Opinions y I may take measures accordingly —

98

100

1687

Mr Ex C: Tho: Dongan

Propos: to ye 6 Nations.

Rec 28 May 88
pr Capt Dongan

[illegible] February 168[illegible]

B. F
P. 42

Answer of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan.

[New-York Papers, B. II. 94]

13th Febr^{y}, 1688.

We Sachims of all the six nations that are come here upon your Excell: commands and doe returne your Excell: our hearty thanks for imparting to us the joyful news contained in His Majes^{tie} most gracious letter, whereby we see that His Maj^{tie} doth resent the acts of the French, and takes us into his Royall protection, you are likewise pleased to communicate to us all the papers that have passed between your Excell: and the French priest now here, referringe the businesse to us to give our opinions as being most concerned; now wee see nothing is hid from us, and tho' we can not say but your Excell: has hitherto dealt always very candidly with us, yet this seems like a new great light appearing which Illuminates us all.

Your Excell: as being our great King's Govr here have a great deal of right of demandinge the forts lately built by the French to be demolished, the goods taken from our people and our prisoners to be restored, for the French can have no title to those places which they possesse, nay not to Cadarachqui and Mount Royall nor none of our lands towards the Ottowawas, Dionondades, Twichtwichs; for by what means can they pretend them, because they came to the Maquase country formerly and now laterly to the Sinnekes country and burnt some bark houses and cut downe our corne—if that be a good title then we can claim all Canida, for we not only did soe, but subdued whole nations of Indians that liv'd there, and demolished there castles in so much, that now great oake trees grow where they were built, and afterwards we plyed the French home in the warr with them, that they were not able to goe over a door to pisse. Wee are the just and rightfull owners of all our lands and these which the French now pretend, which we have long since given and granted to the King of England, and now his Excell: who represent His Maj^{sty} sacred person is the owner of those lands and must not suffer any encroachment upon the great King of England's territories.

Wee doe againe returne your Excell: thanks for referring the consideration of the three art: to us we have maturely deliberate upon them.

The Govr of Canida hath basely begun an unjust warr upon us—'tis true we have had in former times a sort of friendship with the French, but it was held by the left hand, which is now wholly broke by shedding the blood of so many of our people; but the covenant chain with your Excell: has always been kept in our right hand fast and firm, and wee renew the chain that it may be so strong and lasting not to be shaked by any thing whatever—

Tis true wee Onnondages must confesse have had some discourse with the french priest at Cadarachqui which we did with a design to get our prisoners back again, but now since we see that hath not taken effect, we leave off ever thinking to medle with the French any more and referr that businesse wholly to his Excell: to procure these prisoners.—

They repeat the demaunds of haveing the forts demolished, the goods restored, and the prisoners set at liberty, and the praying Indians at Canida without constraint, which we desyre his Excell: may use his utmost endevors to have accomplished in a friendly way—But if the Governour of Canida will not concede and consent to the said articles, then he is the occassion of the continuation of the warr and not wee—We fear him not though he is a great deal more powerfull than wee, but he haveing an unjust cause the Great God that lives in heaven, which the French priest told us was a just and righteous God, he knows our innocence and will punish him and judge of his ill actions—let not any french fort be kept on the lake or above

it, for if you suffer but one, nay Cadarachqui or any of them, we shall be in a manner continually besieged, and deprived of our Bever hunting; you see how perfidious and treacherous the French are, and therefore let them have no footing in any of our lands which are the great King of England's territories.

And to conclude wee leave the whole businesse to your Excell: to manage the same as you shall see convenient, either for peace or war wee will stand to whatever his Excell: our great King's Govr doth, only we desire that you will please to communicate to us what the French agents will doe in the case, and then shall give our answer to what you proposed about our removing hither with our wifes and children to plant corne.

After the propositions were over the Capt^ne of the Onnondages called Canadgegai, told his Excell: that Madam Toulon who was taken at Cadarachqui meeting him upon the street, said shee was glad to see him and invited him to a house to give him bread and comeing in found father Valiant there, who was desyreous to discourse with him; what will you discourse says the Indian, doe you speak first, whereupon the Priest askd how it was with the five nations, and how they were inclined, what says the Capt^ne doe you ask me, how it is with them when you daily converse with his Excell: who is there head, I should rather ask you how affares goe, that hes been so long in agitation with him, to whom he referred all things, and whose commands we only will obey or doe you intend to pump me.

Copia vera.

(Signed) Robt Livingston.

24. XII (682)

99 (91)

Answer of the Six Nations of Indians Viz. Maquase. Sinnekes. Cayouges. oneydes Onnondages and Mahikanders to his Excell: Tho: Dongan Capt. Gen.ll and Gov. in Cheefe of N: yorke and Territories thereon depending after his Excell. had Signifyed to them the Contents of his most Sacred May.ty Letter dated the 10th. of novemb Last, and ye Papers that passed between his Excell: & father Valiant & Mons.r duman agents for ye Govern.t of Canida. In albany ye 13th. day of febuary Ao. 1687/8

Wee Sachims of all ye. 5 nations are come here upon your Excell: Commands, and doe Return ye. Excell: our hearty thanks for Imparting to us ye. Joyfull news Contained in his May.ty Most gracious Letter, whereby wee See that his May.ty doth Resent ye. acts of ye. French, and takes us into his Royall Protection, yow are likewise Pleased to Communicate to us all ye Papers that have passed Btween your Excell: & ye French Priest now here, Referring ye Bussinesse to us to give our opinions as being most Concerned; Now wee See nothing is hid from us, and tho we cannot Say but your Excell hes hitherto dealt always very candidly with us, yet this Seems Like a new great light appearing we Illuminates us all

Your Excell: as being our great kings Gov.r here have a great deale of Right in Demanding ye forts Lately built by ye French to be Demolished, the goods taken from our People; and our

101 Prisoners

Prisoners to be Restored, for y^e^ French can have no Title to thos
Places wch they Possess'd, nay not to Cadarachqui and Mont Royall
nor none of our Lands towards the Ottowawas Tionondadoes Twich=
=Twichs; for by what means can they Pretend them? Beause they
came to y^e^ Illaguas Country formerly & now Lately to y^e^. Innondes
Country and burnt Some Bark houses and Cut downe our Corn,
if that be a good Title then wee can claim all Canida, for we
not only did See, but Subdued whole nations of Indians that livd
theer, and Demolish'd theer Castles insomuch y^t^. now great oake
trees grow where they were Built, and afterwards we plyed the
French home in y^e^. warr wth. them, that they were not able to goe out
a doors to Piss'd; Wee are the just and Right full owners of all
our Lands and theer is ye French now Pretend, wch. we have Long
Since given and graunted to y^e^ King of England, and now his Excell
who Represents his Maj^ties^ Sacred Person is y^e^ owner of those Lands
& must not Suffer any Encroachment upon y^e^. great King of
Eng Lands Territories.

Wee do again Return your Excell thanks, for Refferring the Con=
=sideration of the three Articles to us, we have maturely Deli=
=brated upon them.

The govern^r^. of Canida hath basely begunn an Unjust warr upon us
tis true we had in former times a Sort of a friendship with y^e^
French, but it was held by the left hand, which is now wholly
Broake by Shedding y^e^ blood of So many of our People; But
y^e^ Covenant chain wth. your Excell^cies^ hes always been kept in our
Right hand fast & firm, & wee Renew ye Chain that it may be
So Strong and Lasting not to be Shaked by any thing whatevr.

Tis true wee Onnondagoes must Confess wee have had Some Discourse wth. y^e^
French Priest at Cadarachqui which we did wth. a Design to get our
Prisoners back again, But now Since we See that hath not taken

Effect

Effect we leave off ever thinking to medle wth ye french any more
& Refer that Business wholly to his Excell: to Procure these
Prisoners

They Repeat the Demaunds of having ye forts Demolished ye goods
Restored and ye Prisoners set at liberty, and the Praying Indians att
Canida without Constraint, which we doe hope his Excell: may use his
uttmost Endevors to have accomplished in a friendly way. But if the
Governour of Canida will not Conceed & Consent to ye Sd Articles, then
he is ye occasion of ye Continuation of ye warr & not wee: Wee fear
him not though he is a great deal more Powrfull then we. but he hav-
ing an Unjust Cause the great God that lives in heaven which the
french Priest told us was a just and Righteous god, he knows our Inno-
cence and will Punish him and judge of his ill actions, Let not any
french fort be kept on ye Lake or above it, for if you suffer but one
may Cadaraenqui or any oy. we shall be in a manner Continu-
ally Besiged and Deprived of our Bever hunting, You see how Perfi-
dious and Treacherous the French are, and therefore let them have
no footing in any of our Lands wch and ye great king of Englands
Territories

And to Conclude wee Leave ye whole Business to your Excell: to man-
nage ye same as you shall see Convenient, Either for Peace or war
wee will Stand to whatever his Excell our great kings gov. doth.
only we desyre that you will Please to Communicate to us what ye
french agents will doe in yt Case, and then shall give our answer
to what you Proposed about our Removing Either wth our wifes
& Children to Plant Corn —.

After ye Propositions were over ye Capt. of ye onnondages called Cana-
dogo qai, told his Excell: yt Madam Toulon who was taken at Cadarachqui
meeting him upon ye Street said shee was glad to see him, and invited
him to a house to give him bread, and Coming in founds father baliant
there, who was Desyrous to Discourse wth him; what will you Discourse
says ye Indian, doe you Speak first, whereupon ye Priest asked how
it was wth ye 5 nations & how they were Inclined, what Says

13 February 1687/8

Capt. Doc. You ask me, how this is to be done, when you say Ca[ta]
[ra]ghty is to be Exhibited: who is Rather afraid you
[ha]d affront good, that his Excell: will be so long in agitation with them
to whom we Refer all things, and whose Commands we must
Expect as Doe you with the Queens mt.

Capt. Livingston

alb: 6 Feb[r]y/13: 1687

The 6 nations answer
to his Excie The Dongans
Propos: 2

Recd 8 May 1688
from Coll Dongan

BF
F 43

Albs: 13 ffeb 1697

Les Exide The Dongan
Propos: To ye 6 Nations
of Indians —

Rec^d 28 May 88
from Coll Dongan

13 February

B F
P 44

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

His Excell Answer to 6 Nations of Indians viz.t Magnas Sinnoks, Cayug.s Oneydes & Mahikanders.

24 XIII upon y.e 13.th of Feb.r 1691/2

Brethren,

That you have been together & Considered upon what I did y.t I proposed to you y.e last time when we were together I am glad of it, I'le done Lyke Wyse mind doe give you my hearty thanks for y.r Confidence you put in me I assure you y.t I will make no use of that but what shall tend to all our Satisfaction

I have write very Kind things of you to my Master & is very well satisfied w.th it as you see by his Comand & I am sure upon his return to y.e Greatest many y.e Same things upon his word he is very carefull in his life not promised but what he performed he has given you his Royall word to protect you & I am sure he will do it

his is now a meeting of y.e most men of y.e five nations y.t lyke probably ever been before in this Countrey & there one Consideracon of affairs, I doubt not you know my Master now joyns w.th you & will be at Vast Charges if y.e War goes on, therefore I think very necessary since we are all together to link y.e Covenant Chain soo fast y.t all y.e art of man cannot break it asunder, therefore I desire y.t you may give me assurance if y.e War goes on that none will make peace or war but by Consent of all & that if in case any would be so Cowardly w.th out y.e Consent of us all y.t all we y.t do not Consent with may take up y.e hatchett against them & distroy them when you agree to this I will propose Rules & Methods

Where by we may our Enemies & prosecute our
Lawes, wyves & Children & our Lands & our honor w[ch]
w[ch] to us shall ably Rest.

Additional Propositions of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan.

[New-York Papers, B. L. 100.]

16th Febr^{y} 1688.

(They say). that they have heard from time to time from His Excell: the propositions that have passed between His Excell: and the Father, and for which they give him thanks as alsoo for desiringe ther opinion upon the whole matter and they further doe declare that as they have formerly by there old covenant obliged themselves soo they are the same still and united as one heart doe wholly referr themselves to His Excell: who represents the person of the great King of England to doe for the good of themselves as the Govern^{t} what he shall think fitt, for they can not trust to the Governour of Canada his heart not beinge good.

What has the father to doe to examine whether they are His Majesty's subjects or not, wee have been so time out of minde and always united to this Govern^{t}, let the Gover^{r} goe forwards and remove the French from Onyagra, Cataracque and Tyschsarondia which is the place where wee goe a beaver huntinge for if thoes forts continew in the French hands wee are always besieged.—

What relates to the 15 months cessation wee can not see through it, it is only to blind us and to take us at a greater advantage, as for paying the two hundred beavors, wee are now in warr, what wee have promised wee willingly will performe but let them first restore the prisoners and goods which they robb'd in peace and in could blood for which wee desire His Excell: to use his utmost indevors as well as for the removinge the forts —Also wee desire that the beavors and other goods which weer taken from our people at Catarachqua when we came from beavor huntinge may bee restored, which people are now in France and at Canada, Concerninge the exchanginge of prisoners, they desire it may be in forty days but if that time is to short leeve the consideration of it to His Excell: as for the Indian that is prisoner here his friends and relations doe not desire hee should bee at liberty but bee sent to New Yorke.—

Replied:

The Governour thanks them for referringe every thinge to him—

1688.

redelivered to them. His Grace answered that though it was his undoubted right to appoint a clerk to the Assembly, he would admit their clerk and join another with him. The Attorney General carried the message. Journals of the Assembly returned to them. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XXXVI., pp.* 195-198.]

Feb. 17. Whitehall. 1,636. Order of the King in Council. Report of Lords of Trade and Plantations, recommending that permission be given to Sir Nathaniel Johnson to accept the grant of 160,000 lbs. of sugar made to him by St. Christopher's and Nevis. *Dated* 15 February 1688. Ordered accordingly. *Signed*, John Nicholas. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XLVII., pp.* 278, 279.]

Feb. 18. 1,637. Minutes of Council of New York. Trial of Symon Grover for breach of the Acts of Trade. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXV., pp.* 17, 18.]

Feb. 19. Albany. 1,638. Governor Dongan to the Earl of Sunderland. When the King's orders reached my hands, a father and another gentleman were here who came along with Mr. Macgregory from the Governor of Canada. They would not agree to demolish the fort at Niagara nor to restore the goods, alleging that it was set up by the French King's direction, and that they had no order to pull it down. All their drift was to gain a truce for fifteen months and that the matters in difference might be referred home for decision. On this I called the chiefs of the Five Nations now with me together, and asked their opinion. They unanimously agree to consent to nothing until their demands were complied with, desiring also that the goods taken from them might be returned and another fort that lies in the way of their beaver hunting broken down, "for," (say they) "we are in prison so long as they are standing." They wished further that the fort at Cadaraqui might be destroyed, saying that the French had no right to it, that it was only given to Lasalle to keep a man there to dress the arms as they came in from hunting, and that the French have since built a fort there. As to Niagara they have not the least pretence of right to it, beyond that a poor Frenchman once went there to trade with the Indians. They may have the like pretence to all these parts of America for they do the like almost everywhere. As for the Ottawas and the tribes that wear pipes through their noses, they have traded at this town ever since it was settled, more than sixty years ago. I enclose copies of all that has passed between the father and me, and of the Indians' opinion. They are now fast with us, and are very considerable. We must keep them so, or they will ruin all the King's Colonies in these parts. Notwithstanding all the French sent to Canada, they are not to be kept out of it. The Indians have delivered over some of their prisoners, and I have sent them to the father in exchange for some of our Indians captured by them. If it were agreed that all things should be left as they were at the time of the last treaty sent over to me, that the goods taken on both sides should be restored, and the prisoners, both in Europe and in Canada, sent back,

1688.

then a cessation ought to be made for two years, in which time commissions might be sent from both Crowns to view the country and decide the limits; otherwise the French will have much the advantage of us, for they know the country better. In the last treaty the French copy says that the "savages" are not to be assisted, which word they lay hold of, being a general expression. The English copy says "wild Indians," distinguishing, as I conceive, between those who submit to government and those who do not, which does not touch our Indians, who from time to time have submitted to the King's sovereignty.

I have been here all the winter with four hundred foot, fifty horse and eight hundred Indians. Neither the French nor their Indians have molested us as yet. We are at great expense, and, as I have often writ you, the Government cannot support itself as it is, to say nothing of this extraordinary expense. When I come to New York to impose another tax on the people I am afraid that they will desert the province for other Colonies. You can judge for yourself how far £3,000 will go in supporting a Colony which has both a French and an Indian frontier. Yet that is all that this revenue amounted to last year, as my next accounts will show. Moreover, the charges will now be much increased, for we must build forts on the great lake as the French do, or we shall lose the country, the beaver trade and our Indians. The French priest asked leave for their missionaries to go and live among them again, by which I find they make religion a stalking-horse to establish their claims. When I refused him, he answered with great heat that the French King had sent over 800,000 livres for the prosecution of this war, which if half of it had been expended on the Indians, would have gained them all to the French side, so I believe they will leave no stone unturned to get them. Peace or war, there must always be four or five hundred men to hold the forts, and secure the Indians, the beaver trade, and our just rights. This cannot be done without money. Were the Jerseys annexed to us, they would not bring us in £100 a year nor fifty men in case of need. East Jersey, it is true, is convenient for us to preserve what revenue we have. If any of the neighbouring Colonies should have war with the French or Indians, this Colony must be the bulwark to Boston, which has ten times the revenue of New York, and not a quarter of the charge. Connecticut is added [to New England] by the fraud of the Governor and the clerk, unknown to the rest of the General Court, and for one that wishes it as it is there are a hundred who wish it annexed to New York. What I write you is true; it is the misfortune of this Government that it cannot keep a solicitor at Court like other Colonies. My salary is less than that of any other Governor, yet my expense is greater. I have not had £600 of perquisites since I assumed the Government, and I am daily engaging my credit for the King's and the country's service. I beg that the King will consider this. I am glad of the King's orders to the other Colonies to assist me, else I think I should be denied by all as I have been already by some. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 4 *pp. Endorsed.* Recd. 28 May 88. Read 14 June. *Enclosed*,

1688.

1,638. I. Colonel Dongan's first paper of demands to the French agents, 3 February 1688. 1. For the restoration of the arms and goods taken from Messrs. Macgregory and Roseboom in May 1687. 2. For the fort of Niagara and any other forts built on the lands of the Five Nations since 6-16 November 1686 to be demolished. 3. That all Indians prisoners, whether in Canada or in France, be restored. 4. That, in a word, the French Governor restore all things to the condition in which they stood at the making of the Treaty of Neutrality. *Copy.* 2½ *pp. Endorsed.* Recd. 28 May 88.

1,638. II. First paper of the French agents to Governor Dongan, 4-14 February 1688. We, though sent to negotiate, have been very ill treated by English Indians on our journey; and before answering any proposals we demand satisfaction for this insult, alike to the Governors of Canada and of New York. The messengers sent with us declared that the Indians acted against their will and consent, but the Indians themselves said that they acted by Governor Dongan's orders. We have also reason to fear still worse treatment on our return. Unless this injury be repaired, we cannot believe that Governor Dongan would better have repaired the injuries done by the Senecas to Canada, if demanded of him, though he has often complained that he knows nothing of them. *Signed,* Franciscus Vaillant, Soc. Jesu, Elambert Dumont. 1½ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. III. Colonel Dongan's second paper to the French agents, February 1688. It is true that I propounded peace to the Governor of Canada. I am very sorry that you have been abused by Indians; I promised you ten days ago that your goods should be restored and the Indians punished, and I shall fulfil it. On enquiry I find that Mr. Macgregory does not believe that the Indians said any such thing as you say. If you produce your authority I will give you satisfaction; otherwise I must think that the statement proceeds wholly from yourself. *Signed,* Tho. Dongan. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. IV. Second paper of the French agents to Governor Dongan. Mons. Dumont heard the Indians use the words I attributed to them. Now as to your proposals. 1. Macgregory and his companions were trading on French territory, and they came with a pass from the Governor of New York. Therefore, by the 5th article of the Treaty of Neutrality, their goods were justly confiscated; and it is useless to plead the 3rd article in the contrary sense. Yet, though the French had not violated the treaty, the same messenger who brought the copy of the treaty sent by Governor Dongan to the Governor of Canada, promised to furnish the Indians at war with France with arms and ammunition. This is contrary to the 3rd article, which admits of no distinction between "Indians" and "wild Indians," so the Governor of

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Canada had a right to arrest Macgregory. He was only kept close prisoner because he threatened to run through a captain, while on duty, with his sword. 2. The Indians detained in our forts were captured as enemies, or taken first to prevent them from giving intelligence of the French march, and subsequently detained as enemies. 3. We do not acknowledge the land in which Niagara stands to be English, nor the Senecas to be English subjects, but only rebels against the French. As to our war with the Senecas, it would have been prevented if Governor Dongan had ordered them to restore their Ottawa captives and come and make peace with us. I propose on my side: 1. That the questions of demolishing the fort, restoring the goods, and adjusting the boundaries, be referred to Europe. 2. That time be given to call all the Indians together, at least fifteen months, and that a general peace be made. 3. That there be a cessation of arms on both sides, and that no English Indians attack French Indians. 4. Within this time we shall receive the decision of the questions referred home. 5. That all Indian prisoners from Montreal be restored, in return for which an equal number shall be released from Canada and France. 6. If, before the questions referred home be decided, any English Indians molest French Indians, the French shall have the right to aid their Indians with arms and ammunition, but Governor Dongan shall not give the like assistance to the English Indians. *Signed*, Franciscus Vaillant, Elambert Dumont. *Copy.* 4 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. v. Governor Dongan's third paper to the French agents, February 1688. You tell me that Mons. Dumont heard the Indians use the words about me. If so, I believe him, but my word ought to be taken against any Indians. I cannot admit the bearing of the 5th article on Macgregory's case, for I do not allow the Ottawas to be French subjects. Macgregory was not found trading, but waylaid and plundered, eight days' journey from the Ottawas. Thank you for reminding me that the treaty had not reached me when Macgregory started. In that case the French had no right to arrest them or take their goods; and I therefore demand restitution. Again, they were arrested before they were on Canadian territory. My offering our Indians help with arms and ammunition is not so strange as the Governor of Canada's invasion of English territory in time of peace. I must insist on the distinction between wild Indians and subject Indians. As for Macgregory, he was taken long before the French came near the Senecas' country; and as to his affront to the French captain, I believe that it must have been given under extraordinary provocation. Your justification of your capture of Indian prisoners turns against yourself. You say that it was to conceal the march of your army, and at the same time you

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affirm that they went to war with you at my instigation. The Indians were taken three months before I came here, and those whom you pretend to have made war with you only came against you in November last. You demand that the question of boundaries be referred home. I consent, provided that Niagara fort be destroyed, the captured goods restored, the Indians released, the Indians in France delivered to the English ambassador, and the Christian Indians of the Five Nations now detained in a fort in Canada set at liberty. This is my final resolution. The Ottawas have already been sent home by my order, and the prisoners here shall be released as soon as my demands are acceded to. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 4 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. VI. Third paper of the French agents to Governor Dongan, 9-19 February 1688. Governor Dongan claims the right to send Macgregory to the Ottawas, as he does not admit them to be French subjects. We claim the selfsame right to erect the fort at Niagara, not acknowledging the Indians there to be English subjects. Wherever Macgregory was arrested he was on his way to French territory, as is proved by his pass, and by his visit to Lake Huron for trade in the previous year. The distinction between wild Indians and subject Indians was early repudiated. Governor Dongan finds that my last paper contains a contradiction of myself, but he is wrong about his dates. Now as to your demands. Niagara cannot be demolished without the French King's order, nor can it be safely done before a general peace. As to restitution of goods, the treaty provides that such disputes should be referred to Europe. As to Christian Indians detained in Canada, there are none; perhaps you wish the French garrison to be withdrawn and for those Indians to be left undefended to their enemies. I repeat to you my former proposals. *Signed*, Franciscus Vaillant, Soc. Jesu, Elambert Dumont. 4 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. VII. Governor Dongan's fourth paper to the French agents. I believe it lawful for me to send to the Ottawas, but do not think it just for the Governor of Canada to build a fort at Niagara or to make war on English subjects. If the sheep's fleece be the thing in dispute, pray let the King of England have part of it, and let me remind you that God sends his blessings with what is well got. As to anything in the treaty concerning Macgregory's case I have already answered you sufficiently. I find your cause very bad, or you would not catch at every word you hear to justify yourselves. You have contradicted yourselves again, for in one of your papers you tell me the Indians began the war with you, and in the next that you had the right to begin the war with them. I can correct your dates

1688.

for you also still further, to shew that you were the aggressors. The Christian Indians for whom I asked are English subjects, and would return to us were they not guarded. Indians, subjects of England, now here, ask me to demand of you as the rightful owners the land which you have taken at Cadaraqui. I hear that you maintain that the French King might have a title to this province, Virginia, Maryland and Carolina, because some rivers that run through them rise in the Canadian lakes. He might as well pretend to all the countries that drink claret and brandy. Let the Governor of Canada do justice, and that is the way to propagate the Catholic faith. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 2 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. VIII. Fourth paper of the French agents to Governor Dongan, 15-25 February 1688. If you want a part of the sheep's fleece, it shall be granted to you, with the French King's consent, for it is to the Kings that the treaty provides that disputes shall be referred. No doubt you have referred some of the questions at issue to your King, but you did not put the true issues of territory and of subjects before him. You are wrong about my fresh contradictions of myself, and I never made any such claim of Virginia, Maryland and other Colonies, as you impute to me. I demand now only that all controversies shall be referred to Europe. A cessation of arms should be unconditional, or it is a peace, and you make demands which we could only grant on being reduced to extremity. If war ensue because the Indians refuse to make peace except on condition that the captives be released, it will be an unjust war. If Niagara be the difficulty I pledge that it shall be destroyed at the conclusion of the general peace fifteen months hence. As to restitution of the confiscated goods you can indemnify yourself by recovering two hundred beaver skins wrongfully taken by the Senecas from the French. We shall return home joyfully if you agree to this; if not, God must judge between us. *Signed*, Franciscus Vaillant, Soc. Jesu. 3½ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. IX. Governor Dongan's last paper to the French agents. I agree to refer everything home, provided that things be restored to their condition when the Treaty of Neutrality was signed. As to the Five Nations not being English subjects, they themselves are the best judges. If you make war upon any part of this Government you make war upon the whole. As to the Christian Indians whom you detain, I think it would be just to let those go who wish to return here, and let the rest stay with you in God's name. I have sent my King a full report of the Governor of Canada's proceedings. I neither threaten nor desire war, but I cannot sit still and see English subjects attacked and their houses burnt. I will have satisfaction to the uttermost farthing for

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what has been taken, and if the Senecas owe you two hundred beaver-skins they shall pay you. The Indians now with me desire you to demolish the forts of Cadaraqui and Tircksarondia, and to deliver up certain captives whose names I give you. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 2½ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. x. Governor Dongan to the Governor of Canada, 17 February 1688. I received yours by Father Vaillant and Mons. Dumont. I am heartily sorry that by some accident they were abused and robbed by some drunken Indians on their journey down. Satisfaction shall be given and the offenders shall be punished. I know not what powers you gave to these two persons, but we have come to no conclusion, which surprises me, for I ask only for the destruction of Niagara fort, the restitution of what has been taken from Christians and Indians, and the release of all prisoners from Canada and France. I, on my part, shall keep our Indians in order, and I promise that the Senecas shall pay you the beaver skins they owe you. If you had orders to build a fort on English territory it must have been by a mistake; do not let it cause a misunderstanding between our masters. I adhere to my proposals still, but I think it hard that you should be both a party and a judge. I send eight prisoners to you to be exchanged for eight of ours. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 2¼ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. xi. Propositions of Governor Dongan to the Six Nations. The King of England has sent me full orders to protect you, but meanwhile the Governor of Canada has sent two envoys to treat with me. I made certain demands of them, and they answer that they took your prisoners to conceal their march, that they look upon you as rebels, and that the fort of Niagara is to secure their people from you. Now I leave it to you whether you will continue the war or consent to the cessation for fifteen months, fort Niagara standing meanwhile. 2 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. xii. Answer of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan, 13 February, 1688. Our hearty thanks to you. The French have no right to any of our lands towards the Ottawas. If their title be good, our title to the whole of Canada is good. We are the rightful owners of the lands to which they pretend, and we have granted them to the King of England. We repeat our demands for the demolition of the forts, the restitution of goods, and release of prisoners and of Christian Indians. If the war must be continued, be it on the French Governor's head. Their forts must be demolished or we shall be deprived of our beaver hunting. We leave the whole business to your Excellency. *Signed*, Robt. Livingstone. 3¼ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1688.

1,638. XIII. Governor Dongan's answer to the Six Nations, 13 February 1688. I have written very kind things of you to my master. You know that he joins with you and will be at vast expense if the war goes on; so let us while we are all together link the covenant chain so fast that no man can break it, so that none shall go to war without consent of all, and none make peace but by consent of all. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,638. XIV. Additional propositions of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan, 16 February 1688. Thanks for intelligence of the progress of negotiations. We leave all in your hands. We have been time out of mind English subjects; let the French remove their forts at Niagara and Cadaraqui. We see not through the cessation for fifteen months; it is only to blind us. As to repaying the two hundred beaver skins, we are at war, but we will do it if the French restore our goods and prisoners. As to the exchange of prisoners we should like it in forty days. *Replied:* The Governor thanks them for referring all to him. 1¼ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding. The whole of these enclosures are printed in New York Documents III., pp.* 519-536. *Abstract of the negotiations is in Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXII., pp.* 20-24. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXII., Nos.* 24, 24I.-XIV.]

To Mr. William Beathwait att

Whitehall.

Sr

I had y hon. of yours of y 19th of Novemt wth y Kings commands, w. could not have come in a more Proper time a father and another French gent: Bring hether from y gov. of Canida, who with very high as their Customs is, soe yt we could not come to any Conclusion, whatever pas Past Stween them & me wth y Indians opinions who are y People most concerned, I have sent to my Lord President, and to say the truth, they are in a Prison and cannot goe a Beaver hunting so long as the Two forts remaine as they are, and will not hear of any Cessation till they are Demo= lished & their Prisoners sent home to them

The French have been too Crafty for us in y Treaty last sent over to me, in y 3. article y word Savage is used without adding Indians in y French Copy, But in y English its Exprest Wilde Indians, to Distinguish them from those who Submitt them= selves to Government, which y French pretend to take ad= vantage off, Chgo shall keep y Indians from going into Canida till one Cpt Wolfells who is gone along with the father thither comes back, The French are very industrious and leave Nothing undone by Gifts and otherwise to gain them over to their parts and have reported that it was by my advice y Indian Prisoners were sent for home, and y fort built at onyagara. They are a very Jealous People, and very hard to be dealt with so that I could hartily wish, some good agreement were made at home; or at least a Cessation for 18 or 20 monthes in order to it Provided y fort at onyagara were Pulld downe, the goods taken from both Christians & Indians Restored and y Indian Prisoners at Canada & in France sent home, for that fort has been built since y Signing y Treaty and without this its Impossible to get y Indians to Consent to any thing. I inclosed is a Letter from a Poor fellow that was taken Prisoner at y Mohawk

Passaged

Passage, and was coming further with a gent: I sent to Canada but being frozen as he was coming, wont back again.

If you expect to keep ye Indians firm to you ye Beaver trade and right to ye Country, forts must be built, into ye Land and upon ye great Lakes, and this cannot be done without men and money; my acct. shall goe home with ye first ship after I come to N: yorke & a voucher for every farthing I have laid out, wee are at great Expences now, and ye Govrnmt. not able to Beer itt.

You could not have Employed an honester man then Mr. Cortland for whom I give you my hearty thanks, if ye Collecting the Revenue was Left in his hands & ye grahams, I doe not doubt but his Mat. would have a just acct. we shall have a very small Revenue this year, by reason of that fort ye French have built & ye war hindring ye Indians from going to hunt.

Mr. Santen is to blame for I have not Received a farthing but one hundred Pound of ye Excyse of N: yorke and 20 l. of the Excyse of westchester, nor is there a Penny more to be expected here but a hundred Pound one garten owes for ye Excyse of ye County of Ulster, whom Mr. Santen took with him for England and a Bonde of one Duelings wch was not Payable till a year after he went away, & so not in ye Audit, Pray get those two Bondes and send them over

What you fynde due to me upon ye Audit, I hope you will find Lord Clarendon to get it for me, for I know my Master to be too just a Prince to see me suffer, I know what is your due & what my obligations are to you, there is some money will come in next April to be sent over to a Clerk of ye Councill and a Solicitor & it is to be a hundred Pound a peece p annum if you could Procure Conecticut to be joyned to this Government

I question not

I question not but a hundred Pound p: annum now might be added to ye Clerk of ye Councill, and if it be not, this gentlman will be a Continuall Charge to ye king

What stores are come to N: yorke I doe not know but if we doe build forts into ye Country, it cannot be done without these things I have writt for and men, for it is a great trouble to keep ye poor people here from their homes & Labour Now I have laid every thing before my Lord President, and I doe not doubt but his Lordship will take care that things will be ordered for ye best My service to Mr Povey I give him thanks for his Newes, I will trouble him with a letter by the next. I am

Sr

Albany ffebry 21: 1679.

Your most humble Serv:

Jno Dongan

Mr Weithwait

21 Feb. 1687

From Coll Dongan
to myself
Recd 27 May
1688

To

William Blathwait Esqr Clerk of the
Councill and his Majties Auditor and Surveyor
Generall for his Majesties Colonys and
Plantations in America, att

Whitehall

Propositions of his Excellency the
Governor to all the 6 nations of Indians
New York, the 29th of April 1688✓

Brethren:

I received a letter by Caristie from Dirk Wessells and also one from the governor of Canida, who says that he will write me a long letter in reply to mine [sent] by D. Wessells and will also deliver to him the prisoners as soon as he comes from Mont Royal, where Dirk Wessells is expecting them. Dirk writes me that Caristsie and the other (Indian) were lavishly entertained by the French. They are both honest men, for they have spoken in the best interest of the Brethren and all of us, which I intend to reward as soon as I shall arrive above. I do not wish the Brethren to trust the French, for they are double-hearted and the fairer their speech, the greater is the danger. They will do everything in their power to get some timid, fainthearted people on their side, but I hope that the Brethren have none such among them and that the others will not listen to them. If the Brethren will only have a little patience, I doubt not but everything will turn out to the satisfaction of all concerned. They say some of the Christian Indians would like to go to Albany, if they could, and also many of the French. Six men and two women have already run away. If you find these or any other run-away French, bring them to Albany.

Dirk Wessells writes me that 40 canoes and 140 men and some Chrisitian Indians with provisions have gone to Cadarachqui and that

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✓Translated from the Dutch by A. J. F. van Laer.

Col Mss 16:20-164

Propositie van zyn Excell.
gov: aen alle d' 6 natien vanu.
N: yorck 29 april 1664.

35:14 (4)

Broed.

Ick heb een Brief ontfangen
Caretsie, van Dirk Wyndts. & mede een
d gov. van Canada, d welke leght my een
Lange Brief te sullen schryven tot antw.
van myne. met D. Wyndts & will he.
mede de gevangens leveren. dat al
een treur Royael comt alwaer Dirk wi.
te Swaecht, Dirk schryft my dat Caret
sie & d ander sal ontladet wesen van a
franck, zy zyn bydt eerlyke lieden wa.
zy hebben ijstot kost van d Broeders & ons al
gesproken, t welk ick meen te gelden s
zal dat alle dingh sall comen. Ick wilde met
weten dat d Broed. d franck sullen betrouwen
want sy hebben dubbelde baetie, want als zy
mogen Praetien dan isser t meest gewin.
& zy sullen all int werck stellen dat zy e.
en eenige slecx schroomachtige menschen
aen haer kant te crygen, maer ick hoopt dat
dese hebben sodanige niet onderstaen; & soo

Dat

some more [will] have gone by this time. I am surprised that the Brethren are not looking out better and my desire is that the Brethren immediately send their wives and children and old people to the Maquaes country and hold all their young warriors in readiness to stand by each other at the least alarm and not remain in their castles, for I shall have men ready at Albany to support them when the occasion requires it.

I do not wish the Brethren to be deceived by the fine words which the French have probably said to the prisoners whom they are now sending back. Do not fail, Brethren, to keep a sharp lookout at this time. Dirk Wessells writes me that the French are jealous of the Ottawawaes and that the governor of Canida has written to the officers here to keep a watchful eye on them. He says that last year no beavers came from there and that now there are many. I wish the Brethren to keep good watch toward Canida and to spy out their movements, for they intend to send many provisions to Cadarachqui and to Jagere[1] and are making great preparations at Mont Royal. There is talk in Canida that they plan to send a troop to Ottowa. I believe that the governor of Canida will personally come to Cadarachqui with whatever force he has. Now is the time for the Brethren to be rid of the French forever after and not to listen to a word of his fine talk, for he will do everything he can and also set the black frocks to work; at the same time see to it that he does not fall upon you. He speaks very fair to me, but I do not believe a word of his. I know that if the Brethren keep them from sowing and planting in Canida, they will be compelled to accept whatever peace we shall see fit to grant, otherwise they will starve to death.

Tho: Dongan

[1] Niagara?

Dat d' Indien niet naa d' Leere & Lugentien
soo d' Broeders maer een weynigh Patientie
willen hebben. Ick Twyffel niet off alles sall goen
tot aller Satisfactie, Ey seggen Eenige van de Chris-
ten wilden, wy de geerne als albany Comen soo wy sonden
als mede veel van d' franse daer is 6 man &
2 vrouwen alreedts ingekomen soo gy d' Blue
off eenige andere wegh gelaten franse vint
brenght tot albany; Dirk Wolffs Smyt
my Daer is 40 Canoe & 140 man & eenige
Christen inlanders met Provisie naer Cadarackqui
gegaen & eenige meer by dese tyt, Ick ver-
Iwondert dat d' Broed. niet beter uyt & in
mijn Begrip is dat d' Broed. altemets haer
wyven & kinders & mede Liedy sonden naer
Magnas Land, & alle haer jonge Soldaten
daer by te doen op d' minste alarm en by mal-
kanderen te staen op d' minste al & niet Dobly
in haer Cattedills; want Ick sall volk
Claer hebben aen albany off haer Lyfstraf
soo d' occasie Eysscht; Ick & wilde d' Broeders
niet Bedroge hebben door d' schoone woorden
dat d' franse licht aen d' gevangen sal geby
hebben dewyl nu de Ruggen Seggen manteen

niet

35. (482)

met Broodts om Sherp uyt te kyken want de
tyt. Dit wesels schryft my dat d'Grant
Jacobs op d' ottowaswas sya, dat de
van Canada als d' officiers aldaer gestorven.
en een wat heads oogh op Lac Champlain,
hyt daer quam goet Ord. van de Gouv.
Jaer, & dat hier nu vrij zyn: Ick wild
hiebij doen Broodt. goede wacht houden na
Canada & hare motiven uyt kyken want
eyn. voornemens en vrij Provisie naer Cad
raeghui te senden & naer Jagers & ma
groote Preparatie als men voyert; Dat is elc
praet als Canada als sy nae ott
een Troje wilde bouwen: Ick gelooft
van Canada selfs Personelyck als Cadar
gui sall comen met watt volck dathy te
nu a d tyt voord Broodts en gelueck
van Grant vor altoos in tabac trenden
hem niet den wort te hooren wannier hy schon
spreeckt, want hy sal doen dathy can, & d'hun
Rocke meed int wit stellen; & gedenckt
sich tot dathy in opt lyst met de Comt; hy
spreeckt heel schoon tegens my Madrick gelooft
hem niet den woort, Ick wordt so d' Broodts te
houden van t Sayck & Planten als Canada,
nullen gedwongen zyn om tot wat voord te comen
ons gott sal dancken, anders sullen sy
gedwongen zyn

Geo. Dongan.

1688.

from Colonel Molesworth to pursue pirates in New Providence. Complaint of three men against Captain Spragge for capture of their ship read; the captain replied that complainants were pirates. Complaint of William Douglas against Smyth, gunner of H.M.S. Drake read, and consideration postponed. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XXXVI., pp.* 224, 224A.]

April 30. Jamaica. 1,726. Colonel Hender Molesworth to the Lords of the Treasury. I warned you on the 28th that I had shipped home certain chests of plate and coin which I had received for the King's tenths from the sloops that arrived from the wreck. On the same day Mr. William Constable, Sir Richard Dereham and others, by virtue of a warrant from the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the ship, broke open the door within which the chests were laid and carried them away; Mr. Constable delivering to the commander the bill of lading which he had from me, together with his discharge upon it. I enclose copies of the Duke's warrants, of Mr. Constable's receipt, and of the captain's protest, from which you will see the favour Mr. Constable obtained from his Grace for possessing himself thus unduly of the King's money. He was not qualified to do so by any lawful means, as the copy of the power, which he handed to me, shows. I enclose copy of my reply. I think it hard that when the Duke has made me give such heavy security for the money he should have forced it out of the ship in which I had laden it for the King's service. But I hope that the King will set all right for me. *Signed*, Hder. Molesworth. 2½ *pp. Endorsed. Enclosed*,

1,726. I. Copy of the Duke of Albemarle's warrant to Captain Joseph Knapman and the Provost Marshal together with Mr. Constable's receipt for ten chests of money. Dated 28 April, 1688. 2½ *pp. Endorsed.*

1,726. II. Copy of Captain Knapman's protest against Mr. Constable and others. 1½ *pp. Endorsed.* 28 April 1688.

1,726. III. Copy of Colonel Molesworth's answer to Mr. Constable's demand of the King's tenths. 2 *pp. Endorsed.*

1,726. IV. Copy of the bond for £100,000, demanded by the Duke of Albemarle with Colonel Molesworth's objections thereto. 2½ *pp. Endorsed.* Recd. 23 May 1688. [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXII., Nos.* 56, 56I.-IV.]

April 30. 1,727. Minutes of Council of New York. Letter from Mons. de Denonville of 14 April read, also from Derick Wessells at Montreal. The Governor's propositions to the Six Nations of 29 April approved. Major Macgregory's claim of £15 for travelling expenses allowed. Robert Livingstone's account for maintenance of the forces at Albany from 11 August 1687 to 1 June 1688, amounting to £2,067, read; also his account for repair of the fortifications at Albany, amounting to £138. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXV., pp.* 39, 40.]

April 30. 1,728. The King to Lord Howard of Effingham. Directing Colonel John Armestead to be sworn of the Council of Virginia. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXVII., p.* 210.]

Translated by A.J.F. van Laer — Col.Mss., 35:158b

Arnout Cornelise Viele:

I arrived here yesterday and saw your letter of May 19th to the mayor. I am very sorry that all the young Indians are out for fear of loss by the people, And would have liked it better if some had gone from each castle, as then the country would have been protected. Dirk arrived from Canada, and I find that the French do not have an easy time there, and are tired of war, for what the Onondagas have done lately has frightened them. The governor threatens me that I will lose my head at home and accuses me of sending the Indians against them. I take it very ill of the Onondagas who have gone with Dirk Wessells to Canada that they let themselves be employed by the Governor of Canada in order to bring about an alliance with our Indians. Therefore it is my express order that they shall not receive and listen to any ambassadors that come from the governor of Canada, but that they shall send them hither to me. I know better than they how to treat with the French. Now is the time for them to have a little patience and stick together and do nothing without my order, and I will guarantee that if they will conclude a firm peace they will hereafter always be at peace and be happy. I know that the black gowns will now attempt to do as much as possible, for now that the French see that they cannot accomplish anything with me, they will try to talk to the Indians, but

Col.Kas. 35:155-185

35:158(1)

Ernaut Cindtal Brief

Ick ben hier ge[sond] gearriveert
& hebbe u E Brief gesien vande
19 mey, als d meyer. Ick ben
bedruft datt alle d Jongd Wilde
uyt Zyn. Lant sal ut het datt
eenige uyt de Cattie Tegen
waerdig uyt Roode van Thiuan
ock dan was t Lant altyd
waert; Dirk is van Canida ge-
comen & ick vinde dat Franco
Let daer gemaeckelyck niet & Dobbe
maeckt de oorlogh mede, want
A grone d onmodigst Lest gedaen heb-
ben hebben een Stuck uyt ly t
gesicht, De gou. Dreyghe my
hare dat ick my Rooft Sluijs sall
Thuys & dat de Wilde op Rade off
sonde. Ick neem het. Ser gerustye
van d onmodigst die met Dirk uyt
Stil gingh nae Canada dathy

Finis

Hem Laet Emplyeds van d gantsen
van Canida om Bandy te bringe
aen ons wilde. Dit halw stelt myn
Expresse Bewill datt zy geen ad=
lants sallen komen te aennemen dw
van d gen. van Canida Coms maer
tende d gelants schwaghs tot my
want ick weett beter als zy im mett
d franw te handelen, te dien
de tijdt dat my een weder
matts hebben, te nae
ge. Ende dan niett
te Jck will aennemen
een Bondige
zyn. en tachttalnde altyde Bondige
te gelooven. Hilds zyn Jck wett
dat d swarte Rocken nu soo vele sallen
Soldes te werken, als te mogelycke, wt
om dat d swarte luys dat Ey mett
my wett te kennen tuyt reden, sullen
sy werken mett d. Indy om Bandy
maer Laetse mit haer Luyttiden
sendt Afguirach Ronde te smacken dw
mett

mett de Eerste off. ick soo aenneeme
en mett haer te handelen. Sindt myn
d naem van dw Trijvolder dw de Laetste
Oyt heeft uyt gesocht off Rift bi ick
sall hem te Eyn een Jelring Lends
want ick ben een Vastbolder van haer
Soldaets. Dit alles maet gy de Laetste
niet. Segge niet van my, maer gelyck
offt het van u selfs wes.
Maet geend ick nu segge sall mett gy
u nochs te worden, dat gy groote
neets maet worden mett Canadeesen
dew 2 Captijns te van alles haer
coms. want alle t gevaer is van onnoo=
te soo drae elder een goeden
coms vand Lant sentse dijn Indiaen
onder haer te Laets Examinatie, niet
meer voor Jnt uyt gegeven te
Jck ben

Egeaster. Print

dd 25
1615

Translated by A. J. F. van Laer

Col.Mss.,35:159

Onondage 3d June 1688

Mayor Peter Schuyler:

I received your letter which was sent the 29th last from Onesedde by Caristasie, and the day following I sent the Onondaga chief to the Cayugas and to the Senecas to get two or three sachems of those nations to come to his Excellency. In the absence of Caristasie I have informed the Onondagas that at present it is very necessary that they stick together and to us, and not believe Onondie nor the black gowns nor his envoys nor accept any presents for he uses dishonest tricks while meanwhile he supplies his frontiers with provisions and amunition, yes, even while Mr. Dirck Wesselse was still in Canada. I said he only waits until he gets fresh soldiers from France. Therefore, brothers, do not believe him. As to Rogostode, he and Jothorea and the squaw arrived here. They had been here at least eight or nine days before I received your letter, and I have not heard a word from the sachems nor from himself that he was sent by the wily Frenchman with belts of sewan as an envoy. He only told me that he had been captured and bound by the Praying Indians, and that the French had rescued him and sent him home, but now that the sachems hear that I know it, they have summoned me to come to the house of chief Sadekannaghtie where all the old men and he also were gathered. The belts

Mr. Pieter Jacobsz. —— ontfangen den 5 Juny 1633
38:159

Translated from the Dutch by A. J. F. van Laer

Col. Mss. 35:160

Onondage, June 5, 1688

His Excellency Thomas Dongan

Sir: I just received your Excellency's letter by an Onedjedder Indian. As to Onyagaro, there is a certain rumor here that more than 200 Wagannes and Ottowauwaes have assembled at Onyagaro, apparently to assist the French. But that the troop of 200 Sinkes all came home again was, as the sachems tell me, not from fear, but because nearly all of them fell ill of the measles, so that for that reason they went home.

The Indians keep a sharp look-out at all the passes. All the young men who are out hunting, or fishing, or who are somewhere else, are daily being rounded up and come home. The troop which has gone to Canada they will not summon to come back, for that is a good place from which to watch. Degarills has not gone to Jagaro. He guards the passes of Cadarogqui and Riffen. He has not been with the troop of Sinkes to Onyagaro. Adondareerha and the Carayko Kayogger sachems led the troop. A messenger is starting immediately for the outermost places of the Sinkes to let them know what they are to do in these circumstances. Those of Todihaeckto, the farthest place of all the Sinkes, have already fled to places of greater safety. If it comes to the worst, they

will send their women and children to the Maquaes land.

We are from day to day expecting the sachems of the Sinkes and the Cajoges; then we shall be more definitely informed of all the circumstances. The French have about one or two miles from Jagaro set up a high cross. What it means, no one knows.

Sir, our Indians will on your advice do as you write. If the French with their Indians come to attack our Indians, they will fall back, fighting, toward the Maequaes land. They depend a good deal on their having sent a goodly troop to Canada. From that quarter, they say, we shall not be surprised. The French Ottowaes and Wayanhoes Indians are lying close to the fort around Onyagaro. By estimate they are more than 200 men strong. This is all for the present and I remain your Excellency's servant,

Arnout Cor[nelissen]

(2) Mr. Lievinston

[Please] send me some paper.

ENDORSED: Arnouts letter to Gov[r] Dongan

Coll. Lab. 35:155-165

Syn Excell. t'Kasteel den 5 Junij 1688
35.160

Mijn Heer. Ick hebb so aenstonts U.E. brief ontfangen
door de ouddelder wilt wat belangt wegens onjagara
Die is sonder twijffel dat men ons 200 negannes onder
ottowaenarys onder malcander sijn gecommen om
onjagara tot assistentie voor de franschen op te
maken dat de drie finkes van roc alle wedder thuijs
sijn gecommen is mijn oor een wreede gewaerschou
factemakers myn seggen maer sij bidden meest
alle sieke aen de magasin dat sij onder die oorsaken
thuijs gecommen sijn de wilde sijn of alle bossen
dagen uijt te rijsen alle de jonge wilde die
nijt jagen of nijt rijsen oft daers sijn die
hiervoren aen dagen of gebraekt de commandemijs
de drye die nae Canada is die oor wilde swemmen
of ont wieden want dat is haer dat nijt een
goede vaegt draegt als i nijt nae jagara
sij leijt of de passen van Cadaraqui en
Kitten hij en is met de drie finkes mit
nae onjagara gewest, aldaer verstaen onder
d'Caraqko kajoogie factie. Hebbe de drye ge-
boden te rijsen gaet den oude nae boven tot de
finkes instaende plaetsen toe om te laten
weten wat sij doen sullen op dese gelegentheijt
die van Sodiakarto tot aen de plaetse van
alle de finkes die sijn al part waert aen Comes
volgens soo het oor aen Comt Sullenbergh
gecommen is sonder voorts sonden nae mayna
want wij verwaghten haer dagh lijt dan de
aenmarkets van d'finkes die kajoogie. Dan
sal men particulier alle de gelegentheijt
hooren die haer sullen ontdecken oder
of t mijden van jagara den brooye Cruijs
sij geset wat het oordinder maeg is dat
die leijt men niet mijn broer ons sullen
sullen of die adeys so doen als sij seggen
oor d'franschen met haer willen ons
komen bevechten sij sullen begrijpen
haer plaetse oftewert aen nae Niagara
als Comt tot sij stemmen daer soo sij dat
sij den gouverneur nae Canada gesonden hebben
daerom daer segge sij sullen wij niet ver-
gaet storren de ottowaes en wegantaes
franse willen helpen dijsse onder sal
rontom onjagara na gissinge omtrent 200
man sterck is dit is all voor present
doen blijve sijn Excell. Dienaer Vermont

Gedaen als voren

Du 15. Juin 1688, a Montreal

M.

Les Onontsaronnons Goiogoens et annexés, etant venus a Montreal pour y voir Monsieur le Marquis de Denonville et M. l'Intendant et leur temoigner qu'ils vouloient vivre avec eux en paix durable et vivre en bonne intelligence dorenavant M. de Denonville et M. l'Intendant, leur ayant fait paroitre et dit qu'ils ne souhaittoient rien autre chose, mais qu'elle estoit difficile pour eux M. Dongan leur a mandé par plusieurs de ses lettres que vous estiés ses sujets et que vous ne pouviés rien conclure que par ses ordres, auquel les susdits Onontsaronnons N.os ont repondu que elle n'estoit point vray qu'ils reconnoissent toujours vostre authorité et vouloient seulement estre amis des Francois et des Anglois Egalement sans que ny l'un ny l'autre fussent leur maitre pour ce qu'ils tenoient leur terre de Dieu, pour quelle n'avoient jamais été surmontés ny par les Francois ny par les Anglois ce qu'ils pretendoient seulement garder une parfaite Neutralité, de pour laisser a perpetuité une marque de leur Volonté et intention, qu'ils ont ecrit de la maniere suivante qui sont les marques de leurs Nations. Effigies

Le Serpent a sonnettes
Le Castor
Et Rogatis
Tsonontoüés

Le Goiogoen
Onnontchitta,
Orengabé
Et Kenniston-
tio tsonatsi,
Degaionniu,

Le nuict Collatitude
Le loup Sagoyenne
Tsihaagonta
Onnatsaronnons
Tsonontoüés,

Taionhiseta Jasindio garamerachiva
ama goga Tonakeriomiok —
Jaragontié gua on Jaijé,
on marge est crit requisit —

Celuy qui parlait, Jay deux yeux, Je regarde de deux
costez en deux arbres de la paix, pour les trois Nations,
scavoir, Jy tend mes deux bras, l'une est a Montréal
l'autre a Orange.

Sur la page suivante est crit,

Le Nommé la Grande Gueule chez les Iroquois et
Otreouati chez les Iroquois qui a parlé icy a Montréal
a publié plusieurs fois en juin, ce dit regne dessus pour
deux fois dans ces harangues a mis Cayuense, a pittez
deux Iroquois, et Chiffres soussignés en forme de sa main
les figures de ces bastons, ce qui a fait en qualité d'orateurs
et deputés des trois Nations Iroquoises, Sauvis, ces —
Goiogouins, des Onontagués et ces Onneiouts —

Collationné a l'original demeuré en nos mains, par nous
Con.er du Roy et Greffier en chef au Conseil a
Souverain a quelles soussigné signé Soumille sans —
paraphe. J.

15 June 1688

In the year after their defeat by Denonville, the Iroquois came to Montreal to propose peace to Denonville and Champigny.

Also in N.Y.Col.Docs. 9:386.

Note that paragraph 2 on p. 2 of manuscript is not in N.Y.Col.Docs., 9"386.

"Outrehoute, (having) twice repeated what precedes in the speeches, did himself, assisted by two Iroquois, affix the subjoined totems and delineate with his own hand the figures of these animals..."

The proceedings are remarkable for the number of true Iroquois sachems of the Roll Call represented: and possible ten of the Cayuga roster; besides Garakonite (moving sun), the Onodaga speaker.

WNF

35/6361

Answers of yᵉ Magnatts onely to ye Demands
Cayenes & Propositions to his
Excell. The Dongar Capt gen[er]all
& Gov[er]nor in Ulstany yᵉ 26 of Septembʳ

Ans yᵉ Magnatts further answer

1. We told yᵉ Lords we would answer now but we have not
a sufficient Power to make Restitution
for yᵉ Late large gift and we have been disposed of Lands
by yᵉ French Lords of our Country
we will obey whatever Lords shall
shall be sent from yᵉ Late great Parliament we will
end yᵉ Warr, and give a Pattent of Grant

2 We are very sensible yᵉ Kingdom is united in our Love
to yᵉ great King of England, our Soveraign Lord &
Protector, for they will not have his Subjects &
the Protestant Cause in this great Land yᵉ French would
and ought by attempted us Enemies, But we Pardon
his Love as they great Progenitor Edward

3 Your Excell: told us yᵉ it would Probably be Late and yᵉ would
speak to us: our Hearts have trembled and Knees
bow was struck from, for our affection to you
is as much as of yᵉ wife our Eldest Boys & Brothers
& Sisters. But as a Land thing which Sickness and
Griefe Part from us, nothing can we Expect yᵉ answer
of yᵉ wisdom & understanding will Ease & away as
again & Do give & do Privilege & Liberty

Orders of yᵉ Magnatts Petition Read & passed

Your Excell was Pleased to Discend in Generall Lines &
unfold towards & yᵉ Generall should keep engagers

Lost

but wee hear no mention made of it now, wch knew yr and
Councell now full of Debt; if Scotland, for of
wch they be Commanded all they will bring us a great many
Bagges from Canada to engage and during this Warre
to begin to Plant & settle & then it will be hard to find
them out. for if they say they have no Lyon of
a Beard to be kept. they may answer wee have 2 Bulls
to y Ende to Butcher his Majesty in number of the
French may not be sufficient to satisfy our Appetite
y wch wee are not glad a Bull hunting

We have been directed by Your Lordships Commands in Commission
to y Lord whatever Messages have been sent by
y Gen of Canada why y Mohawks would
not fight But the Wee answered y Lord
will why y Beard will be made at home by Reading
a Letter sent y were was Engaged wee Desire
y Beard may be made Use of by y Lord to find
y Gen of Canada to this Place & then a Free
Parley to be Granted — wch wee hope shall
not be Denyed

The Colonel there is one more Complaint to this Lordships Consideration and that is y this Province would be Obliged to Support it. Wee further Pray and Assure
ye Strong Power of Crown in Authority to Draw your
Lordships Care to make this Province & Colony to be Secure
from the Insults of y French for wee are Confident
the Barbarous Creatures against this Province nothing
Could Secure

The F. Smith Library

More proprisions added the
27: Instr. by the 5: Nation

163(2)

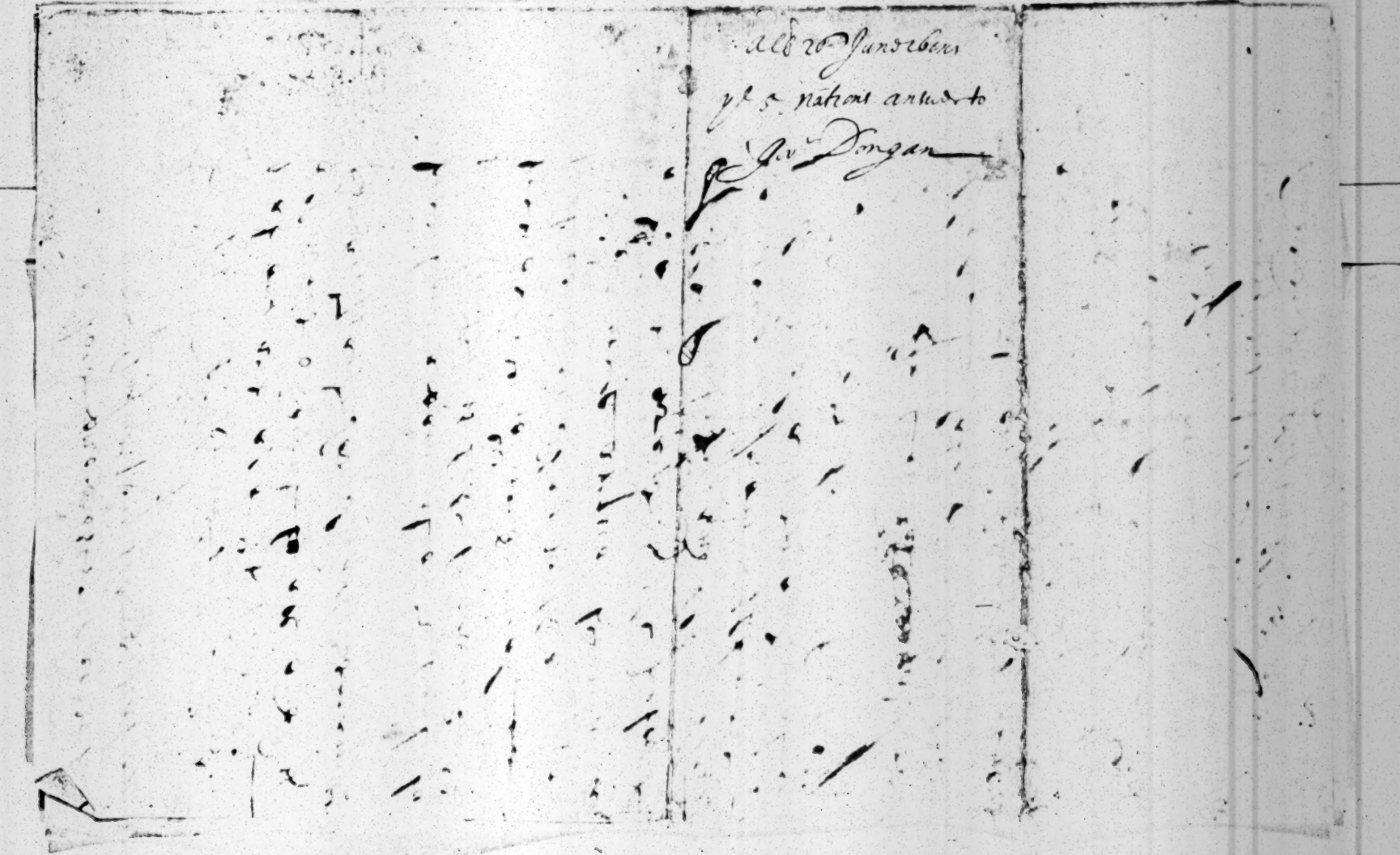
Wee doe
Hee hit curt: Know that thes 5.
Nations. are as ow: & have bin
all waies obedient to all ordrs &
comands. and so shall remaine

wee have a paind at ower hart. to
heare further is like to get home
wee desire yo: would weight to stay
that yo: may stay with ous for
yo: are well acquainted with us,
and ower waies. & the hatard
of the Countrie. and things stand
dangerous now, & the more
to think of a new one. that is
a straingr: to us. & Countrie

Mantled

for we feare at Yagaros
shall we satisfied: hitt it be
desired at ho: & by those that are
appointed. and if it be not stand it
would be a great damadge to us
and wonder to find in yo: and: &
quietnes.

wee desire that all Strange Sig: may be
hindered. till this busines be ended
at[illegible] by reason of the Lawnges



Lettre de Mons.r De Denonville
a Mons.r Dongan pour reponse a la
sienne du 20.e Juin 1688.

A Villemarie le 5.e Juillet 1688.

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Monsieur

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

J'Ay receu la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'ecrire
du 20.e Juin avec le Duplicata de la lettre de cachet du Roy
dont je vous ay envoyé copie par celle que j'eus l'honneur de
vous ecrire le 18.e Juin qui vous a été portée par un de nos
Sauvages Chrestiens les Chemins n'estans pas libres pour
vous pouvoir envoyer d'autre qu'un Sauvage.

Je suis très aise Monsieur de voir les bons desseins que
vous avez d'executer ponctuellement tous les ordres que vous
avez receu du Roy vostre Maistre pour le maintien de
l'Union entre les deux Colonies.

Pour vous marquer Mons.r que de tout mon Cœur je veux
contribuer de mon costé a faire tout ce qui dependra de
moy pour maintenir cette Union je le feray avec plaisir

les occasions de vous engager a estre de mes amis. Je vous prie
Monsieur dene me pas refuser vostre amitié a de vouloir
bien estre de concert auec nous pour l'execution des Intentions
du Roy mon Maistre qui ne sont autres que d'engager et
obliger tous les pauures peuples barbares de ce nouueau monde
d'embrasser la foy a se faire Chrestiens et les empescher
de troubler les Missionnaires dans leurs fonctions
Euangeliques

Et sur cela Monsieur que je croyois qu'il seroit ne-
cessaire que nous puissions prendre ensemble quelques
mesures pour informer nos Maistres des moyens dont leurs
Majestés pourroient se seruir pour affermir l'union des
deux Colonies et pour faciliter le traitté que leurs
Majestés ont projetté de faire par lequel j'ay souhaitté
que leurs Majestés fussent pour l'augmentation de
la foy en ce nouueau monde trauaillans conjointement et
de concert pour establir le Christianisme chez toutes les
nations Sauuages en protegeant les Missionnaires, et
les peuples qui les receuront contre la Barbarie des autres.

Je pris pour certain Monsieur que tous les Iroquois
se faisans Chrestiens comme j'en ay le Moyennant cela

Union ce ne Sera pas Un affaire que dobligera tous les bons
peuples a Soigner a embrasser la foy Il ny aura rien de
difficile a Monsieur quand nos Maistres le voudront
Car quelle Majestez Ils auront Ensemble conceuté les
moyens leur Zele a leur pouuoir pour la Religion —
Assurement Monsieur quil ny a pas Lieu de proposer les
Expediens ce qui nous Sera aisé Si vous voulez bien que
nous en Conferions Ensemble par une Lettre quil nous —
faudroit faire.

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Il Des grandes Empechemens Et Latraitte de Castor qui
fait Un Gros de leurs Habitations J'apprend avec plaisir —
Monsieur que vous y avez mis ordre par la defence que
Vous avez faite de leur endebiter Il ny a plus qua Continuer
de Votre part comme nous ferons de la nostre Je vous Seray
fort obligé Si vous vouliez menuoyer Un Exemplaire de vostre
Ordonnance.

Vous aurez Sceu par la Lettre du dixhuitieme Juin
dont Je vous Envoye le Duplicata comme les affaires
que nous avons avec les Iroquois Sont en Estat de
Saccommoder. Vostre Envoyé vous Dira Monsieur —

comme Jl a trouué Jcy vn des Chefs d'Vnnontaguè, a comme
Jay fait partir vn conuoy pour Catarokouy. Jc croy e Monsieu
que vous Jcrez bien aysc que les affaires se puissent termin
a l'amiable

Jc prens trop de part aux affaires qui te gardent les Interest du
Grand Roy vostre Maistre, pour ne vous pas dire que vous
me ferez vn sensible plaisir si vous voulez bien m'informer des
nouuelles de ce qui se passe Jn ses Estats.

Madame de Denonuille Jouslo bien obligée
e Monsieu de Chonneu que vous luy faites de vous souuenir
d'elle. Jeme Joins a Elle auec plaisir pour vous remercier
de vostre present; Jc souhaitrois de tout mon cœur que nous
puissions auoir quelque chose en ce pays qui meritat
de vous Estre enuoyé a auoir quelque occasion fauorable
pour vous marquer que Jc suis de tout mon cœur. &C.

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

Albany July 7th 1760

59

My Lord

Parkt

Carissime Domine

Magnâ cum Satisfactione ambas a te datas Litteras accepi hesterno die, 6°. hujus, Stylo vtro. Ea corde gaudeo quod Reges et Domini nostri, Effusionem christiani sanguinis, et tot hominum Paupertum ruinam a Barbaris intentam suâ Curâ impedierint

Antequam Mandata mihi missa fuerint, quantum Potui salvo jure Regis mei, impedivi Barbarum incursum in Canadam Commotus clamoribus paupertum Canadensium & Rumoribus de Statu in quo erant fortilitia Vestra, ita ut Barbari jam fere affirmati essent in eâ quam Propter quadam ex Canada nuntia conceperant Suspicione, quam vero inter te & me Convenisset ipsis ultimam adferre ruinam

Quod Mandata a Rege meo mihi injuncta exequi velim usq ad ultimum apicem, notum tibi sit & Deum Supplex orabo, ut Pax ad Ejus gloriam et Satisfactionem amborum Regum Concludatur

Quodcumq conclusum est inter vos & Oppugnatorque Barbarum, vel ejus Socios, nullius Valoris erit, nam neq ipse neq ipsius Socij ullem ad id Potestatem accepere

Vale

Sive a me Sive (ut Verum fatear) a quing nationibus
ut Vos Vobis Significem quamodo in Peractum Sit, Sci
dum Vobis est, quod istis Barbaris Summopere Volenti
suos apud Vos detentos repetere, facultatem conce
endi ad Montem Regium. R. D. Valliant novit q
ego ipse dixerim, jam tum aliquos Barbaros in Ecti
ad Montem Regium fuisse.

Totus Mundus non Potest non Extollere Zelum Reg
Christianissimi in propagandâ Vera fide inter Barbaros
id est Profecto opus Dignum tanto Monarcha. Tibi a
Satis Exploratum est, Concedere vestris Missionarijs fa
tatem inter nostros Barbaros commorandi, non esse n
Potestatis, Domini enim nostri Reges istam sibi re
servant Potestatem. Non autem dubito, quin Rex
Anglia Zelus tantus Sit ut Vel vestris missiona
Facultatem Concessurus Sit, vel Suos missionarios mitte
Sit.

Ob quedam Regis mei negotia obligor quam prim
hinc discedere Novum Eboracum, Sed si autumne
pore negotia vestra vos Permittant, nemo mi
lium Cupior, quam ego ipse amplectetur occasion
Vs honorem manum tuam de osculandi.

Ex Corde habeo gratias Domine De Denonville p
Sonore, qus me affecit. Sumus hic Indijs occidenta

libus

35:1726

Possession made by the
five nations or Cantons of Indi=
ans viz.t ys. Sinnagues, Cayouges,
Onnondages, Oneydes &
Tuscaroes
to his Excell.t Sr. Edmund Andr.
Kn.t Capt. Genll. and Govrn.r in Ch.f
of his Majtys. Territory and Dominion
of N. England in ys. City of
of Albany this 10th day of Sept.r
Anno 1686

Indorsed ys. Indians Speech
Delivered Sept.r 10th

Brethren Collaer

We are come from the 5 nations viz.t the Sin
nekes, Cayouges, Onnondages, Oneydes and Tuscaro
to bidd your Excell.y welcome in this Place, both
unto your Excell.y, but also unto Council, and
doe Return thanks to ys. Collagistrates of al
kindnesses acquainted us of your Excell.y Comeing
hither — and of your Excellencys Govrn.t Gone
off all these Territories and ys. time Pleasure which
Left us ys. Kindeness to Receive Collaer, when ys. Exc.

Excell.y

was Governr formerly, Upn which we Resolved not to come Slowly butt to Runn with all Speed to see & kiss yr Excell: welcome.

Wee desire yt your Excell will be pleased to accept our small Present, being now Wintr Quarters, for wee would have Presented yr Excell: with a greater Present, if wee had not been Confined to a narrow Circle by Onondio (meaning the Gov. of Canada) who hemming upon us, did so Binne us up this Last winter, that wee could not hunt neither upn Lake nor Land.

If wee had been in a Spring Season, wee would have made a Larger Present to Yor Excell: Wee wish yr Excell: long life and Prosperity, and that wee may live in Peace & quietness under your Government, the all Indyan Nations are very glad to see yr Excell: come to Govern them, & desire you to stay among them, & make all a one Clan, & have a Care of

Ye Ampan____

Governor Andros to M. de Denonville.

[New England, IV. 908]

Albany 19 September 1688.

Sir

I am sorry for the occasion since my last letter, to acquaint you that I have an account of five of our Indians being murthered in their dwellings at a placed called Spectacle Pond neere Springfield on Connecticott river; and since, of six Christians being likewise murthered att Northfield a small and the uppermost settlement wee have on that River; by Indians from your parts. And now am assured was by some sent out by your selfe, after the signification of the Truce, who being well knowne, some of their names are here inclosed. I have alsoe seene your letter to Governour Dongan of the 20th past by wch yo^w^ avow the not haveing restrained your Indians from hostillity, till applications or assurances from ours; whiche I thinke very extraordinary and need not say the importe, or what may be the consequence thereof; but (if not already done) doe desire that yo^w^ will forthwith send the said murtherers to me. I cannot tell yow the trouble mischeifes and damages itt hath already occasioned in New England, being in many and distant parts, of wch am confident yo^w^ will be sensible. And therefore have made noe further pursuite. And alsoe upon our Indians the Maquais, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges and Senekes, comeing to me at this place, have reminded them of the late truce to be punctually observed.

Have alsoe demanded all the French Captives remaining with them; of which a little girl, happening to be with an Indian woman att hand, is already delivered

I presume yo^w^ have by this time withdrawne your garrison and people from Onnagra, or any other parts of this government, and that I shall without delay heare from yow effectually of that and all else, for the due observance of the truce made by the Kings our masters, and that you will give me further oppertunity to serve yo^w^ and remaine.

S^r^

Yo^r^ most humble Servt &^c^

To the Governour of Canada.

Proceedings between Governor Andros and the Five Nations of Indians.

[New England, IV. 907.]

Account of what passed between His Excell. Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t^ Capt Gen^ll^ and Govern^r^ in Cheife of His Maties territory and dominion of New England, and the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, to witt, the Maquaes, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges and Sinneckes, att Albany, on the eighteenth nineteenth twentieth and one and twentieth of September 1688, when they came to waite on His Excellency.

His Excellency and Councill, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriffe of the Citty of Albany and severall other of the principall inhabitants being mett in the Townehouse, where

the Indians were called in, Sindachsegie, a Maquaes Sachem stood up & addressing himself to His Excell. spoke after this manner, vizt—

Brother Corlaer,

Wee are come from all the Five Nations, vizt the Sinneckes, Cayouges, Onnondages, Oneydes and Maquaes, to bid yow welcome in this place, not only yow but yor Councill likewise; and wee returne thankes to the Magistrates of Albany who acquainted us of your coming hither and that yow was Governour Gen^{ll} of all these territoryes, and the same person wch did us the kindness to be called Corlaer when yow was Govern^{r} formerly. Upon which wee resolved not to come slowly but to runn with all speed to see and bid you welcome.

Wee desire yow will be pleased to accept our small present, being now very poore: wee would have presented yow with a greater present if wee had not been confined to a narrow circle (by the Govern^{r} of Canada) who warring upon us did soe penn us up this last winter, that wee could not hunt, neither upon lake nor creeke. [1] If it had beene in the Spring season wee would have made a larger present in bever. Wee wish yow long life and prosperity and that wee may live in peace and quietness under y^{r} goverment. And all these Nations are very glad to see yow come to be our Govern^{r} here againe; And made all a low bow and presented Three Belts of Wampum.

To which His Excell^{y} replyed, 'twas well, and sayd he would speake to them in the same place to morrow morning.

September ye 19th His Excell^{y} with the Councill, the Mayor and Aldermen and severall other officers and principall persons being againe mett att the Townhouse, where the Indians being present His Excell^{y} spoke to them as follows.

Children.

I am glad to see some from yor severall Nations or Cantons in this place (to witt) the Maquaes, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges & Sinneckes, and to heare from yor selves of yor welfare in those parts of the goverment.

Yow have had notice of the truce made by our Great King putting a stopp to the French invadeing this Goverm^{t}, or annoying yow further, or yor continueing any acts of hostillity towards them; wch is punctually to be observed, that soe yow may goe and hunt as formerly and need have noe other reguard to the French nor hearken to them then as they are o^{r} freinds to doe them noe harme.

But hearing of mischeifes done since the Truce by some Indians from Canada, yow will doe well to be carefull yow be not surprized by any would harme yow or forcibly settle in yor parts, that yow may prevent the same, or presently take or pursue such as shall attempt itt, and if too strong, to retreat to yor next habitation or Castle, or to this place, where yow may be safe, and assisted, as occasion.

Understanding that severall French captives are yett amongst yow, yow are to take care that without delay they be all brought to this place.

You will doe well to encourage such of yours that are gone or married in other parts, to returne to yow with their familyes, and not to hinder any other Indians comeing in a freindly

[1] Note in the margin of the original in *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, XXXV.: "When this expression was said all ye Indians yt stood by calld out yt is very true." — Ed.

manner to yow or this place; and if yow desire any perticular freindship with those Indians beyond yow I shall be ready to heare itt, and doe what may be proper for yow therein accordingly.

I shall alwayes be ready to heare any thing further that may conduce to yor good and welfare and twill be yor owne faultes if yow doe not eate drinke and sleep in safety.

September the 20th Two Maquaes Sachems desired of His Excell^{y} a publique hearing for all the Five Nations, wch His Excell^{y} appoynted to be about noone att the Townhouse; where His Excell^{y}, accompanyed as before, went, and the Indians being called in, the Maquaes Sachem y^{t} spoke to His Excell^{y} before, stood up and addressing himself to the severall Nations of Indians, spoke to this effect:—

"To speake to soe great an auditory is enough to discourage any one; therefore if I fayle in "expressing what yow have directed, yow must guide mee and hold mee excused." Then addressing himself to His Excell^{y} hee spake after this manner:—

Corlaer.

Wee are exceeding glad to see yow here, who was formerly in Tionondoge our third Castle, and are assured of your good inclinations towards us, because wee have experienced your goodness heretofore. For yow was pleased to accept the name of a Man that was of good dispositions & esteemed deare amongst us (to witt) The Old Corlaer.

Layd downe eight fathome of Wampum.

[1]Wee Maquaes haveing consulted all this day are resolved y^{t} wee will observe what yow spake yesterday, concerning the French that wee should not hearken unto them; and may bee well assured wee will have noe correspondence with them. We are in a strong Covenant with yow, and this Goverm^{t}, which wee will never breake.

And presented another Belt of Wampum.

What was proposed to us yesterday wee Five Nations shall observe, and if wee meet any French in the woods lakes or creekes, wee will treat them as freinds; and the same wee will doe with the Indians that live beyond us.

The late Govern^{r} desyred to know of us where the fittest places would be in our country to erect forts, and we told him att Cayouhage, and sayd alsoe that he would build a fort att the end of Corlaer's Lake, att a place called Onjadarakte, and put great gunns in the same; but nothing done. However wee doe not insist upon itt.

Did give a Belt of Wampum twelve deepe.

The Maquaes[2] Sachems who spoke formerly with you, are dead, and wee have not soe much knowledge as they had. [3]Nevertheless though they are buryed, yett lett the old Covenant that was made wth o^{r} ancestors be kept firme. Then wee were called Brethren, & that was also well kept; therefore lett that of Brethren continue without any alteration.

Doe give a Belt of Wampum eight deep.

[1] In the original minute in *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, XXXV., this article reads thus:

"Wee Maquase now speake for our selfs haveing consulted all this day, & fynde yt what yow spoke yesterday concerning ye french yt we should not hearken unto them; the which wee will observe, and yow may be well assured yt we will have no Correspondence wth them; wee are in a Strong Covenant wth yw & this Governmt which we will never Breake. gave a small Belt of Wampum

"Now I speake in ye behalfe of all ye 5 nations" — Ed.

[3] "The Maquase speake again for them selfs — The Sachems who" &c. *Ibid.*

Not long agoe wee Five Nations had a warr with the French and have delivered severall of them wee tooke prisoners to this goverm^{t}, who are sent to Canada. But when Derrick Wessells returned wee were not acquainted they were delivered, nor doe wee heare any thing of o^{r} people that are sent to France, amongst whom are some of o^{r} principall warriours, whose names are knowne like the Sunn; Notwithstanding wee keep to that wch was done by the two great Kings beyond the seas.

Here hath been another Govern^{r} since yor departure, who was alsoe called Corlaer; but wee are very glad to see yow here againe, and lay downe a Belt of Wampum to sweep the ground you stand on, and againe bid yow wellcome for all the Five Nations.

When the first Covenant was made with our old Sachems, itt was concluded that all former injuries should be throwne in a bottomless pitt; and then was planted a Tree of Welfare, whose branches reaches into the cloudes, upon wch the Sunne must shine bright forever.

Doe give a Belt of Wampum.

[1] If yow had a warr with farr Nations and had gott prisoners, and the same given into familyes as their owne, would itt not be a hard case to demand them againe. Wee Maquaes have had a warr with the French, but they began itt. Nevertheless we shew yow our obedience as we have alwayes done, and deliver yow this French child according to your desire, and will doe our endeavour, as soone as wee come home, to procure those other prisoners that are amongst us and deliver them. Yow may perceive how deare and wellcome yow are to us, that wee without delay or goeing to o^{r} Castles, deliver yow this Child as a token of our obedience, and give yow this Child for yor wellcome.

Wee desire, because our memory is weake that the propositions made yesterday to us, may be left in writeing with Akus the Interpreter, to whom wee may have recourse for information.

Then Dekarachqua a Sachem of the Cayouges, stood up and addressing himself to His Excell^{y}, spoke after this manner:

Father Corlaer

Wee Fower Nations, the Senekes, Cayouges, Onondages and Oneydes, accept the name of Children; but because severall of o^{r} Indians were stolen by the French in time of peace and sent prisoners to France, wee are not inclined to deliver the French prisoners, before we have ours returned, espetially Taweeratt, the Cheif Warriour of Cayouge, who is lamented amongst us every day. And therefore we desire yow to write beyond sea that wee may have the same Indians back againe. Hee presented a Belt of Wampum, with twenty eight sticks tyed to itt, to shew the number of the Indians taken by the French.

The Govern^{r} of Canada is pleasant with his eye, and speakes fayre with his lipps, but his heart is corrupt, and wee find that the old Covenant made with this goverm^{t} has been kept inviolated.

The Indians haveing done speaking His Excell^{y} was pleased to expresse himselfe to them in the words following:—

Yow take notice of the word Brethren and Children, but leave it to mee: they are both words of relation and friendship, but Children the nearer. What I sayd yesterday remaines

[1] "The Mohogs speake for themselfs." *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, XXXV. — Ed.

upon record in this place, and doe accordingly expect the release of all the French prisoners remaining still in your parts. And yow may be assured of my inclination and care for yow and yowrs, and the wellfare and increase of yor nations as I spoke to yow yesterday.

Whereupon the Sachem of ye Cayouges perceiving His Excell^{y} not well pleased wth what he sayd about the French prisoners, stood up, and speaking to His Excell^{y} againe, desired to be excused for what he had spoke amiss, and as for the prisoners they will deliver them; but they liveing soe far off, it will require some time before they can doe itt.

September the 21st Upon the desyre of the Indians to speake to His Excell^{y} againe, His Excell^{y} the Councill, the Mayor and Aldermen and principall officers and inhabitants went to the Townhouse, where the Indians be[ing] present Dekarachqua the Sachem of the Cayouges, stood up, and addressing himself to His Excell^{y}, spoke to the effect following, vizt.

Wee Five Nations have been soe much troubled in our minds for the rash speech made yesterday, that wee could not sleep all this night, and desire that yow will please to excuse the same, for we have consulted togeather and are absolutely resolved to performe what yow proposed. If wee meet any French wee will treate them with what wee have and will alsoe send the French captives which are amongst us, with the first conveniences, soe soone as the wayes, wch are farr and dyrty, will permitt. Further wee come to yow lamenting wth teares in o^{r} eyes, as to o^{r} father, to make o^{r} complaint, that the French have treacherously stolen severall of our people before the warr, and sent them prisoners to France.

Therefore wee come to yow as o^{r} father, desyreing that all endeavours may be used that the same may be sett at liberty and brought to us. For if a child had a payre of fine stockings stole from him, and came and complained to the father and shewed him the theife, the father would certainly use all his endeavours that the child should have the stockings againe.

The Indians haveing done His Excell^{y} replyed to them in these words:—

I was sorry to heare of the loss of yor people that were carryed beyond sea, and have not forgott itt, nor shall omitt what is proper for mee therein.

63 IX

An Account of what passed between his Excellcy Sr Edmond Andros Knt Capt Gen all and Govern in Chief of this Ma.ties Territory & Dominion of Nov: Imyland And the five Nations or Cantons of Indians To Witt, the Maquaes, Oneydes, Onondages, Cayouegs and Sinnockes at Albany on the Eighteenth, Nineteenth Twentieth and One and Twentieth of Septembr 1684 when they came to Waite on his Excellcy

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

His Excellcy and Councill the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Shariffe of the City of Albany and Severall other of the Principall Inhabitants being mett in the Councilhouse, where the Indians were called in Sindachsagit a Maquaes Sachem stood up and addressing himself to his Excellcy spoke after this manner viz

Brethren of Albany

We are come from all the five Nations viz the Sinnockes Cayouegs, Onondeages, Onoydes and Maquaes to bid you Welcome in this place; not only you but y.e Councill & Citizens, And wee returne thanckes to the Magistrates of Albany who requainted us y.t you were coming hither And that you was Governr Gen.l of all these Territoryes and the same person w.ch did in the Lindnesse to be called Coylaer; when you was Governr formerly, Upon which wee resolved not to come slowly, But to runne with all speed to see and bid you Welcome

We desire you will be pleased to accept of a small present being now very poore; Wee would have presented you with a greater present if wee had not been confined to a Narrow Circle by the Governr of Canada who warring upon us did not permit us up this last Winter that wee could not hunt neither upon Lake nor Rocks: If it had been in the Spring season wee would have made a larger present to Boston. We Wish you long life and Prosperity and that wee may live in peace and Quietnesse und y.e Government

And

And all the Nations are very glad to see you come to the Covenant-Chain againe, and made all a low bow and presented three Belts of Wampum

Which his Excellcy Replyed was well and sayd he would speake to them in the same place to Morrow Morning.

The 10th day. His Excellcy with the Councill the Mayor and Aldermen and severall other Officers and Principall persons being againe met at the Councill house where the Indians being present his Excellcy spoke to them as followeth.

Brethren I am glad to see some from ye severall Nations or Colony in this place, (to wit) the Maquas, Onoydes, Onondages, Cayouges, and Sinnekes, and to heare from ye Sachems of ye welfare in those parts of the Government.

You have had Notice of the Peace made by o^r Gracious King putting a stopp to the French invading this Govern^t or Annoying you further, or ye Continuing any Acts of Hostillity towards them, wch is punctually to be observed; that you may goe and Hunt as formerly, and need have noe other Reguard to the French, nor harken to them but as they are o^r friends to doe them noe harme.

But hearing of Mischiefs done since the Peace by some Indians from Canada, you will doe well to be Carefull you be not surprized by any would harme you or Cowardly settle in ye parts, that you may prevent the^e same or presently take or pursue such as shall attempt it, and if too strong to withdraw to ye next Habitation or Castle, or to this place, where you may be safe and assisted as occation.

Understanding that severall French Captives are with you amongst you you are to take Care that without delay they be all brought to this place.

You will doe well to Incourage such of yours that are gone or Married in other parts, to Returne to you with their families and not to hinder any other Indians coming in a friendly manner to you

Or

HIS MAJESTYS STATE PAPER OFFICE

to this place and if you desire any particular c —
friendship with those Indians beyond you I shall
be ready to bear it and do what may be proper
for you therin accordingly.
I shall always be ready to hear any thing further that
may conduce to y^r good and well said, and twill be y^r
own faults if you do not take Drink and sleep
in safety.

September the 20th Two Maquas Sachems desired of
his Excell^cy a Publique hearing, for all the five Nations
wch his Excell^cy Appointed to be about Noone at the
Townhouse. Where his Excell^cy accompanyed as before went
And the Indians being called in; The Maquas Sachems
spoke to his Excell^cy before. stood up and Addressing
himself to the several Nations of Indians spoke to
this Effect.

I perceive so great an Auditory is enough to discourage
any one, therefore if I fayle in expressing what you
have Directed, you must Guide me and hold me
excused: then Addressing himself to his Excell^cy he
spake after this manner.

Corlaer

I the aforesaid Sachem I had to see you here, who was formerly
in Skonondoge our Third Castle, And are Assured of y^r good
Inclinations towards us, because we have experienced your
goodness heretofore; for you was pleased to accept the Name
of a man, that was of good Disposition, and esteemed
Brave Amongst us (So wilt the old Corlaer, Layd Downe
Right ffathom of Wampum

We Maquas having Consulted all this day and Resolved y^t
we will observe what you spoke Yesterday concerning
the Peace, that we should not harken unto them, And
may be well Assured, we will have no Correspondence with
them, We are in a strong Covenant with you and thy
Governm^t which we will never Breake; And Presented
another Belt of Wampum

All that was Proposed to us Yesterday We the five Nations
shall Observe and if we meet any Strench in the
Woods, Lakes or Creeks we will treat them as Friends
and the same we will do with the Indians that
live beyond us.

237 The

The late Governr Dongan desired to know of us where the fittest places would be in our Country to erect Forts, and we told him at Cayonhage; And sayd also that he would build a Fort at the End of Corlaers Lake at a place called Onjadezakte and put Great Guns in the same, But nothing done; However we did not insist upon it. Did give a Belt of Wampum Twelve Deep.

The Maquaes Sachems who spoke formerly with you are Dead and we have not soe much knowledge as they had Nevertheless though they are buryed, yett the Old Covenant that was made wth our Ancestors to kept firme Then we were called Brethren, and that was also well kept; Therefore lett that of Brethren Continue without any alteration We give a Belt of Wampum Eight Deep.

Not long agoe we five Nations had a War with the French and have delivered Severall of them, we took Prisoners to this Governm^t who are sent to Canada, But when Derrick-sen returned wee were not acquainted they were not Delivered, Nor doe we heare any thing of our People that are sent to Canada amongst whom are some of our Princes Warriours whose names are known like the Sunn Notwithstanding wee keep to that wch was done by the two Great Kings beyond the Seas.

There hath been another Governr since Dongan departed who was also called Corlaer, But wee are very glad to see you here againe, and lay downe a Belt of Wampum to keep the Ground you stand on, and againe bid you welcome for all the five Nations.

When the first Covenant was made with our old Sachems it was concluded that all former Injuries should be thrown in a Bottomless Pitt, and then was planted a Tree of Welfare whose Branches reaches into the Clouds upon wch the Sunne must shine bright for ever Wee give a Belt of Wampum.

If you had a Warr with any Nation, and had gott Prisoners, and the same given into Familys as their owne; would it not be a hard Case to demand them againe. Wee Maquaes have had a Warr with the French but they began it, Nevertheless we show you our.

Readiness

obedience as wee have ahoayes done And Deliver you this French Child According to yr Desire, and will doe our endeavour as soone as wee come home to procure those other Prisoners that are amongst us, and deliver them. You may perceive how Deare and Welcome you are to us that wee without delay or goeing to Quebec Deliver you this Child as a token of our obedience, and give you this Child for yr Welcome.

Wee desire because of Memory is weake that the Propositions made Yesterday to us may be left in writeing with Mr Interpreter, to whom wee may have recourse for Information.

Then Dekanchqua a Sachem of the Cayouges stood up and Addressing himself to his Excellcy spoke after this manner.

Father Corlear

Wee Foure Nations the Senekes, Cayouges, Onnondages and Oneydes, accept the name of Children, but because wee all of us Indians were stolen by the French in time of Peace and sent Prisoners to France, Wee are not Inclined to deliver the French Prisoners before wee have ours returned Especially Tawaratt the Chief Warriour of Cayouge, who is Lamented amongst us every day: And therefore wee desire you to write beyond Sea that wee may have the same Indians back again. Wee presented a Belt of Wampum with Twenty Eight Sticks tyed to it to shew the Number of the Indians taken by the French.

The Governr of Canada is Pleasant with his Eyes and speakes fayre with his Lipps, but his heart is Corrupt, and wee find that the Old Covenant made with this Governr has been Lost Inviolated.

The Indians having Done speaking his Excellcy was Pleased to Express himself to them in the words following.

You take Notice of the word Brethren, and Children but have it to mind, they are both words of Relation and Friendship, but Children the nearer, What I sayd Yesterday remaines upon Record in

6 (912.82

this place, And doe accordingly Expect the Release of all the French Prisoners remaining still in your parts: And you may be Assured of my Inclination and Care for you and yours, And the Wellfare and Increase of yr Nations, as I spoke to you Yesterday

Whereupon the Sachem of ye Cayouges perceiving his Excell.cy not well pleased w.th what he Said about the French Prisoners stood up and speaking to his Excell.cy again desired to be Excused for what he had spoke Amiss, and as for the Prisoners they will doe what them but they living soe far off it will require some time before they can doe it.

COLONIAL OFFICE

September the 21.st Upon the Desyre of the Indians to speake to his Excell.cy again.st His Excell.cy the Comiss.rs the Mayor, and Aldermen and Principall Officers and Inhabitants went to the Townehouse, where the Indians Lieut.t Dekaeachqua the Sachem of the Cayouges stood up and Addressing himself to his Excell.cy spoke to the effect following (Viz.t)

We five Nations have been soe much troubled in our Minds, for the Last Speech made Yesterday, that we could not sleep all this Night, And desire that you will please to Excuse the same, for we have consulted together, and are absolutely resolved to performe what you proposed: If we meet any French we will treate them with what we have: and will also send the French Captives which are amongst us, with the first Conveniency: and soone as the ways w.ch are farr and Dyrty will permitt further we come to you Lamenting w.th Teares in our Eyes, as to our Father to make our Complaint, That the French have Treacherously stolen Several of our people before the warr, and sent them Prisoners to Fr.ce.

Therefore we come to you as our Father Desyreing that all Endeavours may be used, that the same may be sett at Liberty and Brought to us.

Tho.s

for if a Child had a payre of fine stockings stolen from him, and came and Complained to the father, and shewed him the Theife; the father would certainly use all his endeavours that the Child should have the stockings again.

The Indians Answering Done his Excellency Replyed to them in these words

I was sorry to heare of the loss of ye People that were carryed beyond Sea, and have not forgott it Nor shall Omitt what is proper for me therin.

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Governour of Canada

Propositions made by the five nations or Cantons of Indians Viz.t y.e Ellaquase Onnijdes Enrondages Cayonges & Sinnekes to his Excell.cy Sr Edmund Andross Knt Capt Genll and govirnr in Chiefe of his majesties Territory and dominion of N: England in y.e City hall of albany this 16th day of Sept.r Ao 1680

35:174(6)

Sindaeklepie y.e Ellaquase was Speaker

Brother Corlaer

We are come from all y.e nations Viz.t the Sinnekes Cayouges Onnendages Oneides and Ellaquase to bid your Excell welcome in this place not only your Excell: but also your Councill and we Return thanks to y.e magistrates of albany who rejoiced at your Excell coming hither and y.t your Excell was Govern.r Gen.ll of all these territories, and y.e same Person which did visit y.e Sinnekes to be called when y.r Excell was Govern.r formerly upon which we resolved not to come slowly but to run with all speed to Second and Bid yr Excell welcome.

we desyre y.t your excell will be pleased to accept our small present being not very Poor for we would have presented y.r Excell with a greater present if we had not been confined to a narrow circle by enemies (meaneing y.e Gov.r of Canada) who warring upon us did so pennes us yt this Last winter that we could not hunt neither upon Lake nor Creek

If it had been in y.e spring Season we would have made a larger present in furrs we wish y.r Excell Long life and Prosperity and that we may live in peace and quietnesse under your Government and all these nations are very glad to see y.r Excell: is come to Govern.r and again made all a Peace & gave 2 Belts of wampum

X when this first propesition was said all y.e Indians stood by exhibeant y.t it Pleased them.

Children

His Excell.cy Edm Andros Lt proposide y.e nations

wth his y.e 19 of Sep. 1678

1742

I am Glad to see Some from your Severall nations or Cantons in this place to with the Maquase onedes Onondagas Cayugas and Senikes & to heare from your Selves of your welfare in these parts of the Government

You have here notice of the truce made by our great King putting a Stop to your French in any of his Governments, or Annoying you further, or your Confederates any acts of Hostility towards them, which is punctually to be observed, that See you may doe Hunt as formerly and need have noe other Regard to the French nor Harken to them, then as they are our friends doe them no harme, but hearing of Late Late done since the truce by some Indians from Canada you will be Carefull to be not Surprized by any wicked Designe you or Treachery in your Parts that you may prevent the same or presently take or persue such as shall Attempt it and Make Report to your next habitation or Castle or to this place where you may be safe and Assisted as occasion

Now Concerning that Severall French Captives are with amongst you you are to take Care yt without delay they be all brought to this place, you will also encourage such of yours yt are gone or marryed in other parts to Returne to you with their ffamyles and not to hinder any other Indians Coming in a friendly manner to you or this place and if you desire any further friendship with those Indians beyond you Shall be ready to heare them and doe what may be proper for you therein accordingly, Shall always be Ready to heare any thing farther that may Conduce to your good and welfare and it will be your owne ffaults if you do not Sate Drink and Sleep in Safety —

Albany 19 Sept.

1678

1743

The Answer of ye five Nations viz.
ye Mohaques Oneydes. Onondagos. Cayougos
& Sinnekes. to ye Propositions of his
Excell: Sr Edmund Andross Kt. Capt
Gen.ll and Govern.r in Chief &c of his
Majs Territory & Dominion of New
England made att ye Citty Hall of Albany
on Thursday ye 20th day of Sept. 1677

Brethren

Wee are Exceeding glad to see you here & wish you
Comfortable healths and are sorry for ye ill accidents
& misfortunes as Brother we have Experienced [illegible]
[illegible] Brother, for ye wch Please to accept [illegible]
ye was of good Deportment & esteemed dear among
us & to all ye old Sachims [illegible] & Indians of
[illegible]

Wee Chagpate now speake for our selfs having Consulted all this day, & ffynde y^t what you spoke yesterday Concerning ye ffrench y^t we should not hearken vnto them, the which wee will observe, and you may be well assured y^t we will have no Correspondence wth them, wee are in hand Contract wth y^m & this warrant which we will never break, wee have a small Belt of wampum

Now I speake in ye behalfe of all ye nations.

What was Signified to us yesterday wee will ffaithfully observe, & if any wee are ffrench in ye woods & Cross us wee will take them as ffriends & if any wee will doe w^t ye Indians that live

We alsoe Desire you to know of us which ye fittest Place would be in our Country to Erect ye ffort and we told him at Cayuhage, and he also y^t he would send a ffort with ye Christians to Dwell at a Place called onidas & to Build a ffort in ye same, But nothing done, Answer he does not yett will doe give a Belt of wampum 12 deep

The Chagpate speake again for themselfs

The Cayugas who spoke formerly wth ye Ex^cy and Deare & wee have not so much knowledge as they had ~~yett~~ nevertheless I doe ~~yett~~ ~~remember~~ ~~yett~~ ~~yett~~ ~~yett

1746

Not Long agoe we had a warr wth ye french, and have Delivered
Sabrall of ye Prisoners we took of them to this Govern^t which are
sent to Canada, But when Dirk Wessells Returnd we were
made acquainted that ye same was Delivrd, neither did we Rear
anything of our People y^t are sent to France, amongst whome
are Some of our Principall Warriors, whose names are Enowned
Lea ye Land; Notwithstanding therefore we hope to that which is
done by ye Two great Kings beyonde ye Seas

[illegible] another Govern^r here Since ye Dep^t Govr who was also
a Gover, But we are very glad to see ye Lord again, & Can
desire all of wampum to sweepe ye Grounds wth Stands
Known and ye Children for all ye nations

When the first Covenant was made wth our old Sachems it was Concluded
that Same Injurious should be thrown in a Bottomless Pit, & there
was Buried a tree of noe fruit wch Branches
which if Same must Shine Bright for ever, & give a Belt of wampum

[illegible] for themselfs

We had a warr wth Sam nations and have gott Prisoners and y^t
being into familiar as they are; would it not be hard case to
send them again, wee have had a warr wth ye French, but they
are all Reconciled we Shew y^r our Obedience as formerly always
have, & Deliver ye this french Childs according to y^r Desire,
& will doe our Indeavr as we come home to Endeavr that y^e
Indians y^t are amongst us Deliver them as Required

We may Perceive how dear & welcome you are to us, that we
[illegible] will dress
[illegible] agains to our Cattell, Deliver ye this Child as a token of our
obedience, & give y^r this Guilder for y^r welcome

Wee

Here desire Because our memory is weake y^t. ye Propositions made
Yesterday to us may be Left in writing with a Clause y^t. Interpre-
ter to whom we may have Recourse for Information 1746

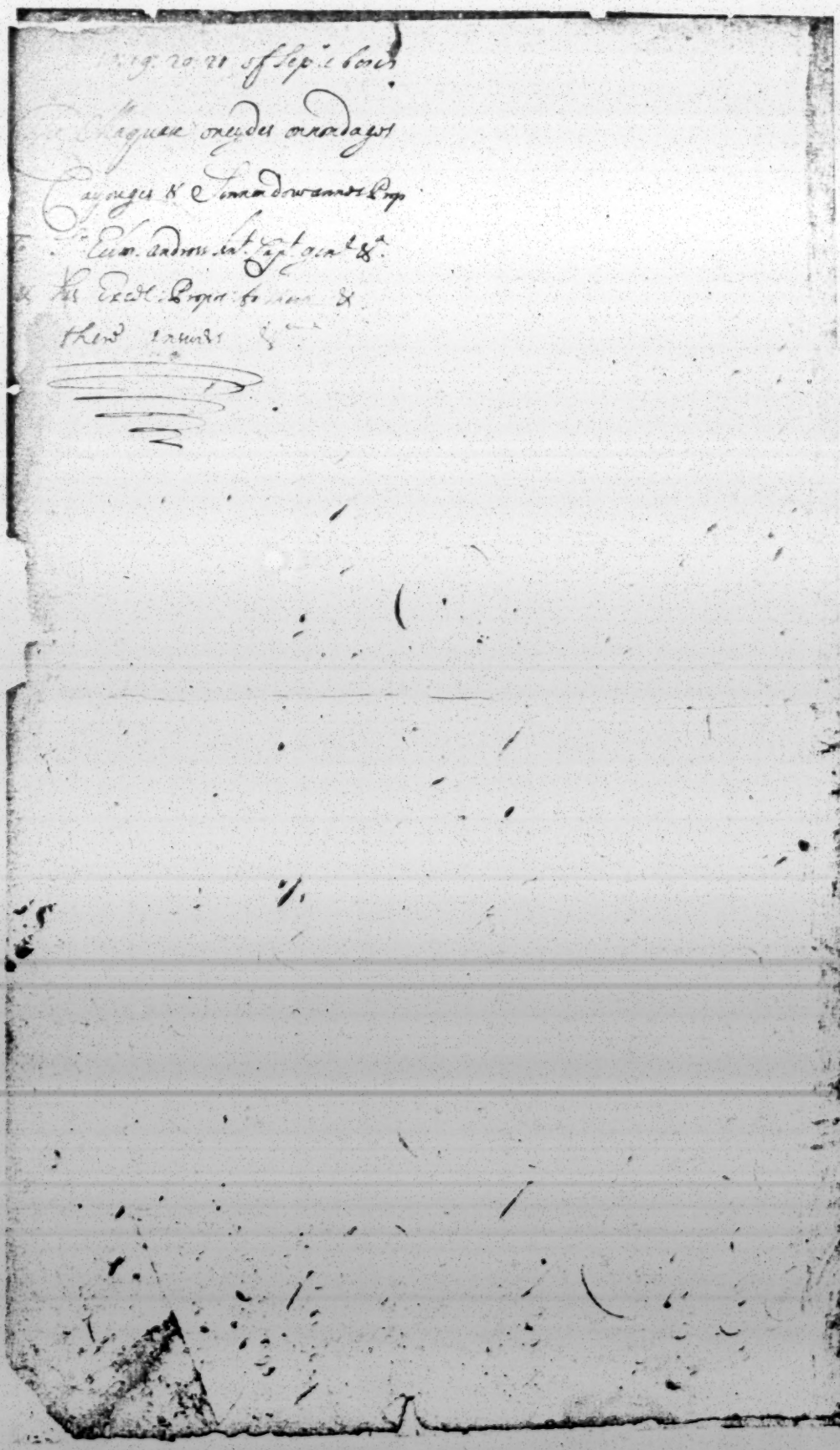
De Kaendeogue ye Cayouga Sachim Stood vp & Spoke
in ye Behalfe of ye Tuneckes Cayouger. onnondagers & may dos &c said

Father Corlaer — Wee Soure nations accept of ye name of Children
and no bendas Soule of our Indians were Stolen by ye French in
ye time of Peace & Sent Prisoners to Fronac to ye number of Eight
Hundred; upon which he Ordered a Belt of wampum with 20 Sticks
annexed to ye same, saying wee are not Inclined to Deliver up ye French
Prisoners y^t are in our Country, Except we have our Prisoners y^t
are in France Returned, Especially, Fower of ye chiefe warriors
of Cayouga who is Lamented amongst us every day, and Soe
wee Desire ye Excell^e to write Beyond Sea, y^t wee may have y^e
Same Indians Released again.

Govr Geo^e of Canada is Pleasant with his Lipps, but Speaks fair with
a Lipps but his heart Corrupt To ye Contrary of which we Expect
ye Last Covenant made with this Government Shall be Kept Inviolated

Vpon which his Excell. Said

Wee take notice of ye good Brotherly and Christian Love & Care
y^t you have of Religion and Friendly advice Given by the
Interpreter; what you said yesterday Remains upon Record in this Office
and do accordingly Expect y^t Released of all y^e French Prisoners
Remaining here in y^e Land & y^t may be assured of my Inclination
& Care for y^e and y^t. and y^t. you Speak in behalfe of y^e nations
as I Spoke to y^e Yesterday



(4) 12

The Cayorgs Sachim Perceiving his Excelle not well Pleased w.
his Speech Concerning y. French Fellows, delyvd to Excelle if any
thing was Spoke ammiss and as for y. Prisoners they will Delivr
them but it Cannot be soon Effected, they dwelling so far off
it will take sometime to have it accomplished

Friday y. 21th day of September 1664

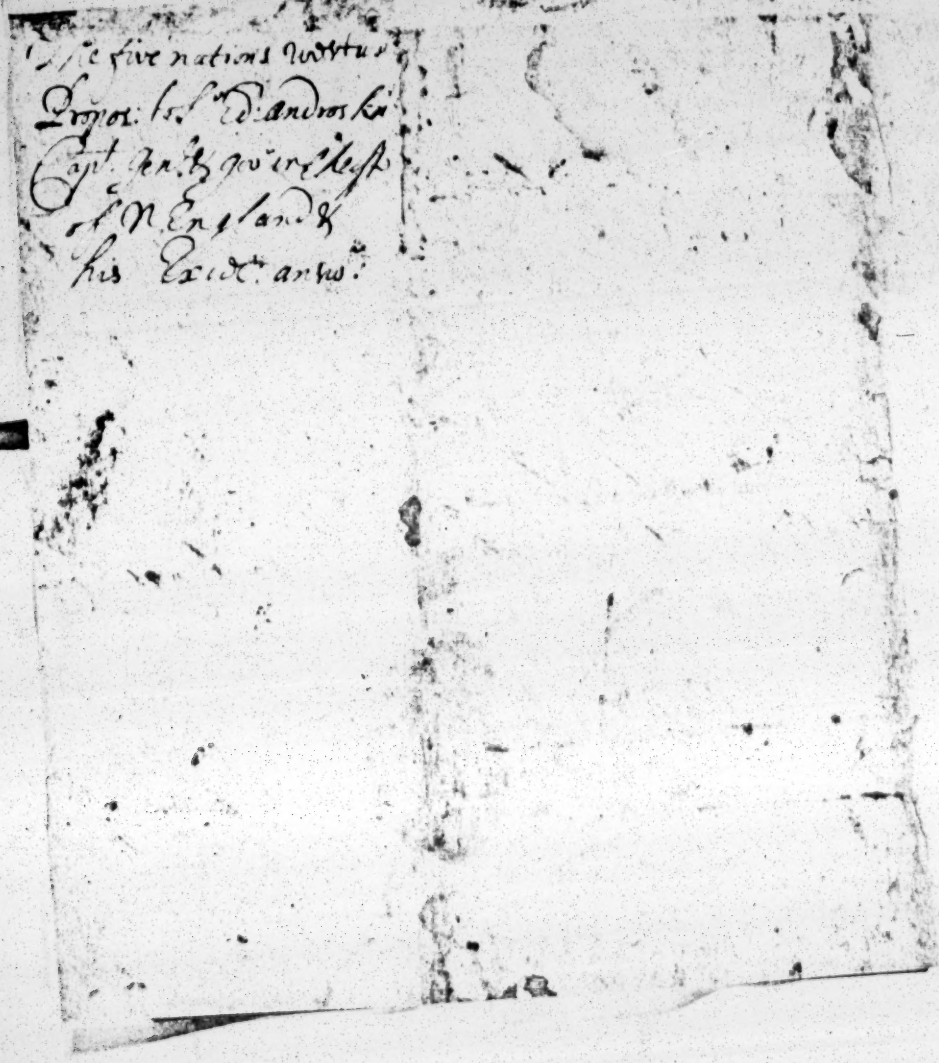
The Cayorgs Sachim Speaks in y. behalf of all y. 5 nations

Excell. Somewhat troubled their minds for y. Last Speech we made yt
friday we did not sleep all the night, we Desyrd yt. we will Bleed
ed to Excell yt. and, for we have Consulted together and are
absolutly Resolved to Performe what yt. Excell. Proposed yesterday
if we meet w. any French we will Treat them with what we have
and will also send
with yt first Conveniency, them as yt. ways are bad from Dis-
Permitt
Further we come to yt. Excell. Lamenting with
Father to make our Complaint, yt. ye French have Treacherously stolen
Shall as our People before yt. wort. & lord yt. Land wilbee to
Further we come to yt. as our father Desyring yt all Endeavors may
and yt. some may be sent all Christ & brought to
for the Indians had a Care of finding the Place from them &
came to yt father and Shewd him yt Treason, The Father would Certain
all his Endevors that yt Children should have yt Stockings again

His Excell. Replyed and said

I was sorry to hear of yt Loss of yt People yt happ'd amid Spondes-
nor Sandy
I have not forgot it tho you may Be assured I will not be wanting to do in it what Christy
are Obliged may be Expect from me to yr

Fin



Documents rel. to the Col. Hist. of N.Y. in 557.

Propositions made by the five Nations of Cannons of Indians (viz.) Shennagaas Sinckes, Onnondages, Cayouges and Sinnaks; to his Excell.: Sr Edmund Andros Knt Capt Gener: and Goverr in Chief of his Majestyes Territ: and Dominion of New England, & the City of Albany this 18 day of Sept: Anno 1688

Sindack Segie Shennagaas
was Speaker:

Brother Corlaer

We are Glad from all the five Nations (viz.) The Sinneks, Cayouges, Onnondages; Sinckes and Shennagaas; to Bid your Excell: Welcome in this place; not Onely your Excell: But your Princes Likewise; and wee Returne Thanks to the Magistrates of Albany into Acquainted wth of your Excell: Coming hither; and that your Excell: was Goverr Generall of all the Territoryes, and the same person is: did us the Kindeness: to be Called Corlaer when your Excell: was Goverr formerly; Upon wch wee Resolved not to come Hastily; But to Run with all speed to Bid your Excell: Welcome: wee Desire

Cuzzed Likewise; and wee Returne Thanks to the Magistrates of Albany who Acquainted us of your Excell: Landing thither; and that your Excell: was Govern.r Generall of all those Territoryes, and the same person wch did us the Kindeness to bee Cald Brother when your Excell: was Govern.r formerly; Upon wch wee Resolved not to Come Heither; but to Return with all speed to Receive You Your Excell: Welcome; Wee Desire Your Excell: will bee pleased to Accept our Small present, being now Very poor; for wee would have presented Your Excell. wth a greater present If wee had not been Confined to a narrow Circle By Onondio (meaning the Govern.r of Canada) who Warring upon us Did so pennin us up this Last Winter, That wee Could not Hunt Neither upon Lake or Creeke If it had been in the Spring Season, wee Could have made a Larger present in Beaver, wee wish Your Excell: Long Life and Prosperity; and that wee may Live In peace and Quietness under Your Government; and all those Nations are Very Glad to See Your Excell: is Come to bee Govern.r here againe; And made all a Low Bow and Gave three Belts of Wampum.

When this Expression was Said all the Indians That Stood by, Called out Yoh Yeh very True

Proposalls made by his Excell.cy Sr Edmund Andross Kn.t Capt Generall and Govern.r in Cheife of his Majestyes Territoryes & Dominion of New England; To the five Nations (Viz.t) the Maquaas; Oneyders; Onnondages; Cayouges and Sennecks in the City Hall of Albany the 19th day of Sept.r 1688.

Children

I am Glad to See you come from your Severall Nations or Cantons in this place; to Visit the Maquaas; Onneydes; Onnondages; Cayouges; & Sennecks; and To hear from your Lords of

(1)

Of your Welfare in those parts of the Government; You have had Notice of the Peace made by our Great King; putting a Stopp to the French Invadeing this Government or annoying You ffarther; & for your Continueing any Act of hostility towards them; wch is punctually to Observed; That to you may goe and hunt as formerly, and need have no other Regard to the French nor hearken to them, then as they are our ffriends to doe them no harme; But hearing of mischeife done since the Peace, by some Indians from Canada; You doe well to be Carefull you bee not Surprized by any, y^t would harme you or forceably take ye your parts, that you may presently take or pursue such as shall Attempt itt; And ffly to prevent ye same, or to Retreat to your next habitation or Castle or to this place, where you may bee safe and assisted as occasion;

Understanding that Severall french Christian Captives are Yett amongst you; You are to take Care that without Delay they bee all brought to this place;

You will doe well to Encourage such of Yours that are gone or married into other parts; to Returne to you with their familyes; and not to hinder any other Indians Coming in a ffriendly manner to you or this place; and ffy you Desire any perticuler ffriendship wch those Indians beyond you; ffy shall be Ready to heare itt; and doe what may be proper for you therein, accordingly ffy shall always bee Ready to hear any thing from their, that may Conduce to your good and welfare; and itt will be your owne fault ffy you doe not Eat Drink and Sleep in Safety;

proper for you therein, accordingly I shall always be Ready to hear any thing from
their; that may Conduce to your good and necessaire, and shall see you in safety
If you doe not Eat Drink and Sleep in Safety.

The answers of the five Nations (viz.) the Maquas, Oneyders, Onnon-
dages, Cayouges, and Sennecas; To the proposalls of Sr. Edmund Andros
Knt. Capt Generall and Governr in Chief of his Majestyes Territorys &
Dominion of New England made at the City Hall of Albany on
Thursday the 25th of Sept. 1689

Sindach Segie the Maquas Speaker
first applyed himself to the five Nations; and said; to Speak to so great an Auditor is —
Inough to Discourage any one; Therefore If I Should faile In Expressing what You have Direc-
ted You must Guide me, and hold me Excused.

Brother

We are Exceeding Glad to see You here, who was formerly in Tionondoge Our —
Third Castle and are assured of Your good Inclinations towards us; because we have Ex-
perienced Your Goodness heretofore; for You was pleased to accept the name of a man that

was

Wee of good Dispositions and Esteemed Dear amongst us; To witt the Ded Lorlaer Laid Down
8 fathom of Wampum:

Wee Maquas now Speak for our Selves, having Consulted ace this day; and finde That what
you Spoke Yesterday Concerning the French; That wee Should not hearken unto them; —
Threw: ch: wee will Observe; and You may see Wee Assured That wee will have no Correspondence with Them; Weare In a Strong Covenant with You and this Govern: ment: ch: w: wee
will never Break; and gave a Smale Belt of Wampum:

Now I Speak in the behalfe of ace the five Nations;

What was proposed by you to us Yesterday wee five Nations will Observe; and If wee —
meet any French in the woods, Lakes, or Creeks; Wee will Treat them as Freinds; and the same
Wee will Doe to the Indians that Live Beyond us; The Late Govern: Desired to Know of us where
the Fittest Place would be in our Country to Erect Forts; and wee told him at Cayonhage; —
and said alsoe That hee would Build a Forte at The End of Corlaers Lake at a place Called
Onjadaraka and to put great Guns in The same; But nothing done; however wee doe
not Insist upon itt: Did Give a Belt of Wampum 12 Deep:

The Maquaes Speak again for themselves:

Onjadarakaano to speak [illegible]
not Julie upon itt; Dio Give a Belt of Wampum 12 Deep.

The Magnases Speak againe for themselves.

The Sachims that Spake formerly with Your Excell.ce are Dead, and wee have not soe
Much Knowledge as they had; Nevertheless thoughthey are Buried, Yett Lett the Old Cove-
nant that was made wth our Ancestors bee kept firme; Then were wee Called Brethren, and
that wch is also well kept; Therefore Lett that of Brother Continue without any Alteration=
Doe give a Belt of wampum 8 Deep.

Not Long agoe wee had a warr with the French; and Delivered Severall of the prisoners wee
took of them to this Governm.t wch are sent to Canada; but when Derrick wessell Return'd wee
never was made acquainted that the same were Delivered; neither doe wee here anything of
Our people that are sent to Canada amongst whom are Some of our Principall Warriors; whose
Names are known Like the Sunn; notwithstanding there of wee keep to that wch is done by the
two great Kings Beyond the Seas there has been another Govern.r here Since your Depar=
ture who was also Called Corlaer but wee are very Glade to See you here againe; and Laid Down
a Belt of wampum to sweep y.e Ground your Excell.cy Stands upon; and againe bid you welle=
come for all y.e five nations; when y.e first Covenant was made wth our old Sachims it was
Concluded that all former Injuryes Should bee throwne in a Bottomless pitt and there was
planted a tree of Welfare whose Braunches Reached into the Clouds upon wch the Sunn
must Shine Bright for Ever; Doe give a Belt of wampum.

The . . . .

The Maquas Speaks for Themselves

If you had a warr w.th fayr Nation and Had our prisoners and the same Governm.t to fight
Ayes as Their owne would it not be a hard Case to Demand them againe; wee have had
a warr w.th the french but they begun itt, Nevertheless wee Show You our Obedience as wee
have alwayes done and Deliver you the french Child according to your Desire and will
Doe our Endeavours as soon as wee Come home to procure these our prisoners that are
amongst us; and Deliver them as Desired; You may perceive how Deare and welcome
you are to us that wee in.to our Delay or going to our Castles Deliver you this Child as a
token of our obedience and give you This Belt for your welcome;
Wee Desire because our memory is Weak that the propositions made yesterday to us may
bee Left in writting w.th Oras the Interpreter, to whome wee may have Recourse for Informa-
tion.

Segunachgita the Cayuge Sachim Stood up and Spoke in the
behalf of y.e Sinneka Cayuges Onnodages Onnades and said

Father Corlaer wee four Nations Except of the name of Children, and Volleys
Several of our Indians were Stolen by the French In the time of peace, and sent

behalf of ye Nations Voyages Ommorages Ommades and said

Father Corlaer wee Four Nations Except of the Iland of Children; are Deliverd Seaven of our Indians were Stolen by the French In the time of peace, and Kept prisoners to France, to the Number of 28 Upon which we Delivered a Belt of Wampum to us Said Annexed to the same saying wee are not Inclined to Deliver up the french prisoners Wee have in our Country before wee have our prisoners that are in France Returned; Especially Towards the Chief Warrior of Cayouge; who is Lamented among us Every day and therfore wee Desire Your Excell to write beyond Sea, That wee may have the same Indians back Again;

The Govern^r of Canada is pleasant to his Eye and Speaks fare to his Lipps But his heart Corrupt; to the Contrary of ye wee finde the old Covenant renewed by the Un Governours Ear been Kept Inviolated;

Upon which his Excell said

You Take notice of the Words, Brethren and Children; But Leave it to once they are both words of Relation and friendship; but Children the nearer what I said Yesterday Remaines upon Record in this place, and doe accordingly Except the Release of all the French Prisoners, Remaineing Still in Your power and you may be assured of my Inclination and Care for you and Yours; and the welfare and Encrease of Your Nations I Spoke to you Yesterday;

The

The Cayouge Sachim perceiving his Excell not well pleased with his speech Concerning the French prisoners, Desired to bee Excused if any thing was spoke amiss, and as for the prisoners they were Deliver them; but itt Cannot bee soon Effected they Desire to Stay a little Time To have itt accomplished.

Fryday 21. day of Sep 1688

The Indians Sent the Interpreter this morning and Desired to speak with his Excell again.

Segwarachqua the Cayouge Sachim Speaks In the Behalfe of all the Five Nations.

Being Sensible Wee did Discourse Our Brother Yesterday Wee Could not Sleep all this Night, Wee Desire that you would bee pleased To Excuse the Same For wee have Consulted together and are Resolved to perform what your Excell proposed yesterday; If wee meet with any French wee will Treat them with

ged To Excuse The Same For wee have Consulted together and are Absolutely
Resolved to performe what Your Excell proposed yesterday; If wee meet wth any
Brench wee will Beat Them with what wee have, and wee also send The French
Captives wch are amongst us by The first Conveniency so soon as the wayes wch are
Farr and Dirty will permitt;
Further wee Come to You wth Teare in our Eyes as to our Father To make our Complaint
That The Brench have Treacherously Stolen Severall of our people Before The[y] came
and sent The same prisoners to France Therefore wee Come to You as our Father
Desireing if all Endeavours may be used That the Same may bee Sett at Liberty
and Brought to Us; For If a Child Had a Pair of Fine Scot Rings Stole From
Him and Came Complaining to The Father and Shewd him ye Theef; The Father
Would Certainely use all his Endeavours That The Child should have The
Stockings againe

His Excell Replyed and Said

I was Sorrow to hear of The Loss of Your People That were Carried Beyond Sea
I have not Forgott nor Shall omitt what is proper For mee

Propositions made
By the Five Nati=
ons of Indians,
at Albany 1684.

Printed in Col Hist of N.Y.
III, 357.

Gift of
Hon. R. C. Winthrop
Mar 14 1867

35:1816

Kinder.

Ick ben ~~Bly~~ verblijdt om sommige van u: L: teer ter Plaetse te sien van u Geheyde naties offt Cantons te weeten de Mahuase. Crijcke Connedages. Ca=tawages & Sinnekes & van u E. hulpe te komen u Welvaert in die oedeelte van't Gouvernt:

Wy hebt kantschap oehadt van d'stillstant van wapens, gemaekt door onse groote Conink. ~~de~~ ~~t~~ Buitende d'franse, haer gevasie, op dat Gouvernment, ~~d~~ u E Vader aftedoen, ~~d~~ u E Continuatie van enige acte van vertrouwelijckheit toons haer, t'welck Punctuelyck moet onderhouden werden, ~~d~~ dat wy ~~Canada~~ uyt dagen moetet gaen de ~~t~~ wil voor deesen, & wy hebt oock andere Redenen voor de franse te stellen noch naer haer ~~d~~ austeren, als dat wy onse vrienden sullen & haer oock quaet te doen,

Maer hoorende dattet quaet oedaen is sedert d'stillstant door eenige uyt de van Canada, Wy sullen dan omsorghvuldigh te sijn dat wy niet Gast & wort door eenige die u Lande afgedaen te doen offt mett acwelt haer selven ~~alleen~~ in u E gedeelte, Dat wy sulcks mogh voorkomen, offt eenigh vangen

offt

off Volgen Sodanige die sulks sullen atten=
teeren; & indien te stark u. Retrett te
maken naar u Vesto by een wooninghe
off Casteel, off tot dese Plaetse, alwaer gij
Se houden, mogt. syn & geassisteert als de oc=
casie sal eysschen.

Verstaende datter Scheede Franse gevangens,
nochtegenwoordigh onder u Syn, Gy sult
sorgh draegen dat sonder uitstel sy alle
hier ter Plaetse sullen gebracht worden.

Gy sult well doen om Sodanige van u Volck
die Stracken syn off retraet in andere
veste aen te moedigen om weder te keeren
by u, met haer Familien; & geen
andere wilde te Shinderen comende in en
Vriendelicke manier by u: off by dese
Plaetse, En soo ay eenige Particuliere
Vrentschap hadt met die wilde die by
u Leggen Se sal Bereyt syn om sulks
te hooren; & dat sy geene
Vyanden
Eyuaelm sal zyn.

Ick sall altyt ~~oeffent~~ syn om yet Vorders te
~~hoore~~ ~~dat magh~~ strecken ~~contribuerende tot~~ 't gene
de Rydvaert, de het sall te doen schult syn
so ey niet eet Drinkt de slaept in ~~de~~ der ~~sut~~

ock sy. op
loon

1688.
Oct. 4. 1,896. A collection of papers enclosed with the preceding letter.

1,896. I. Governor Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor of Canada. New York, 11 August 1688. I beg to announce that the King has annexed this province to the Government of New England. I am, by the King's orders, to demand from you the release of his subjects, Indian and other, who were surprised by you in the lawful prosecution of their trade, together with the restitution of their goods and effects. The King has thought fit to own the Five Nations as his subjects, and is resolved to protect them as such, but so as always to give satisfaction for any injury inflicted by them on French subjects, and to restrain them from committing such injury, provided that French subjects extend the like treatment to them. *Copy.* 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 20 Dec. 1688. *Printed in New York Documents III.*, 555.

1,896. II. The Governor of Canada to Governor Dongan. Ville Marie, 10-20 August 1688. I have received your letters by Mr. Wessells, both requiring a long reply. I also could find much to say to you on the doings of those wild wolves of Albany and others, but since the latest orders of the King your master you will doubtless be on better terms with us. At present I have only to thank you for your care in withdrawing our prisoners from the Indians, and to assure you that the whole Colony recognises your good offices towards these poor men. I do not doubt of the same care in you to obtain the rest. You tell me that you have ordered the Indians to withdraw all their parties, but I see no prospect of receiving assurances from some tribes that they will not make war on us still. I mention this that you may not be surprised if I have given no orders to our Indians to cease hostilities until I know the sentiments of those tribes which I expect every day. Still I will do my best to maintain peace. As regards the fort of Niagara I shall withdraw the garrison as soon as I see things brought to a settlement. *Signed,* Le M. de Denonville. *Endorsed as the preceding. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 556.

1,896. III. Report of the River Indians examined by Captain Wendall, 24 August 1688. As to a meeting between English and French Indians in the country between Canada and the north. The two sides were fighting, when the English, finding themselves the weaker, said that their orders were to fight no more. ½ *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 20 Dec. 1688.

1,896. IV. Extract of Minutes of Council of New England. 29 August 1688. Resolution of the Council, on the request of Colonel Dongan for audit of his accounts, that it has no power to meddle with such accounts or payments

1688.

of the late Government. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. v. Extract from the same. 5 September 1688. Order of the Council that if Colonel Dongan will signify what sum is wanted to pay off the disbanded officers and soldiers, they shall be satisfied. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. vi. Clerk of the Council to Governor Dongan. Esopus, 5 September 1688. Informing him of the above order in Council. ½ *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. vii. Governor Dongan to [?] New York. 8 September 1688. I delivered to you and the Council my accounts of the expenses of the late troubles. When Mr. West gave me the minutes of Council that says you were not to take notice of the expenses incurred before the annexation of New York to New England, he told me that the accounts were among the rest of his papers sent up the river, and must therefore come before you. I am glad that the Council are not such people as he would have represented them to Sir Edmund. I believe everyone of them would be forward to serve King and country for what malice you bear to me *(sic)*. It is very unreasonable that the King's affairs should be delayed. I am sensible of no occasion given unless that I have gone through so long a trouble at so little cost and left everything so well settled. I am going to England; if you have any service there you may command me. *Copy.* 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. viii. Examination of an Indian named Magsigpen, at Albany, 15 September 1688. As to the meeting between French and English Indians, when the English saved a fight by reporting cessation of hostilities. 3 *pp. Endorsed as the foregoing. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 561-563.

1,896. ix. Account of the interview between Sir Edmund Andros and the chief of the Five Nations at Albany. 18-21 September 1688. Addresses of the Indians welcoming the Governor, and of the Governor exhorting them to observe the cessation of hostilities, and to bring in all the French captives, but at the same time to be on their guard. The Indians promised to have no dealings with the French, and producing a captured French child promised to give up the rest of their prisoners. 6½ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 557-561.

1,896. x. Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor of Canada. Albany, 19 September 1688. I am sorry to acquaint you that some of our Indians have been murdered near Springfield, and some of our Christians at Northfield. I have seen your letter of 20th ult., in which you avow that you have not restrained your Indians from hostility, but are awaiting assurances from ours. I think this

1688.

very extraordinary, and I desire that you will forthwith send the murderers to me. I cannot tell you what mischief this has already occasioned in New England, but I think you will be sensible of it, and have therefore ordered no pursuit. I have also bidden the Five Nations to observe the cessation of hostilities, and to give up their French captives. I presume that by this time you have withdrawn your garrison from Niagara. I await your reply as to that and as to all other details comprehended in the truce. *Copy.* 1½ *pp. Endorsed as the preceding. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 557.

1,896. XI. Examination of Derrick Wessells. I was sent to the Governor of Canada to carry the news of the cessation of hostilities, and on the 22nd June delivered it into his own hand at Montreal. I was later sent up by Governor Dongan to Montreal with some prisoners. A few days later the Governor told me and John Rosie that some Indians had left Canada with the Maquas and not returned, and that he hoped that they would do no mischief. The Governor said also that if the truce were broken it could not be helped. I believe that I met one of the Indians afterwards concerned in the murders in Connecticut. Sworn 25 September 1688. 2 *pp. Endorsed as the preceding. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 564.

1,896. XII. Examination of John Rosie. 25 September 1688. In confirmation of the information given in *No.* XI. *Printed in New York Documents III.*, 563.

1,896. XIII. Information from the Indians, communicated by the magistrates of Schenectady. 29 September 1688. Four Maquas, supposed to be spies, are come from Canada, and more are expected this winter. Some Indians have come in with scalps from New England, and the Governor of Canada is very angry about it. He is now at Montreal. The Indians who committed the murder are fled from Canada. The Ottawas have killed some of the Onandagas, the tribe of the Five Nations most affected to the French. 1½ *pp. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 565.

1,896. XIV. Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor of Canada. New York, 1 October 1688. I have received an account of the murders by Indians in Casco Bay, where they brag of further assistance and encouragement from Canada. I must represent this to you and send you duplicates of my former letters, not doubting that you will prevent your Indians from joining with these malefactors, and refuse shelter to the malefactors themselves. I desire that any prisoners brought to you may be freed, and that those who brought them in may be secured, and that the prisoners brought in from Connecticut may be released and sent home. I hope I shall hear from you shortly for the better maintenance of a good under-

1688.

standing between the two crowns. *Copy.* 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 20 Dec. 1688. *Printed in New York Documents III.*, 566.

1,896. XV. Colonel Dongan to Sir Edmund Andros. New York, 2 October 1688. The King expects, as I learn from England, that all Governments here should bear their own charges out of their established revenues and local taxes. I beg therefore that auditors may be appointed to pass my accounts from 25th March last, also the accounts now before your Excellency and Council (as I hear that Mr. Cortlandt has not yet signed them) before your Excellency leaves this place. The collector will give account of the revenue, Mr. Cortlandt of the penny and a half per pound raised for the support of the Government, and I myself for the £500 sent by Lord Howard of Effingham, deducting out of the whole what will be found by the audit to have been disbursed by me, and paying the rest towards the expenses now lying before the Council. *Signed*, Tho. Dongan. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding. Printed in New York Documents III.*, 566.

1,896. XVI. Minutes of Council of New England. New York, 2 October 1688. Colonel Dongan's letter (*see preceding abstract*) read, and consideration deferred. *Signed*, John West. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. XVII. The same. 3 October 1688. Resolved that the Council has no authority to audit Colonel Dongan's accounts, but will be prepared to consider any obstruction to his former orders caused by the change of Government. Major General Winthrop, Captain Nicholson, and Colonel Bayard to inform Colonel Dongan accordingly. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.*

1,896. XVIII. The same. 4 October 1688. The gentlemen appointed to wait on Colonel Dongan reported his answer that he had no particular authority for audit of his accounts, but that this was the practice under himself and his predecessor, and he hoped it would be followed now. 1 *p. Endorsed as the preceding.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXIII., Nos.* 63, 63I.-XVIII.]

Oct. 4. New York. 1,897. Warrant by the Governor of New England for the survey of the forts at New York and for a report as to the necessary repairs. *Signed*, E. Andros. *Countersigned*, John West. 1½ *pp. Endorsed.* [*Col. Papers, Vol. LXIII., No.* 64.]

Oct. 5. Barbados. 1,898. Lieutenant Governor Stede to Lords of Trade and Plantations. I have duly received and shall obey the King's orders to aid Sir Robert Holmes in the suppression of pirates, though, as I have already informed you, there is little prospect of such offenders coming this way, as this is no place to shelter them from justice. They generally go to North America, and it is there that the pirates of the South Seas are said to be gone. Those who captured the sloop in which I had a share went to Newcastle, Pennsylvania, and landed at midday with as much

Yorke

York Feb.ry 14 1669/70 Recorded at the request of Mr. Tho: Loyd president of the Provinc of Pensilvania &c.

The Deposition of Catolina Jno Aged fourtie Ayears or thereabouts taken before the right hon.ble Coll.o Thomas Dongan Lr. and Governour under his Roy.ll high.s James Duke of Yorke and Albany &c. of N.Yorke and its Dependencys in America who saith and Declares in the presence of God as followeth.

That she Came to this Country either in the yeare one thousand six hundred and twenty three or twenty four to the best of her remembrance, And that Jonte Vonish Came Along with her in the same Shipp in which Ship the Govnor Adrian Jonson Came Also over, which Jonte Vonish was

(91)

Married at Goa and that they and their Servants Stayed about three Weeks at this place And then they with eight Seamen more went in a Vessell by ord.r of the Dutch Govnor to Dellaware River where Shee Lived Shee Testifies under my hand and Seale of this Province.

Tho Dongan

Col. Lse. 35:155-185

35:172

Catelyn Trico aged about 82 years born in Paris doth testify & Declare that in ye year 1623 she came into this Country wth a ship called ye Unity wherof was Commander Arien Joriss bl^n going to ye west Ind^a Company's service ye first ship y^t came here for ye s^d Company: assoon as they came to Manhattas now called N: York they sent Two families & six men to Hartford River & Two families & 6 men to Delawar River, and ye rest of ye Passengers with ye ship up as far as Albany which they then called Fort Orangie (when ye ship came as far as Albany) & ye ship came as far as Aquot, to wch they gave the name of Dutch Hoeck, & traded wth ye Indians upon the third part accompt, they had of ye goods they brought ye most & ye third part was about 10 families about which left & erected at Albany round a small fort, and assoon as they had built themselves some huts of Bark: ye Canibales or Rich Indians y^t Maquaas: enemies of Mayagers, Schonders, wth ye Mahawawa & all the Indians came & made Covenant of friendship wth ye Dutch Governors & Commanders & ratified the ordinal Covenants of Peace & agreed with them that they might come & trade at Albany wch was concluded upon. Ye Indians came daily with great multitudes of Beaver & other

Deeds 7:98-99 in Office
of Sec. State.

File with N.C. Col. Recs. 35:182.

C/ 2:74-3 ~~5~~ 49

Catelyn Trico aged about 83 years born in Paris doth testify & Declare that in ye year 1623 she came into this Country wth a ship called ye Unity wherof was Commander Arien Jorisz Blooing to ye West India Company, which was ye first Ship yt came here for ye Company: assoon as they came to Manatans now called N: York they sent Two families & six men to Hartford River & Two families & men to Delawar River, and they left with Wiegous totake Possession and ye rest of ye Passengers went wth ye Ship up as far as Albany which they then called Fort Orangie. When ye Ship came as far as Sopus wch they then called Fort Nassau & ye Ship came as far as Aquot. where some traading was with ye Indians & a traading wth ye Indians upon ye third cure accomplished, they unloaded ye Goods & brought ye Vessell up, third wch about 100 families about were left to themselves all Albany & made a small fort, and assoon as they had built themselves some huttes of Bark: ye Esopus Indians or Wild Indians, ye Maquaas: oneydes: onnondages: Cayugues: & sinnekes, wth ye Wahawawa or Attawawese Indians came & made Covenant & friendship wth ye Arien Joris this Commander bringing him vedal Presents of Beer & Cakes they desyred that they might come & have a Trade with them wch was Concluded upon. Ye Indians came dayly with great multitudes of Beer & traded

there

Col. Lse. 35:166

Deeds 7:98
& Sec. Sta

File vol. II

& 2.74.

wth ye Christians, ther S^d Command anon Jonis
Staid with them all wintr & sent his Sonne Edm^d
wth ye Ships; ye S^d Deponent lived in Albany three
yeare, all which time ye Indians were as quiet as
Lambs & Came and Traded with all ye freedom
imaginable; in ye yeare 1676 ye Deponent came from
Albany & settled at N: Yorke where she lived
afterwards for many yeare & then came to Long
Island where she now lives

The S^d Kathlyn Trico made
oath of ye S^d Deposition
Before me at Hempstead
in Long Island in ye wild
Boarne this 17th day of
October 1691

William Morris
Justice of ye Peace

Relation

Copie

Canada

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES
S

A Quebec Le 30: octobre 1688

Le Recit que j'ay rendu de la conduite de notre guerre
et de la disposition des affaires de ce pays, vous fera connoistre
que les pressentiments que je vous mandoy dans mes precedentes
lettres que de la connoissance que j'ay depuis 23 ans de ces
pays que vous, nous, nous nommir, a cause de l'Boire de
l'eau de vie de sauvage de distribuer de leur guerre de vie alcoolisée
Ainsi je vous prie de croire que je vous dis avec des faits qu'on a
faits dans une entreprise et dans la suite nullement d'aucune
passion que j'aye contre personne, mais seulement de la part que
je prens aux le reste du Pays d'une sincerité commune

M.r De S.t Vallier fut bien surprise en arrivant au pays,
trouva les choses d'une autre disposition qu'il ne les avoit laissé
et bien faché d'avoir tant exagéré dans la lettre qu'il avoit fait
Imprimer a Paris les [illegible] des peuples d'icy, et les benedictions
que Dieu repandoit sur eux: puis qu'ils payent une pollitique assez ordinaire
a ceux de son rang et de sa profession, il fut obligé de rejetter
en dernier qu'il fit, sur les pechez du peuple. Les fleaux dont
Canada estoit accablé, et de exhorter tout le monde a la penitence
la priere, pour appaiser la Colere de Dieu; mais il disoit
fit qu'au moyen de la nouvelle de ses auditeurs, qui les ait
a leur causer plutot humeur que divine, et qui les oblige
supprimer leur deux Cents exemplaires de son livre
apportez, et qui n'ont pas paru depuis

Vous auvez Sceu que depuis Cevain Fait entre les deux Roys
Sur le diffvend des Colonies, Le Roy Dangleterre a donné ordre
au Colonel Dungan Gouvernr D'orange denvoyer Reparer
entre nous et les Iroquois, auec diffences de leur fournir des
Armes et des munitions: S'ils refuseroient de ce faire; de Sorte q
La Damoiselle D'allonne ayant été prise auec trois Soldats
De la garnison du fort Frontenac par 40 Iroquois des villages
D'agnié qui estoient autour de ce fort D'ou estant, et ayant trouué moyen de Donner aduis de leur prise aux
D'orueilleux qui y commandoit, ce commandant enuoya propo
aux Sauuages d'auoir vne conference auec eux, leur mandant q
S'ils vouloient enuoyer trois de leurs dans le dessein, il y en
enuoyeroit autant; les Sauuages y ayant consenty les D'orueilleux
enuoya le S. De l'embreuille just auec deux Soldats, et
leur parla le premier, et leur demanda pourquoy ils prenoient
nos gens, puisque nous n'auions guere de les Gouuern
Ils respondirent pourquoy dont nous auions pris vn des
leurs derniers nations, et que si nous les voulions rendre
ils nous renuoient les nostres; Le Sieur ayant dit qu'ils vin
à Quebec, et qu'il falloit donner aduis de leur demande au
Gouuerneur, ils s'informerent d'vn chef ou ils estoient, et leur
ayant respondu qu'ils estoient enfermés seulement pour les
leur plus facilement enleuer, et Sur leur presenta deux
Colliers pour les obliger à ne point faire de mal a nos
prisonniers et au lieu de retourner le party des Gouuerneur
Ils les Reconduisirent, et furent rejoindre La Damoiselle

D'allouner, mais avec des Visages si tristes et si penitifs qu'elle crut qu'ils l'alloient expedier, cependant elle n'en eut que le peur et fut menée aussitot avec les deux autres a Onontague

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Ces Deux Colliers furent ensuite portez au Colonel damyan qui depecha aussitot am.r le Marquis de Denonville le Nommé grigoire, pour Savoir ce qu'il Souhaitoit par ces deux Colliers; Il leur fit réponse qu'il avoit envoyé am.r D'imyan une personne qui leur diroit ses Intentions

Ce fut Le Devendredy Saincte, qui parut le dernier Jour de Lannée, et fut Changé de demander a Ce Colonel les propositions qu'il vouloit faire, ne voulant pas paroistre avoir fait les premieres demarches

Le Colonel Surpris dit, qu'il n'avoit envoyé que pour faire parler les deux Colliers donnez par le S.r De Lamberville, il ne laissa pas neanmoins d'entrer en raisonnement, et de faire des propositions, mais telles que l'homme ne permettroit pas, den accorder Caplar pour

Sçavoir que l'on fit revenir les prisonniers qui ont esté envoyez en france aux galeres

que l'on Renvoyera tous les Sauvages qui sont depuis tans Dans nos Habitations pour y nous apporter des Castors de la Montagne de Montreal

X quelon fit Razer les forte d'entour, Sauvis Niagava et
Sonneac, et que l'on rendit ce que l'on auoit pris et pillé a lou
Ceuvre gens

Le Commencement de May vn sauuage des Nottez delà B[ra]
de la May[e]. qui auoit este pris l'autonne dernier au Retour de
nostre Armée s'estant sauué, rapporta, que des que le S. vau
fut party d'vn lieu pour s'en venir, le Colonel d'Iroquois fit assem
plusieurs Chefs des nations et leur dit, qu'encore l'auoit on
prié de ménager la paix entre nous et eux; mais qu'ie ne l'auoi
point voulu promettre que la charge de Razer les forte que
nous tenions dans leurs pays; que nous rendrions Tous
leurs prisonniers, et ce que nous auions pillé a leurs gens,
ce qu'il attendoit la Response dönouuis; que cependant il fallo
qu'ils missent bas la hache, sans l'enterrer neanmoins, on
ne la mettant que sous l'herbe, pour la pouuoir reprendre s'il
estoit besoing, que son Roy luy deffendoit de leur fournir des
armes et des munitions; en cas qu'ils voulussent faire la
Guerre aux françois, mais qu'ils ne deuient point s'en allarm
pour ce que si la paix ne se faizoit point, il leur donneroit plu
des siennes, que de les abandonner, que pour voir qu'ils se
tinsent sur leurs gardes, depeut dos la Saison de la paix de
françois, et qu'ils se Repouassent en deux parties, afin d'occupe

Par l'en sa Riviere des forts, et par l'autre le lac Champlain, tant pour empescher les Surprises, que l'avitaillement des forts, en tuant tous les Francois qui si presenteroient

C'est ce qui fa arrivé; car dez le printemps ils se sont repandus de tous costez vers ces lieux là; encore que hors le convoy que l'on fit partir de bonne heure pour le fort Frontenac, et auant qu'ils en occupassent les avenues personne, n'a osé si presenter, jusques a ce que ce convoy redescendoit; une bande de 25 a 30 ennemis Surprirent a la queüe un des Canots, et coupperent les testes a deux hommes a coups de sabre sur les bords du Canot, a la veüe de tous les hommes de ce convoy, dont celuy qui le commandoit, au lieu d'aller au secours de ces miserables, fit Cesser 17. de ses Canots pour renforcer les autres dauage et s'en fuir plus viste

Les Iroquois ainsy repandus faisoient journellement de pareils Coups Cassant des testes, et prenant des prisonniers et trauerserent meme le fort de Chambly qu'ils penserent prendre

Au Commencement de Juillet La Grande gueule un de leurs chefs, accompagné de six des Siens, vint au fort Frontenac demander un officier pour le mener avec luy a Monreal ou je disois qu'il vouloit aller, pour traiter de la paix avec Onontio. Les Sr. De la Perelle Sous lieutenant luy fut donné, et s'etant embarqué dans leur Canot, il ne fut pas peu etonné de rencontrer, cinq lieües au dessous Six cents Sauuages, qui le firent Souuenir a sa Conscience par leur discours qu'ils lui tinrent, mais apres s'en etre diuerti

jls. l'accompagneront jusques la ou S.t François, ou jls. s'arresteront
et trouveront vn autre pouly. de pareil nombre, luy l'aissant continuer
son Chemin auec la grande Guerre a Montreal

C. Barbare apres auoir. exagéré empressem. d'honnorer les
auantages de leur nation, et la facilité qu'ils auroient de la con
seruer, par la connoissance qu'ils auoient de notre foiblesse
dit que comme il auoit toujours aimé l'epargner, il auoit
fait tout ce qu'il auoit pû, pour empescher ses gens de commet
le Degats qu'ils auoient fait, qui estoit de Brusler toutes nos
granges et nos maisons, et tuer tous les bestiaux, de mettre le
feu dans nos Bleds, quand Jls. seront meurs, et apres que nous
serions affamez, venir la pointe du jour attaquer nos forts
et nos Redoutes, quapres ses exortations, jls. les auoient fait
Consentir de venir tous ensemble, pour faire la paix aux
Conditions marquées cy dessus, qu'ils n'auroit que quatre
jours de temps pour aller rejoindre ses gens, qu'honnorer la
rendit promptement reponse, et ne pretendit pas la retenir plus
Longtemps, par ce qu'il ne repondoit pas de ce que pourroit arri

Tous a la fois Lequel dit on Il y a apparence qu'ils seront
facilement venus about de leur dessein, par le deconvagement
des Habitans qui apprehendoient toutes les fois qu'ils entendoient les
femmes et leurs enfans, et sur tout quand jls. apprehendoient

que des six vingt hommes qu'il y avoit en garnison a
Niagara, il n'y en avoit rem' que cinq Soldats un Capitaine
et un Lieutenant et qu'il y avoit mort de la meme maladie. 93.
au fort Frontenac

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Elle avoit venue de la Corruption des vivres qui furent gastez
les Automnes derniers, qu'ils les y apporta, par la faute de ceux
qui croient Chargez de les fournir et de les y faire voiturer,
et de ce qu'on n'avoit pas songé d'envoyer des remedes en ces
deux lieux pour secourir les malades

Ceux qui les avoient fournis et fait voiturer avoient couru
risque de les perdre entierement s'ils n'avoient pas eu de la
Faune, ce qu'on n'eut trouvé le moyen de faire quelque expres
dans un portage, la Cassette des S.r Raimond Commissaire General,
qui avoit envoyé en informer sur les lieux; Coulon ces raisons
obligerent M. Le Gouverneur a dissimuler, et leur donner de ces
Barbare, et a en demeurer a une taxe, qu'il a proposa jusques
a son retour, qu'il promis de faire a la fin de la lune d'avril, pour
Conclure a l'automne en paix, aux conditions precedentes, ce qui
a eu lieu

D'anne le mois de juillet jl arriva a montreal deux
depuiez du colond Dongan, qui ramenerent 13 de nos
francois, entre lesquelz estoit la damoiselle Dallonne,
et on prepara aussitost vn conuoy d'unze cent hommes
pour porter des viures au fort frontenac, la grand Gueule
offrit de ses gens pour y aider; mais on le remercia,
et ce ne fut pas mal apropos, car des quil le conuoy fut
party, les ennemis en prirent vn canot de 3 hommes
a la queue, vers la prerentation, a la pointe de lille de
mourreal, et vn party d'agniers meslez de Loupps fit
jrruption dans la riuiere S.t Francois, jusques ou ces
Barbares descendirent, comme aussy a la Riuiere
du Loup; a Saurel, a contrecoeur et a S.t ours, ou ilz bruleront
tous les batimens, a lareserue des redoits, tuerent tous les
Bestiaux quils trouuerent en ces lieux la, et dans les
grles diconabisinnes, ou bien les auoit faict passer, ce
tout cela sans nulle opposition dennis part, par ce que
la plus part des habitans de ces cotez la estoient emplo
a la conduitte de ce conuoy

Les anglois venus en depuation vers onontio, firent
en sorte en s'en retournant retirer ces gens la, en leur apprenant
la veue qu'ils Ignoroient peut estre pas, mais ils
voulurent envoyer avec nous de la mesme façon, que nous
aurions fait avec eux, outre que l'on a appris de quelque
uns d'entre eux, que le colonel Donzan leur avoit dit, que le
vray moyen de retirer leurs prisonniers, c'etoit de faire
sur nous

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Depuis ce temps il ne c'est fait aucune hostilité, M^r Le
Gouverneur a attendu jusqu'au 10 du mois d'Octobre la
Grand Gueule a montreal, puis est descendu a Quebec.
on ne Sçait ce qui a pu retenir ce barbare, y mourroit
by cet quelque nouvelle entreprise, ou bien t'assemblée de
toutes les nations, dessu bjet de ce qui est arrivé a quatre de
leurs envoyés, quy venoient j'cy, pour prier m^r le gouverneur
d'attendre encore 20 jours leurs embassadeurs

L'aventure est qu'un petit party de Hurons denbas
commandés par le Rat, chef des Sauvages, quy sont sous
nostre protection, ayant rencontré ces 4 envoyés a la
famine, en tua 1 et prit les 3 autres, qu'il ne voulut
point mener au fort frontenac, de peur qu'il ne fut obligé

de les rendre, mais vn des trois qui y auoit eu le bras
casse d'un coup de fuzil s'etant sauué, le Refugié, se
pleignit de l'hostilité de nos alliez, on luy fit entendre
que nous n'y auions aucune part, et on le fit reconduire
auec escorte a onontagué

quelques jours auparauant, quelques agniez de la prairie
de la Mayne en ayant rencontré 4 autres des ennemis dans la
grande riuiere, ils en apporterent les Cheuelures

Les abenaquis j'ndignez aussy de leur coste de nos
menagements ayant veue le meme temps, fait vn par
ont tué sept hommes des ennemis, tant loupis qu'iroq
sur la Riuiere de Chambly, et de la estant allé d'auz
les premieres habitations anglaises, en ont rapporté
7. ou 8. Cheuelures blondes, pour venger, disoient ilz
que le colonel Dongan auoit fait prendre et tuer

Il se peut faire que ces choses apportent du
retardement aux affaires, ce qui ne donne pas peu
de peine a M^r le Gouuerneur, qui se trouue embarr

a cause des menagemens, qu'il a eu pour eux, vne Sauuages,
qui ne sont ces choses la, que par depit de sa conduitte
passée

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en fin on peut dire que les affaires sont en de mechantes
dispositions, et qu'il y a bien lieu de douter qu'on
puisse reparer les fautes qu'on a faites dans
l'entreprise de cette guerre, et dont il y en a de mesme quatre
qui sont importantes

La premiere d'auoir rompu les premieres la paix, qui
est si auantageuse a la colonie, et d'auoir fait la guerre
Sans aucun juste pretexte

La 2 d'auoir pris ceux, a qui par vn manifeste publié on
auoit declaré qu'on n'en vouloit pas, et de les auoir
enuoyés en france aux galeres, pour estre obligés
de les faire venir; ou de continuer vne guerre tout
a fait ruineuse au payis

La 3. apres auoir entrepris la guerre de ne se soutenir par
Sey y de l'auantage qu'on y auoit eu, en poursuiuant
les ennemis, qu'on auroit infailliblement defaits, ce qui
auroit justifié nostre conduitte, et fait voir qu'on n'en

Voulut quaux Sauvagoubans, au lieu, 9me
de Bruler leurs Blés dinde, cela ne nous a attiré que
le mepris des autres nations jroquoises, et celuy de nos
propres Sauvages, qui nous reprochent qune embuscade
de vo hommes aseullement, quy ont fuy après leurs
premières descharges, nous a faict peur, et empesché de
poursuivre, et deffaire

La dernier fait le fort de mayance, quon a este contrain
Dabandonner des la premiere année, sans aucunes
conditions de paix, n'ayant servy qua nous assiéger, et
adamer le parjes d'habitants, quy etoient occupés a y mener
des vivres, et envoyer deviures, tandis que les ennemis Desoloient
nos habitations

Sans parler de la perte que souffre la colonie de l'interrupt
du commerce des bois, n'y que durant cette guerre on nay
donné aucune embuscades sur le passage des ennemis, et que
leur bombiser, on nait fait aucunes jrruptions sur les
Agniés, comme on auroit pu, faire facilement aux les forces
du convoy, ou estoit leurs de nos gens

Je ne parle point de la honte, de ce que cinquante de
ces barbares ayant ravagé tant d'habitations sans que
les gens qui estoient dans les redoutes se soient opposez
ne s'estant point mis en devoir ~~aucunement~~ d'en sortir pour
les poursuivre, et n'ayant point droicts ny ordres
pour cela

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mais ils se sont contentez de se prevaloir des degats,
qu'avoient fait les ennemis, pour tuer le reste des
Bestiaux, et des volailles des habitans, qui ont eu beau
s'en plaindre, M.r le Gouverneur n'y ayant point eu
degard: Ce qui a fait gemir un chacun, et donné lieu a une
infinité de murmures, et de l'ardeur contre cette conduite
dans les conversations particulieres que je tayre icy
par considerations pa[illegible]

Voila l'estat du pays et des dispositions des esprits contre
cette guerre, qui ne croyent pas pouvoir estre terminée
que par un secours considerable, ou par une paix, laq.
bien loing de nous estre avantageuse, ne feva qu'augmenter
l'insolence et le mepris de ces barbares pour nous, aussi bien que
celuy des autres sauvages nos alliez, comme Jls nous le montrent
deja tous ouvertement

on veut cependant rejetter les fautes qui se sont faites sur les pechez des peuples, et pour celá lon a envoyé le P. Cujalvan jésuite l'vn des principaux agens de l'entreprise, pour prevenir les esprits m^r. le Lieutenant de Callieres apres, pour nepresenter les nouueaux contrevenans qui y estoit tantes, depuis le depart de ce Pere

quand aux autres nouuelles particulieres je ne les desduiray pas icy par ce quelles me meneroient trop loin, et qu'il y auroit des choses trop fortes pour de certaines personnes, Si je manquois a Rapporter tout fidellement

J'y adjousteray seullement vn article sur lequel vous pouuez estre en peine, que je ne dise rien, Sauoir Si m^r. le gouuerneur fait quelque commerce; Je vous diray que non, mais que m^e la Gouuernante, qui est d'humeur a ne pas negliger locasion de profit, a fait jusques a la fin de l'yuer dernier, tenir dans le Chateau de quebec, vne chambre, pour ne pas dire vne bouticque, plaine de marchandises, et trouué moyen apres cela de faire vne lotterie, pour se deffaire du Rebut, qui luy estoit resté, ce qui luy a plus produit que sa bonne marchandise

Pour ce qui est des Jurisdiction de m^r. Sommary, bien des gens disent que c'est proffit de l'ocasion; mais Je n'en dis rien, ignorant (navigateur) que les choses dont J'ay vne parfaite connoissance, aussy

je ne dis cecy que sur le bruit commun, mais pour le reste
quy en cy devant, Je proteste de n'etre preuenu daucune
passion, ce que le feray Juterer dupayer, et la pure verité
des choses, me font satisfaire votre curiosité

Au moment que Je trauaillois a ma lettre, Il est arriué j'cy
des enuoyez du Colonel andros, pour renouueller les propositions
du Colonel d'ungan, dont Il occupe la place, mais on fait
vn grand Secret de la reponce, tellement que l'on en
conjecture j'cy vne continuation certaine de la guerre

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6. 9bre 1688

100

Memoire

De l'Estat present des Affaires de ce pays depuis le dixiéme Aoust 1688 jusqu'au dernier Octobre de la meme année

Mrs Arabaste
Magara de
Lapeau

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A Monseigneur

Abregé

Paris

Le Mémoire du Mois d'Aoust dernier Monseigneur m'a informé que les Iroquois de tous les cinq villages me devoient envoyer des deputés pour m'asseurer de la paix et que ces deputés seroient conduits du temps pour convoquer les chefs de tous nos sauvages alliés pour maintenir une paix generalle entre nous les Iroquois et toutes les autres nations. Un party de quarante Barons de Missilimakinac commandé par le nommé le Rat nés soubs de son

Les Iroquois avoient promis d'envoyer des deputés pour ratifier la paix et conduire du rendez vous de Laval ces nations pour la paix generalle.

Mais le chef ces Barons et Missilimakinac pour rompre la paix avec

Cinq ou six Iroquois pour m'examiner

attendre ces deputés Iroquois a vn
passage aué le plus considerable de
nos amis et Immené ses autres a
Missilimakinac, ty deux ans auné
a Catarokouy a été bien reçu de nous,

naturel estant venu a Catarokouy le dernier Juillet ou
y ayant apris que ces deputés me devoient venir trouver apres
a Kohirat feignant de s'en retourner chez luy salla
en bourgade sur le passage de ces deputés. Sur lesquels
fit une decharge de mousquet le plus considerable, tuant des
plus fideles amis et tue des autres a nous affection
reçu quatre coups de fusil se prit les autres qui
emmena chez luy aux Outaouacs. Le Rat passa
ensuitte seul a Catarokouy. Sans vouloir dire le
sujet qui auoit pû le seulement estant hors de la
porte ny allant nous tenir comme le gouuerneur
se retirera d'affaire il se retira fort viste dans les bois
neuf jours après celuy qui auoit receu quatre coups
de fusil qui estoit mesme prisonnier se sauua a
Catarokouy et dit l'infidelité du Rat.

On a remoyé ce considerable aux Iroquois
Il les a empeschés de recommancer la-
guerre disant comme il s'estoit sauué
a Catarokouy.

On renuoya fort soigneusement ce considerable
qui arriua a son village nés a propos car tous les
Iroquois estans persuadés que j'auois fait assassiner
leurs deputés commençoient a chanter la guerre
comme nous, mais ce considerable estant arriué a
village des Onnontagués et ayant dit la bonne
reception qu'il auoit receu a Catarokouy et la bonté
du Rat il obligea tous les Iroquois de se rassembler

, ce Iroquois estant assemblés au
Onnontagués sur le point de renuoyer
d'autres deputés renuoyé du costé
auquel gouuerneur general de N.re

Conseil d'Angleterre cet empa-
chement.

spouome renvoyer d'autres deputés qui l'oranet Suivre
point de partir on l'envoyé de Mons.r Andros nouveau
gouverneur de la nouvelle Angleterre arriva leur
portant ordre de l'aller trouver a Orange ce qui le
firent et ce qui sans doute empescha qu'ils n'executassent
leur resolution deme dernier nouveau et me tenir
parolle.

Cependant comme j'avois resolu d'abandonner le
fort de Niagara par l'impossibilité que j'avois de
changer la garnison et de ravitailler le fort de toutes
les choses necessaires j'avois donné ordre qu'on s'en
retirat au commencement d'octobre voyant differer
davantage, crainte de la maladie et des mauvais
temps qui ne permettent pas d'ordinaire d'aller ou
envoyer si cette saison si bien que la garnison de
Niagara s'en revint ayant veu des Tsonnontouans
mesme qui les estoient allez trouver au fort tout ce que desiroit,
et depuis que les Tsonnontouans desirent fort la paix,
et son fort humiliés, ont abandonné les logemens.

Cependant jugeant bien que sans doute tous les
Iroquois voudront tirer vengeance de l'injure que le pauvre
Buron par le Rat leur a fait j'ay envoyé a
Missilimakinac donner avis de l'action du Rat
afin qu'ils se donnent garde en cas d'Iroquois
qui voudra venger.

Ce qui a obligé de retirer la garnison est
la mauvaise saison et la difficulté de
la subsistance.

J'ay envoyé a Missilimakinac pour
donner avis de l'action du Rat
afin qu'ils se donnent garde en cas d'Iroquois
qui voudra venger.

qui l'aura voulu tout nes autrement pour se déf
et pour auoir tousiour françois la noie sauuage
alliés dese vientenio sur leur garde ne doutans
que l'Iroquois ne les aille visiter pour se vanger
Jeneme suis pas oublié demander quelon fit bien
comprendre combien ilz se trouuoient tort d'auoir
compu l'occasion de faire une paix generalle qui
Conuenoit pour faire leur chasses en repos a
quilz ne peuuent faire apresent.

Cependant estans en attente de recevoir quelq
nouuelles d'Orange et ayant apris la nouuelle de la
Naissance d'un prince de Gasle; Jeerus esme obligé d
faire compliment a Mons.r Andros et aussi luy ma
le deplaisio que j'auois de ceque quelques vnes de nos
Sauuages auoient tué six Anglois ainsy que tous
Terres par les lettres que je luy escrit Dont Je vous
enuoye copies.

Ayant apris par vn sauuage agnié qui ve
du pays ennemy que Mons.r Andros auoit deffendu aux
Iroquois de faire aucun acte d'hostilité sur nous Je
descendu Jey pour le depart de nos Nauires.

Le 19.e de ce mois deux enuoyés de Mons.r Andros
gouuerneur de la Nouuelle Angleterre arriuerent

J'ay fait esté conjouissance au
gouuerneur Anglois est la naissance
du Prince et gasle et luy ay mandé
que j'étois faché est'arque nos
sauuages auoient tués six Anglois
dans leurs habitations sans ordre
de nous.

Mons.r Andros nous a gouuerneur
ma enuoyé deux hommes pour

redire qu'il a defendu a tout les
Iroquois de prendre aucun acte d'hostilité
contre nous leur laissez que
J'envoye justifier qu'il a fait mesme
intentions que Dongan.

qui m'apportera les lettres dont J'ai vous envoye copie avec
ma reponse j'en bés a propos Monseigneur que vous
les voyés car par elle vous verrés que l'esprit et les
sentiments de Dongan ont passé dans le cœur des
Indiens qui peut avoir moins d'emportements a esté
moins furieux mais qui nous sera dorenavant aussi
opposé a peut estre plus dangereux par ses souplesses
et ses douceurs que l'autre n'estoit par ses emportements
et violences.

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x

la maison des Iesuites qu'il a fait
bastir a l'Acadie parce qu'il ne
voulait pas le reconnoistre de la
mesme qu'il a fait d'empescher la conclusion
du traité d'Iroquois auquel nous avons esté
auparavant qu'il nous fut.

Iesuite qu'il a fait prive a l'entreprise d'Allan de la maison
des Iesuites parce qu'il ne le voulait pas reconnoistre
comme dependant de luy. Iesuite vient de faire aux
Iroquois qu'il pretend estre de son gouvernement les
empeschans de venir nous faire des propositions
asseurées qu'en y luy ny les autres gouverneurs Anglois
n'ont plus que tous les peuples ne s'estendront jamais de
faire a cette colonie tout le mal qu'ils pourront. Il y a bien
lieu de croire que les habitans de Baston ont grande
part au pillage qui a esté fait a Campseaux a la
Chedabouctou quelque desaveu qu'en y ayent mesle
les habitans en general.

Ie croit que les habitans de Baston
ont grande part au pillage de la
compagnie d'Acadie.

Sur tout ce que j'ay mandé et veu Monseigneur, a
tout lieu de croire que les reflexions que j'ay fait

Ie me suis pas trompé dans
toutes mes lettres quand j'ay dit
qu'entre l'anglois et nous il estoit

pait quila son bien aise et voio le
frodeau de la guerre, sur nous et qy
croe de leur ité quile voudroint
a laccommodeo sans aucc nos
sunduis

Que lAngloid Desire une paix —
generalle pour avoir tout le Castor
pas lEsroquoit

dans tous mes memoires et lettres. nous avons fait voir
avons a faire des Sauvages qui sont nos Alliés so
amitié ne cherchans que de nous attirer le fardeau
de la guerre pour seloigner lennemy de chez eux
avec lesquels nous avons des preuves certaines qu
voudroint saccommoder sans notre participa
je croy que laction du Roi leur seloignera les mo
de le faire; dailleurs jen ay certain que lAnglois
ne desire rien tant que la paix de lEsroquoit avec to
les nations pour attirer tout le Castor qui leur vien
par le bon marché et par le moyen de lEsroquoit
qui feroit le commerce sil estoit en paix avec tous
nos Sauvages.

nre Lettre et memoire et dautres
autres disent avec tout ce
qui se peut faire et plus avantageux
pour ce pays

Comme je puis que repeter tout ce que jay di
dit dans mes memoires et dans mes lettres tant de
cette année que des autres precedentes sur la paix
absolument necessaire au pays, sur la maniere de
faire la guerre, sur les precautions que lon doit pren
avec les Anglois et sur le besoin que la Religion
le prograis de lEvangile auroit que le Roy saccomm
de tout ce que les Anglois font en ce pays pour
entre dans des repetitions ennuyeuses je nay pa
besoin den dire davantage. Seulement envoye

Sauvage by mauvoise et la curiosité

un memoire au Roy de la necessité indispensable qu'il y a pour les progrès de la Religion et de la Colonie de retablir les Missionnaires Jesuites dans tous les villages Iroquois avec la protection du Roy d'Angleterre. Soit que les Iroquois restent au Roy ou que Sa Majesté cede à sa Majesté Britannique.

Je crepeteray seulement qu'une Union Croitte entre le Roy et le Roy d'Angleterre est absolument necessaire pour obliger les Iroquois de se faire Chrestiens sans quoy l'Evangile ne fera point de progrès en tout ce nouveau monde.

Je crepeteray encore que si le Roy ne peut estre le Seul maistre de tout le pays il faut absolument qu'il paroisse une Croitte Union entre les deux couronnes pour les contraindre de se faire Chrestiens et les retenir dans leur devoir et abaisser leur Orgueil qui les rend des protections qu'ils reconnoissent des Anglois contre nous.

Et comme il faudroit des volumes entiers au lieu de lettres pour dire tout ce que nous voyons Jour de près sur tout les affaires de ces pays tant avec les sauvages qu'ennemis, et alliés et Anglois que sur

qu'il y a de faire en sorte que tout le monde et ses Missionnaires retirent les villages Iroquois et qu'ils soient sous la protection du Roy d'Angleterre

Il faut que le Roy soit Seul maistre en l'Amerique ou que l'union soit tres Croitte entre les deux couronnes pour que la Religion y fasse des Progrès en ce pays, et ce sera une necessité de communiquer par les Iroquois pour les tenir dans leur devoir.

Si nous avons au lieu de longues lettres de Mr. de Callieres qui connoit si parfaitement les avantages et desavantages du pays et qui a assemblé pour les Cinq Nations

Sesasse.

Sededans de la Colonie le Roy estant sur le point d'entr
dans vne grande conference auec le Roy d'Angleterre
sur les affaires de ces pays d'ay eu qu'il estoit ne's Impor
pour le service du Roy d'envoyer a Monseigneur Mons
— Chevalier de Callieres pour l'Informer de tout ce qui
sçait des auantages & desauantages du pays d'qu'il connoi
mieux que qui ce soit.

Je vous asseure Monseigneur qu'il y a ne's peu de gens
qui soient capables d'en parler auec moins d'en ecrire
Je puis dire que chacun en parle par passion et en aime
a le plus souuent selon ses interets particuliers. J'ay eu
Monseigneur ce employ si Important que Je passe
moy meme en France s'il m'estoit permis De le faire

S'il m'estoit permis de passer en France
Je le ferois a ces fins

— ce affaires estant pay'e sont tre's
difficiles la paix en necessaire mais
elle n'est pas a ve'ritable anglois —
prenant party contre nous.

† Ces affaires Jay Monseigneur sont plus difficiles
que nous ne pensons assurement tres plus hab
homme que moy y seroit ne's empesche'. L'interes de
cette Colonie & Dauoir la paix a quelque prix qu
ce soit au l'auenir auantageuse elle se souhaitte
pour la gloire du Roy & l'Interest de la Religi
elle auroit lieu telle sans la malice et la protecti
de l'Anglois

Dieu seul et le sçauoit priue du
Pere ce l'amboville Jesuite

Il m'y a que Dieu qui aye pu cette annee garan
tout le pays de sa ruine Jen'y ay eu aucun merite

redoutoient l'Orage qui menassoit en cela Mons.r de Callieres vous dira mieux que je
la Colonie.

ne puis écrire combien le Pere de lambervillle nous a
été necessaire et avec quelle habileté il a detourné l'Orag
qui nous menassoit et de quelle maniere il a gouverné
les esprits de ces Sauvages et qui ont plus d'habileté qu'on
ne se peut imaginer. Si nous ne nous étions moyen de faire
Sauvages faire et pour les Jesuites retourner tous ces Peres dans leurs anciennes Mission
a gouverné ces Sauvages a soutenu
de tout temps les affaires de
pays.

Tout devois entretenir beaucoup de malheurs pour cela
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Vous
leur je dois dire que jusqu'icy ces leurs habilete
qui a soutenu les affaires du pays a pas le nombre
d'amis qu'ils se sont acquis chez tous les Sauvages le
pas leur Sauvois faire a gouverner les esprits de
ces Barbares qui ne sont Sauvages que de nom.

Il n'y a que la poche sedentaire des
Jesuites ne connoissent pas leurs
interets ny ceux du Roy de ne voulois
pas que les Jesuites continuent
leurs Missions chez les Sauvages
qui sont a portée de Kaskia.

Puisque je suis sur ce Sujet je ne doit pas vous
laisser ignorer le dessein que la compagnie des
peches sedentaires a de empescher que les Peres Jesuites
ne retablissent la mission qu'ils avoient chés les
Sauvages qui sont auprés de Pencagouet ou lors
que je les retournerent a ma priere pour maintenir
ces sauvages dans nos interets n'ets ayant quitté
que cause des grands desordres des boissons.

Il y a aucun Missionnaire qui soit
en de ma pouvois de vous mander Monseigneur

capable | ces gouuernans au sauuages | que ce sera | Un malheur bés grand pour l'accroi
comme eux il les maintiendra dans | Si ces Messieurs sont tombez cette Mission endeau
notre Sainct religion contre les Anglois | mains car Je ne sçaurois pas simaginer quils sy
de cinq ou six ans que dapprendre la langue et bien
gouuerner ces peuples les nauait de Vingt ans ne
Suffit pas et Je vous asseure Monseigneur que les
meilleurs esprits aprés un long nauitiat outre les
fatigues du corps et de l'esprit a soutenir qui rebutten
les plus sçauans une experience de bien des années joint
a celle des autres Missionnaires deuant eux Sur
laquelle vous nos Jesuites nauigent les plus
entendus et les meilleurs Esprits se trouuent tous les
jours bien embarassés a les conduire et celle en cinq
a comprendre selon deux fort reflexion quils ont
a faire a des hommes sans discipline sans loix sans
obeissance et sans Subordination nayans entre
que leur liberté quils porte a ne seruir ne refuser de
ce qui leur en prend maniere Monseigneur qu
Si l'esprit de la Religion ne rend le Maistre de
leur cœur et de leur Esprit Jl nyaura jamais rien
a esperer d'asseuré de ces gens la. La plus part de nos
Chrestiens sont de ces Caracteres qui sont a nos
Missionnaires de grands sujets de consolation
mais auec tout cela la legereté de leur esprit

ne laisse pas de vous faire bien de la peine.

Si donc tous ces sauvages ne sont bien gouvernés à leur
devoir par les Missionnaires qui les ont depuis long temps à
qui ils aiment et connoissent ils se donneront entierement
a l'anglois dont on a deja beaucoup de peines à les
destacher pour le mener pour voisins.

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C'est de l'acadie pleine que je
crains tous les sauvages de l'Acadie de ce coste. Je sen-
suis dans cette guerre pourois bien tout
attirer à nous mais je le crois necessaire et trop que si j'avois pû ne les avois tous pour cette guerre je les
pour sauver l'Acadie. avois volontiers fait venir chez moy ou autrement
très utilement pour moy. Mais l'acadie estant au Roy
comme ce pays cy, le croyant besoin pour son service
contre les ennemis je le croy necessaire pour son service

Je suis un peu trop loin mes pensées qui vous donneront
une legere idée du caractere de tous nos sauvages qui
aux tous cela ont tous la vengeance pour passion
dominante sur toutes les autres. Je vous demande
pardon si je vous suis ennuyeux par cette prolixité
que j'ay cru necessaire vous me la pardonnerés s'il vous
plait.

De la maniere que les anglois De la Maniere que sont les affaires je ne vois point
prendront les Iroquois je n'y a plus de paix à faire sans l'Anglois ainsi je croy que vous
ce paix à faire avec eux

quipas le Roy d'Angleterre.

Je feray bien faire attention sur les conditions de la paix.

Il faut quil paroisse une union et traitté entre Sa Majesté pour l'establissement de la foy chez toutes leurs nations.

Il faudra communiquer par l'Iroquoise qui sera soumise pour toute la suite.

Je doute que lon puisse rien faire d'assuré avec l'Iroquoise si on ne leur rend les prisonniers de France.

Il faut que lon mette entre les deux couronnes que lon ne vendra ny donnera aucune eau de vie aux sauvages sous une estroite rigoureuse peine.

la feré plus avantageusement en Angleterre que je ne la puis faire Jay sur quoy je seray bien necessaire que vous donniez ordre que lon fasse attention sur les conditions qui ne seront bien faite que lon n'aye une entière connoissance des interets de ce pays et ces envoye une raison qui m'a engagé a vous envoyer Monr. de Calliere.

Je croy que il seroit de consequence que la traitte du castor fut reservé pour l'establissement de la foy chez toutes les nations sauvages.

Quelque traitté qui se fasse entre les deux couronnes pour le faire executer de concert avec l'Iroquoise je crains fort que n'aye jamais lieu que les prisonniers qui sont en France ne soient rendus

Il faudra commencer par obliger les Iroquois a prendre des Missionnaires la se faire Chrestien

Il faudra faire une Rigoureuse defense de donner ny traitter ny donner a boire aux sauvages aucune eau de vie ny a porter dans les bois ou dans leurs villages sans quoy Jene fais pas songer qu'aucun Missionnaire puisse jamais rester chez eux.

Il faut faire en sorte que les Iroquois soient neutres si le Roy ne peut retenir a luy le soin qui le soin au Roy, ou aux Anglois ou neutres Il faut toujours une traitte qui entretienne les deux couronnes pour les obliger a se faire Chrestiens la leur contenir.

Il faut faire en sorte que les Anglois ne fassent aucun magasin chez les Iroquois ny sur les Bords des Lacs Ontario, Erié, ny Lac Huron ou Mes Douces.

Il ne faut pas que les Anglois occupent jamais Niagara que j'y quitte a mon grand regret mais Il y auroit quelque inconvenient pour nous a y faire cet establissement.

Il faut savoir quelles Iroquois soient neutres si le Roy ne peut retenir et quand Jen demeurerois au Roy Jen serois toujours plus Anglois que François par les grandes facilités quils ont dallez chez eux, et par la bon prise des marchandises et par le Castor quils leurs rendent plus cher ce qui doit estre une raison pour nous obliger a les engager les Anglois a reunir avec nous pour les faire Chrestiens et pour les contenir dans leur devoir.

Si la Majesté est obligé de les Cedez Il faut faire en sorte que les Anglois ny puissent faire aucun Establissement encore moins sur les Bords des Lacs Ontario Erié ny Lac Huron ou Mes Douces.

Il est fort a craindre Niagara quils voudroient occuper ; cest un poste bien avantageux pour la traitte les terres y sont bonnes et lair fort tempéré.

J'ay un grand regret de ne pas avoir soutenu ce poste qui aussi d'un autre sorte attireroit on pour tout le commerce des Outaouais et en paix de l'Iroquois se faisoit et l'Anglois en auroit sa bonne part mesme de nos fourrures, par cy passé c'estoit les Sauvages nos coureurs de bois alloient avec les Anglois.

A l'egard de la traitte Jen suis certain que les Anglois ont une bien grande demangeison d'envoyer avec les Anglois desirent fort d'avoir la traitte dans les Bois nous l'ammagerons le desirent ce

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reglemans et les limittes doit dessendre. exemple des canots dans les boid: Jey a lieu desperer que le Reglement des limittes preuiendra tous les maux qui nous arriueroint si jes alloient chés nos Sauuages ou si jes en approchoient. La Lettre que nous enuoyons au Monseigneur fera voir avec ces chemins qui les peuuent tuer par les Lacs et riuiere tout a leur a nos Sauuages.

ce Royaume desireroit occupper — l'embouchure de la Riuiere Ouabache — et depuis trois ans il en auroit tiré pour plus de trois cent mille liures. les Sr.s de Tonty a Lorde d'en prendre possession.

+

eu grand dessein d'empescher la Riuiere Ouabache dont jes nauois beaucoup le Commerce des Sr.s de Tonty et j'attirerois le Commerce des Illinois. Jes ont tenté cet établissement trois fois depuis que Jesuis Jey Le sieur de Tonty a Lordre d'aller prendre possession de ces postes et

Je Sçay que les Anglois ont degrandes desseins pour auoir quelques portes dans l'embouchure du Mississipi qui nous seroit tres prejudiciable.

Nous Sauons nouuelle certaine que les Anglois ont degrands desseins sur tout le pays du costé du Sud et sur la Riuiere des Missisipi dont jes tirerois une infinité de pelleteries comme j'ay creu que feroit Mons.r de la Salle. s'il y establi un poste mais je doute que l'air chaud et la rapidité du fleuue permette que les pelleteries s'y puissent conseruer et que l'on y puisse monter aisement des marchandises

Si le Roy ne peut acquerir la Baye

A l'Egard de la Baye d'Hudson sy le Roy

d'Hudson. Il faut donner que les
Rivières et Bois Bois que nous
avons reconnu ces premières
soit avoué.

Nous vous envoyons aussi
avoué pris connaissance des prises en
possession. La cause de la cause qu'on
n'a pas pris envoyer celles que
j'ay donné ordre que l'on prit en
nouveau

ne les a pas été approprié. Il faut du moins que l'on ayt
enpropriété la Rivière Bourbon qui auque conserve la
des plus grandes communications avec les Sauvages du nord
que celle de St. Maurice ou les Portes nelson.

Nous vous envoyons aussi ce que nous avons pris connoissance de
prise de possession et Titres avec quelques relations de
des prises de possession que l'on a fait des postes ces pays
dangereux, a occupé par les anglois comme de Niagara et
Dutson du detroit. J'ay donné ordre qu'on empriè d'autres en
les autres lieux mais cela ne peut venir que l'an
prochain à la guerre a été cause que on n'a pas été en
liberté d'aller dans les lieux ou on auroit dû aller comme
a Tarontho mais d'ailleurs cette prise de possession n'est
pas si necessaire puisque Cataraqui et du tout le lac
Huron a l'égard de l'anglois qui ne nous pouvant
contester la propriété du lac ontario ne sauroit y passer
par aller dans le Nord ou Nord des Hurons.

A l'égard de la guerre Monseigneur j'ai cy avé parlé
dans mes lettres precedentes et nommement dans celle du
mois d'Août dernier donc je vous envoye le duplicata
Je ne suffirai de dire que n'ay aussi que ce qui nous reste
de troupes en état de servir je ne suis pas en état de
rien entreprendre de considerable comme j'aurois
fait tout perdu si je n'avois pas
temporisé par des negociations
cy paix.

j'envoye aussi Lettre et
mémoire precedent ce qui va
a dire sur la mauvaise paix
la guerre.

Rien ce que j'ay de troupes je ne puis
rien entreprendre de considerable
j'aurois tout perdu si je n'avois pas
temporisé par des negociations
cy paix.

avec lequel j'aurois perpetué la guerre. Si j'aurois
par ecouté toutes les propositions de paix. Si j'aurois
pas employé tout l'état de mes provinces. Monseigneur recevra un extrait de
mes troupes qui l'informera de leur état

l'extrait des Troupes fait procede
que j'y detroupe.

Il y a encore deux choses à faire que
de temporiser avec ces Troquois jusque
ce que le Roy veuille faire
un grand effort

Je suis certain Monseigneur qu'il est bien plus
avantageux au Roy de la conservation du pays
de temporiser et alonger les affaires avec ces
Troquois que de les attaquer à demy et de ne leur pas faire
tout le mal qu'il faudroit leur faire. Je suis certain
que si j'avois pu me dispenser de faire la guerre la
paix voyant bien que je ne faisois les choses que
à demy j'aurois mieux aimé differer jusqu'au temps
que le Roy auroit voulu nous mettre en état de
faire un grand effort.

si j'avois pû eviter la guerre je
l'aurois fait

Cependant Monseigneur quoyque je sois persuadé
que nous puissions rien entreprendre dans le prochain
qu'il y ait lieu d'esperer que le Roy d'Angleterre
entrera dans une parfaite liaison avec nous
pour contenir nos ennemis dans le respect de la
soumission. Jusqu'à ce que les affaires soient bien
tranquilles je tiendray bien ferme toujours au

quand le Roy commandera
toutes choses avec l'Angleterre je
ne feray cependant aucune
Armée quelque temps

le du Etat de ses soulmis cède prise à la dépense nécessaire
de ruitailler (a tard Roy soi pas batteaux sans
vos troupes ou une des Canots que lon paye au cent

Outre cela je puis bien encore Sey toujours des
magasins munis de choses necessaires pour la guerre
et avoir du moins deux années de grains d'avance Sey
cas de reduire au meme Etat ou nous étions quand
je suis venu Sey enuvrité ces soulois se exposer a la
Ruine de la poste manifeste du payé car jene
puis quune mechante recolte pour nous produire.
quoyque grace a Dieu nous ayons encore
ressenty de malheurs cependant nous nous sommes
vû des apres que lon a lieu de tremblé quand on y
pense. lannée dernière ne fu pas bonne ce ne
ce qui a été cause que tout lété nous. Jmes de
la mille peines de fournir nos troupes de pain
pendant leté, et nous aurions été dans limpossibilité
de faire une grosse entreprise manque de farines
et de lard. Je prudra dautant ces dépenses pour
en memoire des choses absolument necessaires pour
ces magasins que je prudra gradiouellement selon
le nombre de troupes que le Roy voudra employer

Quoyque je vous aye repeté bien des fois limpossibilité

est plus privé des Magasins et
tout a depuis laissé expirer —
comme il le croit quand Jenvoi vous
la quantité de graine de deux ans
dernier Sey.

Jenvoye un memoire cy
joint des choses necessaires pour les
magasins.

Il faut de necessité renouveller ces —

Colonie en mettre en village si
Convient en mettre en dessus La
Discipline et contenir ces peuples et
Dans l'entier de l'Egalité de Sujets
du Roy.

Leur porte faire reconnu pour suffisant
pour leur contenir dans leurs devoirs

de conserver cette colonie dissipés et les habitans
Contraints les uns des autres comme elles sont jusqu'
puis mettre dedire encore au Monseigneur que
ces hommes opiniatres ne seront absolument
Etonné quand je le voudrons

Leur lorsque j'ay fait faire son voyage pour les peuples comme j'ay fait lorsque Donyan a levé Bureau des seigneuries, de St François, Sorel, le St Dars mais tout cela n'en n'empeche soutenir Cupay a moins que l'on ne forme des Villages que l'on change les concessions des particuliers que l'on ne necessite les habitans de demeurer ensemble comme en France on ne fera jamais rien de cette Colonie ny pour la Religion ny pour la seureté ny pour la discipline Des peuples qui Separés comme ils sont se nourissent dans une Independance et une Indocilité Epouvantable qui dans la Suitte de temps deviendront plus difficiles a gouverner que les Sauvages mesmes.

Voila Monseigneur la pure Verité Les remedes ne sont pas aisé J'ay fait du travail a plusieurs années pour y mettre ordre bien

Saures, que tout le monde sera opposé au
changement de seigneur et habitans, et meme
ceux qui pouront Etre changés de ces soins: cependant
tu payé mes entreprises quoiqu'un qui est rassemblé
et qui a des beaux fonds et fort j'en engage aucun.

Je fais faire un fort a Chambly
deux redoutes et pierres.

C'est une necessité absolüe de faire un fort a Chambly
et de fermer de murailles fort deux redoutes de
pierre, une au delà du grand bassin et l'autre au delà
du rapide qui est le bout du portage de cela
et Monseigneur je le fais faire pas a mesure et le
plus tost sera le mieux.

Je fais changer le village de la
mission du Sault, et fortifier; je
faudra quatre mille livres pour
cela

Je vous fais changer le village du Sault St. Louis
qui ne sauroit demeurer ou il est il est trop exposé
a l'ennemy, le lieu n'est mal sain les bois et les terres
labourables trop eloignées: il faudra au moins mil
lieus de quatre milles livres pour les fortifier nous
ne sçavons pas bien encore ou nous les pourons mettre
car il y a bien des choses a observer sur tout cela de ce
changement ne se peut faire que pendant la paix
en mauvaise situation a leur mauvaise etat
de leur fort ma donné tout l'été des allarmes
épouvantables car tous les jours j'estois risque
d'etre enlevé sans peine.

: Sl y a encore bien des choses a faire pour la seurté de cette Colonie

Il y a tant de choses a faire pour mettre ce pays en seureté que cela fait peur Cependant Monsr voila tout ce qui y a de plus essentiel

e Mrs. de Vaudreuil reste a Montreal pour y commander Se en appliqué — e Sr Gaillard le plus exact le fidel

Jay laissé en mon absence Mr. de Vaudreuil a Montreal pour y commander dans tout le gouvernement en — labsence de Mr. de Callieres Se Sacquitera bien de Vaudreuil estant fort attaché au service Sla — avec luy et Mons. Gaillard qui est un homme très exact a son fidele.

Je croy quil est necessaire que vous donniez vos ordres aux Srs de Callieres pour commander aux fort Eloignez lignes absente.

Jedoit dire a Monseigneur que le service du Roy demande que le commandement de Mrs. de Callieres qui est a la teste de la Colonie Se trouve — souvent aux lieux les plus Eloignés de nos postes ce lorsquil y a des ordres pressés a donner Estant — Eloigné le service en peut souffrir Je vous assure a Monseigneur que ces un très bon Esprit et un — fort bon officier et quil nya jamais eu de Roy de plus capables ny si affectionné au service.

Sile Roy diminue le nombre de ses officiers Je supplie a Monseigneur davoir egard aux sommes de Sallaire dont Le Sieur De Callieres donnera Un memoire.

Comme Se pourra faire que le Roy ayant — vos affaires dans le Roy dAngleterre vos diminuera ses le nombre de nos officiers Je vous — supplie très humblement davoir egard au memoire que Mrs. de Callieres vous en donnera Den

pour ocurdeuéscne bien persuadé que les plus honnestes gens et ceuxqui ont mieux servy ny sont pas oubliés et ceuxqui se sont mariés en ce pays car Je croy que vôtre Intention Est les considerer.

Je suis arivé depuis peu de bonne part que le S.r Andros fit de grands presents aux Sauvages de l'accadie qui sont vers Pentagouet pour les conciliés et les retenir sur les Terres des Anglois. le Père Bigot s'est allé sur les lieux de sa part pour les engager a faire de nouveaux Villages sur les Terres du Roy cette affaire est de Consequence Je croy que nous serons obligé de leur faire des presens pour cela a fin qu'ils ne se laissent pas gagner par les Anglois. Vous voyez Monseigneur le Mal qui nous arriveroit si le Père Bigot qui en est aimé estoit obligé de labandonner cette Mission.

Depuis mes Lettres Escrittes j'ay nouvelle certaine de la Nouvelle Angleterre qu'il se fait un grand mouvement pour quelque entreprise du costé du Canada ou Je crains toujours de satirer le commerce Etant bien assuré que tous nos Sauvages y donneront les mains

(e) Père Bigot en alant mission
(ur Sauvages Vers Pentagouet
(our leur faire faire un nouveau
(illage sur les Terres du Roy
(t Imposer Les quand Rod ne se
(s attire par cet present qu'il leur
(it Et fait maintenir Ces Peres
(ans cette Mission.

(a) nouvelle que les anglois
(ongent a envoyer contre les
(anadas ou nos Sauvages Est
(esirent. le Bruit est que Ces
(nglois veulent faire des
(epresailles sur nous Et le
(emps Et l'intelligence avec les
(roquois

a cause du bon marché Jescay que nous le
Lommuge ou fait Des demarché depuis
peu pour cela Vous voyez Monseigneur que
nous ne pouvons nous garantir De cet orage si
Vous ne l'arrestés pas Un battel auantageux
aux le Roy d'Angleterre ceux de qui Jattends
ces amis m'assurent que les Anglois veulent faire
De represailles sur nos canots que deuant
Descendre de Missilimakinac nous nous tiendrons
tout Dumieux que nous pourons sur nos gar-
mais quand Elle voudront Jentendre aux
Jroquois nous ne pourons Jamais nous
garantir quils ne nous fassent Beaucoup
De mal quelques precautions que nous puis-
prendre, tous les Eloignemens, les difficultés
des chemins a l'Impossibilité De sçauoir ce
qui se passe dans les bois.

Jmmoyeux Outaouais pour que nos francois se tiennent sur leur garde

Jemen vais despescher vn canot pour monter
au Missilimakinac a leur donner auis des
Dessein des Anglois afin quils se precautionent
tout Dumieux quils pourons Aquenoc pour
Erassembler.

Sy en a souhaitter que le vaisseau Le Sen de grande conseqüence que son Equipage des
aye de bonne heure cette affaire ordres en diligence du Angleterre pour arriver toutes
du Roy son Maistre.
choses cau Jeray que ce Vaisseau ne soit en peu
plus dangereux que ce Vaisseau. Donnan ainsy que
Je vous ay mandé cy dessus.

Le Maréchal de Villeroy

MARINE ET COLONIES
ARCHIVES COLONIALES

those barbarians and of the other Savages, our allies, which they already openly manifest towards us.

There is a desire, notwithstanding, to attribute the faults which have been committed, to the sins of the people; and with this view, Father Enjalran, Jesuit, one of the principal Agents of the expedition, has been sent to prejudice the public mind, and Chevalier de Callières, afterwards, to explain the new plans concerted since the Father's departure.

As for the other private news, I shall not relate it here, because it would lead me too far, and would include things too strong for some stomachs, should I amuse myself by giving a faithful report of every thing.

I shall add only one article on which possibly you will find it strange that I have said nothing; namely, whether the Governor carries on any trade? I shall answer, no — but my Lady the Governess *(Madame la gouvernante)* who is disposed not to neglect any opportunity for realizing a profit, has had a room, not to say a shop, full of goods up to the close of last winter in the Castle of Quebec and found means, afterwards, to make a lottery to get rid of the remainder of the rubbish which produced her more than her good merchandise.

As regards her husband's intrigues, many people say, that he takes advantage of the occasion, but I say nothing on this score, as I state only things with which I am perfectly conversant. Therefore, I mention this simply on public rumor. But for all the rest that precedes, I protest that I am not prejudiced by any passion, and that the interest of the Country and pure truth alone induce me to satisfy your curiosity.

Whilst I am occupied with my letter, deputies from Colonel Andros have arrived here to renew the proposals of Colonel Dongan whose place he occupies. But the answer is kept a profound secret, from which circumstance it is inferred here that the continuation of the war is certain.

Abstract of Letters from Canada and the Minister's Remarks thereupon.

CANADA.

Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny. 10th August, 31st October, 6th 9^{ber}, 1688.

The Deputies of Three Iroquois Nations had come to demand peace of Sieur de Denonville, and had promised him to return with those of the other Tribes and to conclude it. These Indians were about to keep their word, and whilst on their way a party of Hurons attacked them, killed some, and took the others prisoners.

That affair interrupted the measures he had adopted to terminate the war this year.

This is a very unfortunate accident at the present conjuncture when it had been desirable for the good of the Colony, and in view of the actual state of affairs in Europe, that a peace should be concluded on advantageous conditions. I hope, however, that things being

It was to be feared even that the Iroquois would believe this to be a snare laid for them by the French; fortunately, however, the principal of these Deputies having escaped from the Hurons went to Cataracouy where he received all sorts of good treatment, so that he returned home quite satisfied with the French and proclaimed that it was in no wise their fault. He, therefore, does not believe it will be any obstacle to the peace.

The greatest embarrassment will come from the English. Sir Andros, who has relieved Colonel Dungan and who has written stating that he had strict orders from the King of England to keep on friendly terms, has forbidden those Indians to make any treaty with the French except through him, pretending that they are under his government.

This induces him to believe that it will be fitter to make, in Europe, that treaty whereby the King will cede the Iroquois to the English, or the English to his Majesty, or they will remain neuter. And with this view he sends Chevalier de Callières who, being perfectly conversant with every thing regarding this country, will be of very great assistance in this matter.

He has found in the country scarcely any Title in support of the rights of the French, and it would be necessary to order the officers of the sovereign council to be more careful in enregistering for the future all the documents which may eventually be of some utility.

It is important that an intimate cordiality between the two nations be apparent on the face of the proposed Treaty, and that whatever be agreed upon in regard to the Iroquois, it be always provided that the French Jesuits shall be at liberty to remain among, and instruct them, without which we shall never succeed in establishing Christianity there; besides, they will be always governed by means of those Fathers. As it is impossible to detach the Iroquois from the English, owing to the cheap market they find with them, great reëstablished by the report the principal of the Iroquois deputies has made to those of his Nation, means will still be found to conclude this peace, and that we shall have intelligence thereof by the first vessels arriving from Canada.

The Prince of Orange having become master of England, it is to be expected that the English will soon declare war. Therefore, there is no probability of the negotiation he proposes entering into in Europe. On the contrary, he must be on his guard to prevent a surprisal by the English, who, possibly, will have orders to make some attack on the Colony. To treat with the King of England, would, besides, be acknowledging him Master of the Iroquois Nation, and it is not proper that this business pass through that channel, since in fact it is certain that the French have taken possession of the Iroquois country before the English could have had any pretence to it, and he can employ his every effort to maintain that possession or at least, to prevent the Iroquois uniting with the English to injure the Colony.

Answered

inconvenience would not result from ceding the property of their country to the said English provided these would be willing to pledge themselves to restrain them.

But it would be necessary to stipulate that they should not have power to make any establishment in the direction of the Iroquois. *(du côté qui regarde les Iroquois.)*

Should his Majesty desire eventually to chastise the Iroquois, we must wait until we have three or four thousand good troops, 2 years' supply of grain and flour, 4 @ 500 bateaux, so as to fall on them at one and the same time in several different places.

This is not the time to think of that war; the King's forces are too much occupied elsewhere, and there is nothing more important for his service, nor more necessary in the present state of affairs, than to conclude peace directly with the Iroquois, His Majesty not being disposed to incur any expense for the continuation of that war.

Such orders are given.

But in order to make peace, it will be necessary to send back to Canada the Iroquois who have been sent to the Galleys.

To give order to furnish them with clothes.

He proposes that they be dressed somewhat decently and that they be under the charge of young Serigny, Naval cadet, who is conversant with their language.

It must not be expected that during the peace, the Iroquois will forego making war on the Illinois and the other Tribes to the South, and therefore he has sent Sieur De la Forest to them with necessary instructions, in order that they be on their guard. And as they can place 2 @ 3 thousand men in the field and the whole of their country is prairie, they hope, if the Iroquois attack them, to be able to surround and conquer them.

Those allies must be protected as much as possible and be not only notified of attacks meditated on them by the Iroquois, but they must be aided and assisted in defending themselves; as nothing contributes more to check the Iroquois — the sole dangerous enemies of the Colony — than the furnishing them employment elsewhere by means of those Indians, our allies, or at least the preventing by all sorts of means, any progress they might make, after which they would not fail to attack the French settlements.

The entire of this year has passed in negotiations, whereby the farmers have had an opportunity to make their harvest.

There have been merely a few attacks by the Iroquois who have burnt some settlements *(habitations)* in the direction of Montreal, but were immediately repelled.

They also attacked, in 40 canoes, a bark which was conveying provisions to Cataracouy, but she forced them off by means of 2 peteraros, with which she killed some of their men.

The mortality has been very great this year both among the soldiers and settlers. The 35 military companies are reduced to 1,418 men, so that 332 soldiers would be required to render them complete.

100 soldiers have died at Niagara with Sieur de Troye who commanded them.

The bad air, and the difficulty of revictualling that post have obliged him to abandon it; besides, the Indians, our allies, for whose retreat he had erected that fort, have made no use of it.

So that he is reduced to preserve Cataracouy, which, however, he will be necessitated to abandon, if the war continue, in consequence of the serious difficulties and expense to be incurred in maintaining it.

The English are the greatest enemies of the Colony, and it would be highly necessary that his Majesty should make an arrangement for their country, without which neither the Religion nor trade can ever be established, and it is certain that, were it not for their aid, the Iroquois would have come with a rope around their necks, to sue for peace.

Sir Andros, governor of New England, has made himself master of Pentagouet and of Sieur de Saint Castin's settlement,[1] pretending that this post belonged to the English, though it has always been in the occupation of the French.

The King hopes he will have made peace this year, and his Majesty has such urgent need of men in the present state of affairs, that he does not send any recruits this year. He, therefore, desires him to reform the incomplete companies, and to incorporate them with the others to bring these to their full number; and to reduce to 28 the 35 companies which were in Canada. He will find annexed hereunto the King's orders to that effect.

The King is persuaded of his having adopted the most advantageous precautions for his service, and for the good of the country of which he is in command, and his Majesty relies on his prudence.

I have already remarked to him that matters are not in a position to enter into any negotiation with the English.

The evil dispositions of the English will now increase still more as they are on the point of declaring war against us, but he must renew his vigilance and care in order to prevent them injuring the Colony.

To report to me every thing that has been done on this subject in England.

Other handwriting. The preceding is bad enough to be from the hand of the Minister himself.

"On the complaint made by M. de Bonrepaus in London of the violence committed at Pentagouet, the English Commissioners told him that the fort which was built on the River of that name on the Acadia side, which is the one that has been plundered by the English, was the property incontestably of the French, but that the other side of that river belonged to them.

[1] See note, supra, p. 265. — Ed.

It is stated, also, that the booty obtained at Chedabouctou has been sold in Boston, and that the English wish to establish themselves on the River Mississipi; therefore, that Nation clearly is determined to destroy the French every where.

Moreover, Sir Andros appears very ill disposed towards us.

The company of young Canadians which had been organized, has been disbanded as soon as there was an opportunity to allow of their going in safety to the Outawas to collect the peltries there.

Economy in the expenses is studied as much as possible, and they beg not to be abandoned.

They send an account of the total application of the funds remitted in the year 1687, for the expenses of the War.

The French claim both sides of that river, and that they ought to have as far as another river called Quinibequy, but no Title thereof can be found up to the present time.

The conclusion of that has been deferred until the renewal of negotiations on the 1st of January, 1689.

I have seen that statement; they must not expect the King can continue such heavy outlays, and I have already informed them that His Majesty has need of men and money elsewhere, and therefore they must content themselves with negotiating a peace by all means with the Iroquois and maintaining the Colony quietly until, times being changed, the King can adopt the most suitable resolutions to render himself master of the neighboring countries.

2nd Extract.

It is indispensably necessary to arrange the Colony differently in order to place it in a state of security; and the best plan is, to collect the settlers into villages; otherwise, they are exposed to the smallest band of savages, and unable to secure their effects.

They even consider it expedient that his Majesty send orders to the Sovereign Council to oblige them to issue the necessary Arrêts on that point.

They will afterwards determine with the principal people *(notables)* of the country in what manner it will be arranged. But it is important that it appear to the public that his Majesty's intention is that the settlements be arranged in villages.

The King has always regarded this point as that which alone can maintain that colony, but however important the execution of this project be, it would destroy it to press it too strongly, and extreme prudence must be used therein. Therefore, even were his Majesty to authorize the issuing of the orders they demand to oblige the Sovereign Council to enact the Arrêts necessary for that purpose, they, on their part, must dispose the minds of the settlers to what is, in that regard, for their security and advantage, and prepare a general plan of the number of villages which can be established in a suitable manner, and endeavor to introduce it by degrees without using any force, commencing with those who will submit voluntarily to such order, and so managing that the example of the first, and the advantages which

The Beaver trade in the woods has been the original evil of the Colony, as it has scattered the settlers and prevented the clearing of the lands.

The use of Brandy has succeeded in entirely spoiling the greater portion of the Indians. Our allies have perished through the excessive use they have made of it.

The Canadians, also, ruin their health thereby, and as the greater number of them drink a large quantity of it early in the morning, they are incapable of doing any thing the remainder of the day.

So that it is considered absolutely necessary to find means to diminish its use among the Canadians and to prohibit its sale or barter to the Indians under severe penalties.

Colonel Dongan has prohibited the giving the Indians any of it to drink at Orange under pain of corporal punishment and 1,000lb fine.

will be found therein, may excite the others to desire the like.

I explain to them, in regard to this, that his Majesty will not make any change in the regulation fixed by the Ordinance of the 24th May, 1679, whereby it is simply forbidden to transport Brandy into the Indian villages at a distance from the French settlements; nor deprive his French and Canadian subjects of the advantage they derive from that trade, which would not fail to fall into the hands of the English immediately on the French abandoning it. Besides, by inflicting condign punishment on those who by the immoderate use of Brandy will commit violences, it is to be hoped their continuance may be prevented.

3d Extract.

They have not been able to learn any news of Sieur de la Salle's expedition, but it is greatly to be feared that the lawless Coureurs de bois among the Outawacs and Illinois will adopt the resolution to go and join him.

To communicate to them the intelligence we have had of his death and of the circumstances which have been described.

4th Extract.

M. de Lagny.

Working people and servants are very scarce, and so extraordinarily dear in Canada, that they ruin all those who undertake any thing.

The introduction of Negro slaves is supposed to be the best means of remedying the difficulty.

The Attorney-General of the Council at present in Paris, assures that if his Majesty approve this proposal, some of the principal inhabitants will cause some to be purchased in the Islands, on the arrival of the vessels from Guinea, and he, himself, is resolved to do so.

His Majesty approves the importation by the inhabitants of Canada, of Negroes for Agricultural purposes, but it is well to remark to them, that it is to be feared that those Negroes coming from a climate so different, may perish in Canada, and this project would then be useless.

Col. Mss. 35: 186

Schenectady, Dec 28, 1688

Mr Peter Schuyler:

These few lines serve to inform you that this afternoon arrived here a Mohawk Indian who reports that another Mohawk Indian had overtaken him coming from the Mohawk country from Taeye Doris, who told me that nine hundred Indians were preparing to go to Canada to fight against the French Christians. The reason was that last fall nine or ten Indians went to Canada with presents and as it is more than a month past the time that they should have returned and have not yet returned, they maintain that they must have been detained and imprisoned or been Killed by the French. I was told this by Joces Cornelissen. The nine hundred Indians are Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Oneidas, but the Indian did not know whether an express was sent by the Senecas to Taeye Doris, but Taeye Doris had told the same to the Indian and I have ordered Akes* if there is any further happening to make diligent investigation and if he hears anything promptly to inform me, and I shall then let you know the same. And as my place is full of Indians, the Indians do not doubt but at the first opportunity something further will follow. Breaking off here I remain

Your Affectionate friend

Sander Glen

* Translated by A. J. F. van Laer

ADDRESSED:

To Mr Peter Schuyler
or to one of his Majestys
Justices of the Peace in the
City of Albany

INDORSED:

Capt Sanders Letter
about the Indians
Dec. 28, 1688

Col.Mss. 35:186-207

35:186

mijnen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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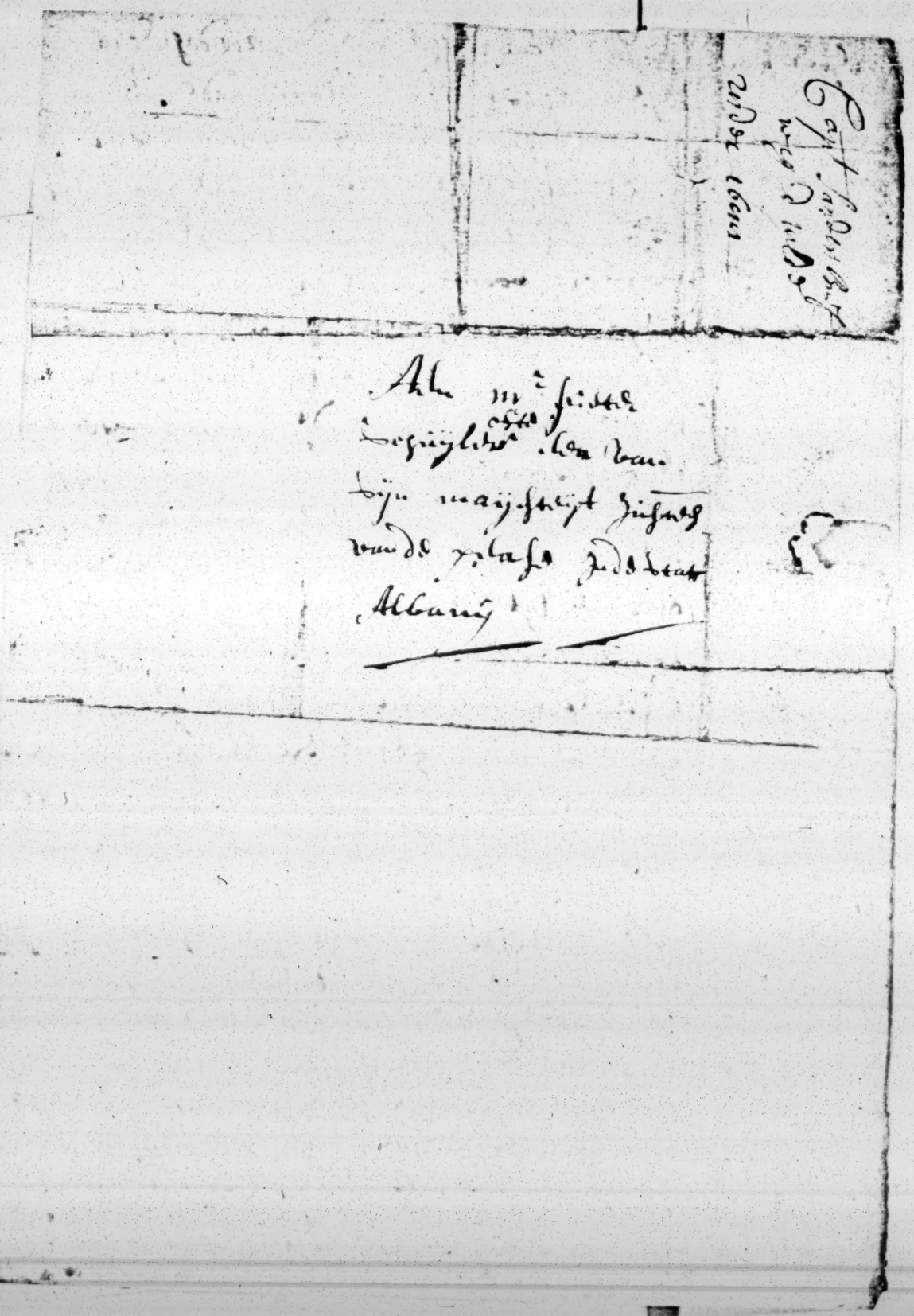
Col.Mss. 35:186-207



lowing ye govr of Canada Called mr Costell when ye Maquase were out a hunting came wth 6 or 700 men into ye Maquase Countrey & Burnt there Castles & Destroyd ther Indian Corn, upon which ye Maquase came home & Pursued ye french as farr as Canida, but could not finde them, & So came home & Rebuilt there Castles where they are now to this day. long after ye french made a Peece wth ye Maquase & then & never before ye Priests came into there Castles Butt ye Indians would not Receive them till ye first English govr. yt came to n: yorke gave them leave.

att ye Same Time govr. nicolls was a Raiseing of men to assist ye Maquase & Sent up as far as ye Sinnekes Countrey & Jagaro to Put up ye king of Englands Coate of armes, in al those Places.

In ye year 1667 ye ottowawaes Dionendadees & Twichtwicks came & gave Presents to govr. nicolls Desyreing that ye 5 nations may open a Path for them to come & Trade wth ye English; which they did & diverse have been here from time to time of those farr nations of Indians.

He Declares yt he & one Brier Cornelise who had an Indian Squae to his wife were Sent by Cornel Nicols in ye Spring 1665 to take Possession off ye Sinnekes Countrey onjagaro & ye Rest of those nations as they were Deliverd to ye English by ye Dutch govr Petrus Stuyvesant

This Deposition was taken before me at Albany ye 2d day of July 1688.

Actum in Albany[1]

The Honorable Gentlemen, Magistrates, Mayor and Aldermen of Albany are requested that the Company to the Ottewawes should again enjoy its money stolen by the French since our creditors ask us for it daily which is unpleasant. Therefore we request that the Gentlemen please send an express-delivery to go and regain the same money to satisfy our creditors. It has been definitely promised to us time and time again that the matter would be dealt with for us and that it would be taken care of, but until now nothing has been done about it. And if the Gentlemen will now honor our request, we will be at their service. If not, we will be forced to go and regain the money in the same way it was stolen from us, with as large a force of the Indians and Christians as we can find for that purpose. For it is not only for our sake, but your interest

[1] Translated from the Dutch.

is also at stake, as well as our brethren's blood who have fought for us for the same and have not been able to fully prosecute their intentions. Therefore, we have all decided now to again command the same and to obtain our revenge. With this we are your humble servants.

The Ottewawese Company.[1]

Instructions for Arnout Cornelise
Interpreter

Since wee are Sent by ye Colonyes of Massashusetts Plymouth and Cannetticute to Treate with the Maquase and oyr nations westward, wee have Discoursd with ye Mayor Aldermen and Justices of ye Citty and County of Albany about ye Bussinesse who Concurr with us yt Somme Sachims and Cheeffe Captans be Sent for accordingly; Butt you are to take Especial Care yt this message doe not hinder or Divert there Pursute of there Victory against ye french which wee hear they Lately had, at which wee are much Rejoyced. But Rather tell them that wee give them all Incouragement Imagineable to Pursue the french Vigorously; Therefore itt would be Requisite thatt they fully Impower Two or three from each nation to come downe and Treat with us yt. wee may Renew our antient frindship, Since we stay here a Purpose for there Comeing where we shall Receive them with all kindenesse Imagineable; It will therefore be Verry acceptable to us yt you make what Speed yu can as farr as ye Sinnekes & acquaint them Herewith according to ye Inclosed order of ye Mayor.

We Remain

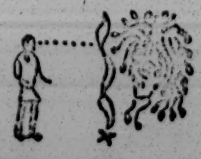
Your Loveing Frindes

/s/ John Pynchon
/s/ Thomas Savage[2]
/s/ Jonathan Bull
/s/ Andr Belcher

Albany ye 30 of august
A° 1689

[1] This is undoubtedly the Magregory company which had been captured by the French and taken prisoners to Canada.

[2] Colden gives this name as *John* Savage and omits Belcher's name. Colden, 1: 119.



. . . they reported that they had discovered the war-chief's fire at great peril to themselves. They said his hair resembled live snakes which hissed when he was angry.

PS: Wee are so farr from hindring there Pursute against ye french yt if 2 or 3 of there Sachims and Captains cannot be Spared that they send one from each nations so he be fully Impoured to Treat with us. It shall be Equally acceptable att the Juncture wh. you may acquaint ye. Indians accordingly & lett them Come wth all Speed Imagineable.

[Arnout Cornelise Alby 20 aug. 1689
Verry good frinde
These are to Convey ye. Inclosed Instructions & order of ye mayor, wh. we Desyre yt. yu may Effect & further wth. all Speed Imaginable Since we Stay Purposely for there Comeing, & Shall Satisfy yu for yr Trouble to Content; You may tell ye Indians by ye By that there are 2 men of warr to ye Eastward who have taken 10 french Ships who have Sent for men to Boston to man Sd Prizes. This is lately done So yt it is Supposed it is not very Safe for ye french at ye mouth of ye Canida River. This is all at *p*sent. We

Remain yr Cordial frinds
John Pynchon
Th. Savage
and Belcher
Jonath Bull

We hear yt ye general Convention is now at onnondage So yt Probably youl finde all ye Sachims there which will Save yu much truble.][1]

Propositions made by Col. John Pynchon Majr Tho Savage Capt. andrew Belsher & Capt. Jonathan Bull agents for ye Collonyes of Massachusets Plymouth & Canetticute to ye River Indians as well Mahikanders as Skachkook indians in ye Citty hall of albu ye 12 day of Sepr 1689

Breth: We being Commissonated by the Severall Collonies in New

[1] There is both a signed, finished copy and a rough draft of this document. The former does not contain the bracketed material, while the latter does. The bracketed material was probably intended as a cover letter and therefore was not included in the finished document.

England viz Massethusets Plymo & Conecticote to renew the Anchant ffrindship and Leaug made by our predisors with the five Nations of Indians viz the Maquase; Oneydes; Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnecks,

We understanding that you are Subjects of this governt & by that means Wraped and Included in the Chaine or Covenant made with ye Nations we doe thinke mete to acquaint yu off ye grat Change or Revolution of Goverment in England and the Quarill now depending betwene Prodistants and Papists; Our great King haveing united the English and Dutch to be as One who are Resolved to Assist him with thire Lives and ffortaines against all that shall Opose;

understanding that the ffrench at Cannida with whose Nation we are Informd by the way of ye west Indies our grat King hath proclaimed warr is now at warr with you; who are in Amety and in Leaug with the Maques and the rest of the Nations and Soe Consiquently with us who are in the Same Chaine with them; We take this Opertunity to Let you know that the Easterne Indians being Instigated and Incoradged by the ffrench at Cannida who are yors and our mortall Enemies; have made Incurssion upon the Out borders of our grat Kings Goverment to the Eastward of Merimeck River & the places there adjasent.

All tho we are not Soe Emediatly Concerned it being out of our Collonies yet we hould our Selves Obledged in duty to Stand for the Defence of all or any of thire Majts Subjects; and we Doe Exspect that you will accompt it yor Duty Leikwise to doe yor utmost to kill and destroy all those of theire Majts Enemies and that you will not hould any Corispondance wh those of the Easterne Indians and will take all Opertunity of Advantag to destroy those of our great Kings and his Subjets Enemies.

All tho wee hear Proclamation of Warr wth ffrance be made in England yet we have not ꝑticular orders from our grat King Concerning that matter but Exspect them dayly which when we shall receive shall not be wanting to doe our utmost for the roting

They reported that his deformed body had seven crooks in it. He always held a war-club in his hands, which were like the claws of a wild animal.

out & Exsturpation of your & our Enemies ye french at Cannida which have byn Soe Trecherous to us both.

We have been Informed of a report you have receivd from the Easterne Indians of a designe the English had agt you and all other Indians to Mischife and Destroy them, & also yt we Should have Treacherously kild there Sachims; We doe now wash our hands of it and Declare it to be uterly false and that we never had any Such thought but on ye Contrary when there Sachims were Sent for were Civilly used & had Presents given them and Sent home in a Sloop Safely, but Soon after they Committed Severall murthers & Rapines, So yt wee can Esteme those falcities noe other than a Stratigem of the ffrench Jesuitts with whome they hould Correspondance to Sugest Such Notions to them on purpos to Sett us at variance: which If you adhere to will undoubtedly prove destructive to you & yor posterety ffor our parts we intend noe evil agt any Indians yt wil live peaceably wth us & to keep the Chaine betwixt us whole and doe Exspect the same from you; and doe hartily wish that those ffoure Easterne Indians of our Enemies which ware with you had been By you Secured as you were ordered by ye gent of alby in yr Castles which would have been very acceptable to our grate King & very gratfully acknowledgd by all thire Majts Subjets.

Propositions made by ye Honble. Col. John Pynchon Majr. Thomas Savage Capt. Andrew Belsher and Capt. Jonathan Bull Agents of ye Severall Governments of New England vizt Massachusetts Plymouth and Canetticut to ye. five nations or Cantons of Indians to witt ye. Maquase Oneydes onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekes in ye. Citty hall of Albany ye 23th day of Septemb: 1689

BRETHREN

WEE being authorised by ye Severall Collonies of N: England, Vizt Massashusetts Plymouth & Canetticute to Renew ye Covenant Chain of frindship which hath many Years agoe been made by our Progenitors with you ye Maquase Oneydes Onondages Cayouges & Sinnekes, have accordingly undergone ye Difficulties of a hard journey to come to this Prefixed Place, and have sent for some of your Sachims and Cheiffe Captains to Effect ye Same, whom wee are gladd to see safe come hither.

2. YOU have had notice of ye Late Revolutions in England where ye Late king James being a Papist and a great Frinde of ye French (who Putt a Stopp to your annoying and being Revenged of ye French Two years agoe) is Removed from the Throne and his Sonne in Law and Daughter who Ruled in holland and are Protestants and Professed Enemies to ye french Intrest are Sent for by the English to be king and queen in there Fathers Stead, by which means ye. English nation and ye Dutch are not only united in a firm Covenant Chaine but are able and unanimously ReSolved to Ruine ye French king, haveing the most Part of all the Christian Princes in Europe on there Side to joyne in that good worke, for as ye french of Canida have often Broke there Faith with you, Soe there king did at home with all his Allyes, Therefore So long as ye French king and ye. Jesuits have ye Command at Canida You can never Expect to live in Peace it being there only Studdy nott only to Dukkoy and Treacherously murther your People butt to Send evill Emissaries amongst you as they did Lately from ye Eastward, to Delude and Raise Jealousies against your Best Frindes who have kept there Covenant Chain Inviolable time out of minde.

3. WEE Cannot but take notice of your kinde answer to ye Interpreter Last march when he was Sent to your Castles to Inform you how Treacherously those Villans ye Kennebek or Eastern Indians had Murtherd diverse of there Majes Subjects without ye Least Provocation and were fled and therefore they there associates or Confederates to be looked upon and taken as Enemies;[1] when you did not only Show your greeffe for ye losse of Soe many of yr. Brethren ye Christians to ye Eastward but would endevour to Revenge there Blood by Destroying of those Perfidous Rogues who Broake there faith with you Some years agoe, and as you then did Verry well Remarke itt was by

[1] A war was then underway between the New Englanders and the Eastern Indians. The latter, however, maintained friendly relations with the Skachkook Indians in New York and, it was suspected, with the Mohawks. This was the reason for this conference. Smith, 1: 87-88.

"He is a cannibal," they said.

ye Instigacon of ye French Soe we finde by Experience yt that false Nation doth sett on ye Easterne Indians with whom they have a Correspondence to doe these Mischeeffs. But Since wee are Informd By ye way of ye. west Indies yt our great king and Queen hath Proclaimd warr against ye french as ye hollanders did Last fall, which if true wee doubt not in a Short time to have orders from them to Ruine ye french of Canida who are your and our avowed Enemies, & by yt means Procure you an everlasting Peace and Tranquillity.

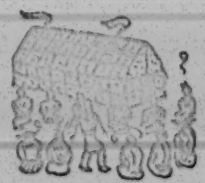
4. WEE are glad to hear you had taken up ye ax to be Revenged of those Perfidous french who so basely Betrayed your People, and doe heartily Congratulate your Late great Succes in your Enterprise against them, not Doubting of your further Succes if Vigorously Pursued which wee doe Recommend unto you in an Especiall manner, and for your Encouragement wee can assure you yt ye English and Dutch have taken and Sunck many of the ffrench kings Best Schips of warr, and that Some Dutch Ships are now Cruseing about ye Mouth of Canida Rivere where they have taken tenn french Ships more.

5. WEE Cannot but admire yt ye Maquase who have had so many Proffs of ye Deceit of ye Eastern Indians should suffer themSelfs To be Deluded to hear any Proposealls whatsoever made by Such Villans Professed Enemyes to there Brethren ye Christians to ye Eastward; Especially Since they were So Strickly Charged by the Gentn of Albany not only to Stopp your Ears & not to accept of there false Presents but send them Prisoners here; for by there owne Proposealls you may Judge what Persones they are, they Plainly tell you they are in amity with ye french your Enemies who Supplyes them with amunition to Destroy ye English and will never be wanting to furnish them with what they shall ask to doe ye Same to you; Wee are further Informed how falsly they have InSinuated to you as if we had Sent for there Sachims and Destroyed them, and yt ye English had Combined to cutt off all ye Indians in ye Country, Such notorious falcityes are Invented by the French Priests to try your Stedfastnesse and to make you become like ye waves of ye great Lake. Butt wee can assure you that there Sachims when Sent for, were not only Civilly Treated with Presents and other Tokens of frindship but Safely Conducted home in a Sloop, who

for thanks fell upon the English & Murtherd them, neither did we ever intend any evill to any Indians that will live Peaceably with us, but on ye Contrare Doe Resolve to Keep firm and whole ye League or Chain of frindship which So long hath been maintained betwixt us, in ye Doeing of which you will be always safe, and since wee are Informed yt ye 3d. Castle of ye Maquase utterly Refused to have any thing to doe with these foure Easterne Indians but by all means would have Sent them as DeSyred, wch was ye occasion of there Parting from ye Rest, wee must acknowlege them to be Prudent People, who have a great Veneration for ye Chain of frindship and therefore wee Recommend you that have had this failure to follow there Example for ye future.

6. WEE Expect yt if any of ye Easterne Indians our Enemies come near any of the Brethren of ye 5 nations or within your Reach or knowlédge, you will not only Deny them all manner of Succor or Releeffe, Butt will accompt it your Intrest to kill & DeStroy them, as well as ye french there Confederates, which will be very acceptable to our king, and wee his Subjects shall take it as a Signall mark of your fidelity.

7. WEE must further Lett you understand that there are Diverse of our ffrinde Indians, as those upon Canetticut River, Pequots, Moheegs, Natiks, and all Indians to ye Southward of them who are in actuall Service against ye Eastern Indians, and are Linked in ye Same Covenant Chain with us, That you doe them no harme when any of your People come neer our Parts Either in Pursute of our Enemies or to Visite your Brethren among us, for ye Prevention whereof it will be Requisite you have a Sign, which for ye first Six moons will be by holding upright ye Butt end of yr gunn and for Six moons after yt holding up of both your hands, and not above Two to appear till Such time they be Discoverd to be frindes, Least Some mischeeffe might befall ye Brethren, which wee Should be much greev'd att, & ye Same Signs we will give to our People both Christians & Indians, & when that time is



Deganawidah then walked back and forth before the Longhouse, singing the Peace Hymn and other sacred songs. Many people came and learned the Peace Hymn. With the power of the songs they were made strong. The Hymn of Peace had particular power.

Expired wee Shall Take care to send yū new ones as occasion shall Require.

/s/ John Pynchon
/s/ Thomas Savage
/s/ Andr: Belcher
/s/ Jonathan Bull.

Names of ye Sachims
Tahaiadoris of ye Maquas Speaker
Rode
Sinnonquirese
ToSoquathe
aquedakoro
SaggaddoochquiSaa
The oneydes
Takajerhos
Canjaquarie
Schaihohade
Dekonrado
The onnondages
Carachkondie
Catsagonne
The Cayouges
Tarondaketho
The Sinnekes
Adondareerha
onerjo

Answer of the five Nations vizt Maquase Oneydes Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekes to the honble Col. John Pynchon Majr Thomas Savage Capt. Andrew Belcher and Capt. Jonathan Bull Agents for ye three Collonies of N: England vizt Massashusetts Plymouth and Cannetticut in ye Citty hall of Albany ye 23th day of Septembr: 1689[1]

THE Speaker Tahaiadoris Cheefe Sachim of ye Maquase made a Long oration to ye 5 nations and Repeated ye Propositions made to them yesterday and DeSyred them as they were come wth a good heart hither to hear ye Brethren of ye 3 Collonies of n: England, they should be attentive to hear ye answer which was to be made to them. Then ye Speaker addressed his Discourse to ye gentn. of N: England and Said

BRETHREN

You are come here to this Prefixed Place which is by the Christians appointed to be ye house of Treatty for all Publique Bussinesse with us ye 5 nations, and doe Return you many thanks for your Renovacon of ye Covenant chain which is not of Yron now as it was formerly, but of Pure Silver, in which chain are Included all there Majes. Subjects from ye Sinnekes Countrey quite to ye Eastward as farr as any Christian Subjects of our great king lives

[1] A different version of these answers is given in Colden, 1: 120-125.

and from thence Southward all along N: Engld. quite to Virginia, doe give a Bevr.

2. WEE are Verry glad to hear of ye good Successe our great king hes had against ye. french by Sea in takeing and Sincking so many of his men of warr; you say wee are one People Pray let us goe hand & hand and joyn together here also and Ruine the French and all our Enemies, as yu. have Said in yr. Proposealls. doe give a Bevr.

3. WEE acknowlege that ye Covenant chain between us is Antient & of long Standing which wee have always kept Inviolate for when you had warrs Some years agoe with ye Indians; we were DeSyred to fall upon those yr Enemies which wee Readily did and Pursued them Closely which pvented ye Effusion of much Christian Blood That was a Sign we loved yu with true and Unfeigned love from our hearts. did give a Belt off wampum.

4. YOU are Pleased to Recommend us to Pursue our Enemies the French Vigorously which wee will endevor to ye. Uttmost for they are your Enemies also, and we being but ill Provided of men in this Place if ye french our Enemies should Come and make an Attaque upon itt, we therefore DeSyre that our Brethren of ye 3 Collonies may Send us a hundred men for our assistance, there is Victualls Enough amongst ye Christians here for there Entertainment. doe give one Bever.

5. WEE acquaint ye Brethren yt we have taken up ye ax against ye french of Canida, we have bore much with them from year to year, The governr. of Canida thought we were affraid of him Butt he was Deceived; Wee acquaint you further that this warr with ye French is never to be laid aside, wee will never give ye French a Smile, nay wee will never be Reconsiled with them So long as there is a frenchman alive. Yea if all our People should be Ruined and Cutt in Peeces, wee will never make peace wth them, & hereupon ye Brethren of ye 3 Collonies may Depend. doe give a Bever.

6. YOW Spoke yesterday of ye onnagongues and Aurages meaning ye Eastern Indians, we never were So Proude to Beginn a

Deganawidah called together all the People of the Flint, and from among them chose one man who was to approach Adodarho and sing the Peace Hymn before his lodge. The Mohawks followed the singer.

warr without Cause, you tell us that they are Treacherous Rogues, we Beleeve it Verry well, you likewise Inform us that they will undoubtedly assist ye french if they should come wth an army, which if they doe or joyne with any of our Enemies ye french or there Indians we can assure you wee will kill and Destroy them as Enemies, doe give one Bever.

The Maquase Said for themSelfs

7. YOW told us Yesterday of ye 2 Signs which we approove of very well accepting of them, and thanke you for yr Carefulnesse, and you being Sachims sent here and now bounde home Probably some of these Rogues ye onnagongues may Lye in waite upon ye Path to doe yu. a mischeeffe wee Maquase does therefore Send 5 of our men with you to Convey you home as farr as ye English Plantacons, what ye other four nations will doe, we know nott, doe give a Belt of wampum.

8. WEE doe Return ye Brethren our hearty thanks for the Presents yesterday given, but Especially for ye Pouder and Lead, althogh our young men who are unsationable doe wonder yt according to Custome in time of warr Some gunns are not also given, Because they are in much want of them. Doe give a Bevr,

The 5 nations Say

9. WEE have now Spoke of ye warr, and are now Come to ye Covenant chain, which we Promise to keep Inviolate, and wish yt ye Sunne of Peace with its Beams may Shine over us all in Peace yt are in said Chain, doe give 2 Belts of wampum ye one for ye Sunn and ye oyr for its Beams.

10. THEY doe Plant the Tree of Peace and Tranquillity here whose Roots are fast in ye grounde and Extend themselfs as farr as ye. uttmost Bounds of yr. Collonies, and if the french should Come to shake yt Tree, wee shall feel it by the Roots which will moove, But we Trust yt it will not be in his Power to shake that Tree which hath been Planted here So long among us, if he can Ruine yt tree of Peace then he will be ye Devill. doe give 2 Bevers.

After the Speaker said he had done the Agents told ye Interpreters to acquaint ye 5 nations that they had not answerd upon ye 2 main Points of ye Propos:

First Concerning ye Entertaining of ye 4 Eastern Messengers

Enemies to ye English that are in ye Covenant with yu. 2ly. That they did not Declare whether they would look upon ye Eastern Indians as Enemies, & if they came neer any of the Brethren or within there Reach or knowlege they would not Accompt it there Intrest to kill and Destroy them.

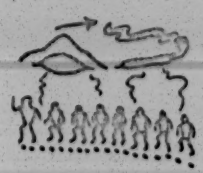
Who answerd that they would willingly have Deliverd up ye Sd 4 messengers and helpe to bynde them, if ye Christians had Come to ye army to fetch them, & yt Jannetje the Messenger had no orders from ye Sachims to Engage the Delivery of sd 4 messengers at Shinnechtady to ye gentn. of albany.

2. That they cannot Positively Declare warr against the Eastern Indians, they haveing Committed no acts of hostility upon them, neverthelesse are Resolved to live and Dye with there Brethren of N England, But ye french and there associates wee are Resolved to warr upon, for in ye Spring when wee took up ye ax against ye french, it was not by Councill or advise of any Body, but our oune Inclination to be Revenged neither did any Soule know of our Intentions for when wee Came to alby to acquaint ye Magistrates with our Design, our men had been out 14 days against ye French.

After the Propositions were over the Sachims of ye 5 nations Sent the Two Interpreters to ye Gentlemen Commissionate from ye 3 Collonies of n: England and Prayd to have ye Favour to Speake with them in Private, Since they had Some what to Communicate which was not free to be Disclosed and being mett Together there Speaker said as follows.[1]

WEE were not willing to Speak this Last Proposition in ye Eye of all ye People for this Reason, least by Some falsehearted Per-

[1] Colden states that the reason for this private conference was that the Iroquois were divided on the matter, with some favoring the Eastern Indians. It would appear from this account that the Indians' desire for secrecy was motivated by fear that their plans would be disclosed. This may or may not conflict with his interpretation. Colden, 124. The conference was completely private, for not even Nicholas Bayard, a prominent government official then in Albany, knew of it, though he described the public conference. Extract of Bayard's letter, September 23, 1689. O'Callaghan, 3: 621.



As they marched through the territory of the People of the Upright Stone, the Oneidas joined them. The Mohawks and Oneidas, walking together through the forest, met the Great Pipe People and also the People of the Great Mountain. Together all four nations marched through the woods toward the Onondaga settlement.

sones our DeSigne should be carried to our Enemies before we have Effected our Bussinesse or Enterprise, Butt now Gentlemen we have Sent for you to Declare our mindes fully to yu. and what our Resolution is Vizt. to tell yu that wee Esteem your Enemies ours, & we are DeSignd and ReSolved to fall first on ye Aurages or Penekook Indians, & then to fall on ye onnagonques & so our Enemies ye french, And in Testimony of our fidelity and truth in what we have Said to you we have now Sent or order'd five of our men to guarde yu. home, & also to Distinguish between your frinde Indians & ye Eastern Indians your Enemies By observeing where they Live, & if they see cause to make Discovery where ye Aurages or Pennecoke Indians are, yt we may see our Path Plaine as our manner is to see and know ye way as clear as we can before we make any onSett, & in a word which is as much as can be said yt your warr is our warr & we will live and Dye with yu

Adondarerha ye Cheeffe Sachim of ye Sinnekes Rose up and Said Brethren of ye five Nations I Rejoyce in your Resolucon, & our Renewing ye League and Strenthening ye Chain and thanke ye Maquase that they have orderd five men to guarde our Brethren home. I would doe ye Same but yt I live So farr off however I will Send one of my best men for yt Service.

A True Copy
Examind By me
Robt. Livingston Cl.

That would, likewise, be the true and perhaps sole means of terminating the wars of Canada, as the Iroquois, after that, could with ease be wholly subjugated; and by going to the source of the evil, the root would be entirely destroyed.

These expeditions appear to me neither feasible nor practicable except only from sea, for, as I had the honor to submit to you when I was leaving Paris, I believe it impossible to adopt sure measures from this point, in conjunction with those that would come by sea. The distance of the places, the uncertainty of the seasons, the difficulty of transporting so far the requisite provisions and necessary munitions for the support of the army, without any entrepôt and in the face of the opposition the Iroquois could offer, being, in my opinion, insurmountable obstacles and sufficient to disconcert any project that might be attempted.

Orange would be the only place within our reach whenever we have here a sufficient body of troops to attempt it, and time to make all our preparations. Even that would require precaution, the thing not being so easy as those who proposed it imagined; which you will be able to see by the plan I send you, whereunto I have caused those of Manath and Corlard to be annexed.

I have been advised that they are incessantly at work at Orange, and that they have reinforced the garrison. But were Manath once in our possession, Orange and the entire territory of New-York would necessarily follow, as would be the case with Canada were the English to become masters of Quebec, which is the sole outlet of this country the same as Manath is of the other.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I am, My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient

and most obliged Servant,

FRONTENAC.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1689, 1690.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in the month of November, 1689, to the month of November, 1690.[1]

Madam

The letters of last year and the more minute information of those who had the honor to pay you their respects on their arrival in France from this country, have made you fully acquainted with the condition in which Count (de Frontenac) found it, the agreeable manner in which he was received, the acclamations of the masses and the universal joy every one evinced at his happy return. All these things are already known and I shall not describe them. I have matters to relate to you infinitely more to his glory, and the actions which have been performed this year justify the idea that that people were truly inspired of God when they called him their liberator. He found himself forced to wage war on his children against his inclination; he employed all sorts of means to induce them to resume the same disposition with which

[1] Addressed, it is supposed, to Mde. de Maintenon, and embodied in Letter II., of the 3d Volume of M. de la Potherie's *Hist. de l'Amerique Septentrionale.* — ED.

he had inspired them when he formerly governed them; they were totally changed by the evil counsels of the English, and these very English were the first punished for the troubles they had created in a country which the common Father had maintained in repose for the space of ten years.

You will see, Madam, in the progress of this Narrative, how those whom the Count employed had acquitted themselves of their duty. The same zeal excited the French, the Canadians and our Indians, and it seemed that, when fighting under such happy auspices, they could not but conquer.

We did not expect to receive any further news from our Upper Indian Allies. They had left here after the sacking of La Chine, their minds full of terror and distrust. They no longer recognized in us those same Frenchmen who were in former times their protectors and who, they thought, were able to defend them against the whole world. They saw nothing on our part but universal supineness; our houses burnt; our people carried off; the finest portion of our country utterly ruined, and all done without scarcely any one being moved, or at least if any attempts were made, the trifling effort recoiled to our shame, and resulted only in the destruction of those who voluntarily sacrificed themselves. They knew it would be very easy for us to oppose this irruption, had we not allowed ourselves to be lulled to sleep by a false hope of peace. They had told their mind, and were very glad that we had deceived ourselves, so as to have a more plausible pretext to execute the resolutions they had long before adopted — to arrange matters with our enemies without our participation, under the supposition that it was beyond our power to defend them.

These bad dispositions were known to Sieur de la Durantaye, commander of Missilimakinac, and to Fathers Nouvel and Carheil, missionaries to the Hurons and Outawas. The interest they feel in the preservation of the Colony obliged them to dispatch Sieur Zachary Jolliet, a trader in that country, to inform the Governor General who was to relieve the Marquis de Denonville, and whose name they did not know, of the state they were in, and of all the designs of the Indians.

He arrived at Quebec at the close of the month of December, and the Count was not less surprised at seeing a man undertake a voyage of this magnitude, which he was obliged to make with only one companion, partly in canoe, partly on the ice, than at the news he brought.

You have learned, Madam, from the Reverend Father Carheil's letter, copy whereof has been sent you by the vessel that sailed last spring, what resolutions the Outawas and Hurons entertained on their arrival. That letter laid bare all their sentiments and showed us that it is difficult to deceive them; the acuteness of their perceptions, and the just measures they adopt in the most difficult affairs, are very perfectly set forth therein. You will find in it a short epitome of their mode of speaking, and of holding their Councils. They are more eloquent than is supposed, and thoug htheir harangues are a little long and they often repeat the same thing, they always go to their object and seldom say any thing superfluous.

The Count determined, at the moment, to send this same Jolliet with five or six men back to Missilimakinak with his orders to Sieur de la Durantaye and his message to the Indians[1] to dissuade them from their designs, and to give them notice of the different parties he was sending against the English for the purpose of renewing active hostilities, and making them repent of all the evil they had wrought on us and our allies; but the messenger, learning

[1] See supra, page 448. — Ed.

that a number of Iroquois were hunting on the way, was prevented continuing his Journey which was not performed until the spring, after the Ice had broken up, when it was effected in the most successful manner possible, as you will learn by and by.

The orders the Count had received from France to commence hostilities against New England and New-York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. No more time was allowed to elapse before executing them than was necessary to transmit despatches to France, and the Count resolved, shortly after, to send out three different expeditions so as to declare war against those rebels at all points at the same time, and to punish them at various places for the protection they had afforded to our enemies the Iroquois. The First party was to be organized at Montreal and to proceed towards Orange; the Second at Three Rivers and to strike a blow in New-York between Boston and Orange, and the third was to depart from Quebec and to reach the seaboard between Boston and Pentagouet, verging towards Acadia.

They all have succeeded perfectly well, and I shall communicate to you their details after I have spoken of an affair which happened at the same time we received the news of the first party from Montreal. The letters of the month of November of last year have advised you, Madam, that the Count, immediately after his arrival at Montreal, had determined to dispatch a convoy to Fort Frontenac in order to endeavor to revictual it and place it in security during the Winter; you have been informed how that post had been abandoned by order of M. de Denonville and that its garrison had arrived the day after the departure of the convoy, which was in consequence obliged to turn back.

That convoy was accompanied by four of the Indians whom the Count brought back from France with Orehaoué, one of the most considerable Chiefs of their nation. This man, whom you will often hear mentioned in the course of this letter, is one of the principal causes of the war. He was much esteemed among his people, and was induced to visit Fort Frontenac under pretence of peace and a feast of friendship, which is their manner of transacting business, and then taken prisoner with forty others of his tribe by order of M. de Denonville who sent them to France, as you are aware; and they had still been in the Galleys if the King did not think proper to send them back here with the Count, the treachery of which they were the victims being in no wise to his taste.

The disposition manifested by Orehaoué, on our arrival here,[1] was such as to encourage us to hope for peace with his nation, inasmuch as war was waged solely on his account; and the kind treatment he and his people experienced at the hands of the Count, since they were with him, ought to have effaced from their recollection all the pain of their slavery. That disposition appeared in the submission of a son to a father. He did nothing without consulting him, and it was of his own motion and with the Count's consent, that those four men, in company with another Indian who had come Ambassador, after the sacking of La Chine, and had offered some very insolent propositions to M. de Denonville, had set out for Onontaë, the principal town of the Iroquois, where all their business is transacted, for the purpose of conveying thither the news of Orehaoué and his people's return, and inviting all their tribe to come to welcome their Father whom they had so long missed, and to thank him for his goodness to them on his return, restoring to them a Chief whom they supposed to have been irrecoverably lost. This, Madam, was the message entrusted to these envoys.

[1] Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec on the 12th October, 1689. — Ed.

They arrived at Montreal on the ninth of March of this year with Gagniogoton, the same ambassador that had gone with them. They remained silent for some days; finally, at the urgent solicitations of M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, who pressed them to speak, they presented him six belts of wampum. This is the guarantee of their words, and it seems, that they could not open their mouths, however eloquent they are, did this belt not make its appearance before they spoke, and did not each of those they offer suggest to them what to say on the different affairs they have to treat of.

The first belt explained the reason of their delay which was caused by the arrival of some Outawas at the Senecas. It said, that some Iroquois prisoners had been restored there in the name of the Nine different Tribes, the Hurons* having no share in this negotiation. The Iroquois were invited to repair in the month of June, to the place indicated, for the purpose of completing the good work of peace, the message of which they had just brought, and of receiving twenty-six additional Iroquois prisoners whom they had to surrender to them. Gagniogoton added, that this was the way things ought to be done when there was a disposition to promote peace, and that people themselves ought to confer about business without referring it to others not of their nation.

* of Missilimakinak.

The second Belt expressed the great joy felt by the Dutch and the Five Iroquois Nations learning the return of Orehaoué, whom they call the General in chief of the entire Iroquois nation.

The third Belt contained the words of Onnontaée in the name of the five Nations. He again demanded the prompt return of Orehaoué whom they still call the Chief of their country, and that he be accompanied by the messenger, by some Indians who had remained among us, and by all those who had returned from France; that they come on the ice in order to consult altogether respecting the measures they should adopt. It added, that all the French prisoners who were in various villages had been brought to Onnontaé, and that no disposition would be made of them until they should hear what Orehaoué would say on his return home.

The fourth Belt spoke thus and was addressed to the Count:— Onnontio, my father (it is thus they name the Governor general) you say you desire to again set up the tree of peace which you planted in your fort (that is, fort Frontenac). This is well. But it is the fifth Belt that is about to speak, and I report it word for word:—

Know you not that the Fire of Peace no longer burns in that Fort; that it is extinguished by the Blood which has been spilt there; the place where the Council was held is all red; it has been desecrated by the treachery perpetrated there; the soil of Ganneyout—a village ten leagues above the Fort—has been polluted by the treacherous seizure of prisoners there; the Seneca country has been defiled by the ravages the French committed there. Repair all this, you will then be at liberty to build up the Fire of peace and friendship in some other place than that in which you have located it, for it has been cast out thence. Fix it, if you like, at Ousaguentera—a place beyond the Fort—or if that be too far, you can select La Gallette where Teganissorens—a great chief who was much attached to the Count before he left the country—will come to meet you. You will be at liberty to bring with you as many people as you please, and I likewise. In fine, Father Onontio, you have whipped your children most severely; your rods were too cutting and too long; after having used me thus, you can readily judge that I have some sense now; I again repeat to you that I, Onnontaé, am master

of all the French prisoners. Make smooth the paths from your abode to La Gallette, and towards Chambly.

The sixth Belt—that a party of twenty men has been out since October who are not to make an attack on us until the melting of the Snow. It promises that if they make any prisoners they will take care of them, and should we take any, on our side, requests us to do the like.

The following are literally the words they add by this Belt:—"I had eight prisoners as my share of the affair at La Chenaye. *I have eaten four of them*, and the other four are alive here: You have been more cruel than I in killing twelve Senecas by shooting them; you have eaten the three others who survived without sparing one; you might have spared one or two. It is in return therefor that I have eaten four of yours, and I have spared four others, in order to show you that you are more cruel than I. What disposition the Oneidas, who accompanied me on the war path, have made of the French prisoners who fell to their lot, I do not know.

At the conclusion of this harangue, M. de Callières inquired if Father Millet, the Jesuit, who was taken at Fort Frontenac, was still living? He answered that, when he left home, twenty-eight days ago, the Father was alive.

He was also asked how it happened that the Mohawks came to make war against us? He answered that ninety Mohegans *(Loups)* had formed a party in which they had engaged some Mohawks and four Oneidas; but that measures had been adopted to follow the Mohawks in order to tell them not to go to war.

This, Madam, is all that M. de Callières learned of the resolutions of the Iroquois on their return. He sent them, shortly after, to Quebec where they arrived without the Belts they had brought from their country, and which they had presented at Montreal. Various reasons prevented the Count listening to them, particularly because he saw that Gagniogoton was the bearer of the message; a man with whom no business could be safely transacted; who was entirely suspected by him, and who had left here to return home *(au pays)* against his will and only at the solicitation of Father Lamberville, the Jesuit.[1]

This occurred at the same time, as I have already informed you, that news arrived at Quebec of the success of the first party that had gone out against the English, and which had been organized at Montreal. It might have consisted of two hundred and ten men; to wit, of 80 Indians of the Sault and the Mountain, sixteen Algonquins, and the remainder Frenchmen. It was commanded by Lieutenants Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène and Daillebous de Mantet, both Canadians, under whom were Sieurs le Moyne d'Iberville and Repentigny de Montesson. The best qualified of the French were Sieurs de Bonrepos and de La Brosse, reduced lieutenants *(reformés)* Sieurs Le Moyne de Biainville, Le Bert du Chesne, and la Marque de Montigny, who all served as volunteers. They took their departure from Montreal in the fore part of February.

After a march of five or six days, they called a council to determine the course they should take, and the point they considered themselves in a condition to attack.

The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and Mantet replied that they started in the hope of attacking Orange, if possible, as it is the capital of New-York and a place of considerable importance, though they had no orders to that effect, but generally to act according as they should judge on the spot of their chances

[1] Compare III., 734. — Ed.

of success, without running too much risk. This appeared to the Indians somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties, and the weakness of the party for so desperate an undertaking. Even one among them whose mind was filled with the recollections of the disasters which he had witnessed last year, inquired of our Frenchmen, "since when had they become so bold?" In reply to their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and that the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an attempt.

As the Indians who had perfect knowledge of the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to consent, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two paths separate—the one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlard.[1] In the course of this march, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlard, according to the advice of the Indians; and that road was taken without calling a new council. Nine days more elapsed before they arrived, having experienced inconceivable difficulties, and having been obliged to wade up to their knees in water, and to break the ice with their feet in order to find a solid footing.

They arrived within two leagues of Corlard about four o'clock in the evening, and were harangued by the Great Mohawk, the chief of the Iroquois of the Sault. He urged on all to perform their duty, and to forget their past fatigue, in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of those traitors. This Indian was without contradiction the most considerable of his tribe, an honest man, as full of spirit, prudence and generosity as possible, and capable at the same time of the grandest undertakings. Four squaws were shortly after discovered in a wigwam who gave every information necessary for the attack on the town. The fire found in their hut served to warm those who were benumbed, and they continued their march, having previously detached Giguières, a Canadian, with nine Indians, on the scout. They discovered no one, and returned to join the main body within one league of Corlard.

At eleven of the clock at night, they came within sight of the town, resolved to defer the assault until two o'clock of the morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay.

The town of Corlard forms a sort of oblong with only two gates—one opposite where our party had halted; the other opening towards Orange, which is only six leagues distant. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and de Mantet were to enter at the first which the squaws pointed out, and which, in fact, was found wide open. Messieurs d'Iberville and de Montesson took the left with another detachment, in order to make themselves masters of that leading to Orange. But they could not discover it, and returned to join the remainder of the party. A profound silence was every where observed, until the two Commanders, who separated after having entered the town for the purpose of encircling it, met at the other extremity.

The signal of attack was given Indian fashion, and the entire force rushed on simultaneously.

M. de Mantet placed himself at the head of one detachment, and reached a small fort where the garrison was under arms. The gate was burst in after a good deal of difficulty, the whole set on fire, and all who defended the place slaughtered.

[1] Schenectady. — Ed.

The sack of the town began a moment before the attack on the fort. Few houses made any resistance. M. de Montigny discovered several which he attempted to carry sword in hand, having tried the musket in vain. He received two thrusts of a halbert *(pertuissane)* one in the body and the other in the arm. But M. de Sainte Hélène having come to his aid, effected an entrance, and put every one who defended the place to the sword. The Massacre lasted two hours. The remainder of the night was spent in placing sentinels, and in taking some rest.

The house belonging to the Minister[1] was ordered to be saved, so as to take him alive to obtain information from him; but as it was not known, it was not spared any more than the others. He was killed in it and his papers burnt before he could be recognized.

At day break some men were sent to the dwelling of Mr. Condre[2] who was Major of the place, and who lived at the other side of the river. He was not willing to surrender, and put himself on the defensive with his servants and some Indians; but as it was resolved not to do him any harm, in consequence of the good treatment that the French had formerly experienced at his hands, M. d'Iberville and the Great Mohawk proceeded thither alone, promised him quarter for himself, his people and his property, whereupon he laid down his arms on their assurance, entertained them in his fort, and returned with them to see the Commandants in the town.

In order to occupy the Indians, who would otherwise have taken to drink and thus rendered themselves unable for defence, the houses had already been set on fire. None were spared in the town but one belonging to Condre, and that of a widow who had six children, whither M. de Montigny had been carried when wounded. All the rest were burnt. The lives of between fifty and sixty persons, old men, women and children were spared, they having escaped the first fury of the attack; also some thirty Iroquois, in order to show them that it was the English and not they against whom the grudge was entertained. The loss on this occasion in houses, cattle and grain, amounts to more than four hundred thousand livres. There were upwards of eighty well built and well furnished houses in the town.

The return march commenced with thirty prisoners. The wounded, who were to be carried, and the plunder with which all the Indians and some Frenchmen were loaded, caused considerable inconvenience. Fifty good horses were brought away. Sixteen of them only reached Montreal. The remainder were killed on the road for food.

Sixty leagues from Corlard the Indians began to hunt, and the French not being able to wait for them, being short of provisions, continued their route, having detached Messrs. d'Iberville and Du Chesne with two Indians before them to Montreal. On the same day, some Frenchmen, who doubtless were very much fatigued, strayed away for fear that they would be obliged to keep up with the main body, believing themselves in safety having eighty Indians in their rear. They were missed at the camp, and waited for the next day until eleven o'clock, but in vain, and no account has since been received of them.

Two hours after, forty men left the main body without acquainting the Commander, continued their route by themselves, and arrived within two leagues of Montreal one day ahead, so that not more than fifty or sixty men remained together. The evening on which

[1] Rev. Peter Tassemaker was a native of Holland. He officiated in Kingston in 1676, and gained the esteem and respect of the people of that place to such a degree that they petitioned for his continuance there as their minister. In 1679 he was ordained by Dominie Newenhuysen as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle in Delaware. *New-York Documentary History* 8vo.. III., 865., *New-York General Entries*, 61. He is said to have been the first Clergyman at Schenectady. — Ed.

[2] Joannes Sanders Glen.

they should arrive at Montreal, being extremely fatigued from fasting and bad roads, the rear fell away from M. de Saint Hélène, who was in front with an Indian guide, and who could not find a place suitable for camping nearer than three or four leagues of the spot where he expected to halt. He was not rejoined by M. de Mantet and the others, until late in the night. Seven have not been found. Next day on parade, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier arrived who announced that they had been attacked by fourteen or fifteen Savages, and that six had been killed. The party proceeded somewhat afflicted at this accident, and arrived at Montreal at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Such, Madam, is the account of what passed at the taking of Corlard. The French lost but twenty-one men, namely four Indians and seventeen Frenchmen. Only one Indian and one Frenchman were killed at the capture of the town. The others were lost on the road.

The return of the Three Rivers and Quebec parties were expected with impatience, but there was no news of them for a long while after.

As soon as the river was open the Count resolved to restore four of Orehaoué's Indians who had brought the belts that Gagnioton had presented at Montreal. They took their departure and were accompanied by Chevalier d'Eau, a half-pay Captain whom the Count had selected for that negotiation.

Orehaoué gave his people eight Belts, which I shall report to you, Madam, as he himself explained them.

The first Belt is to wipe away the tears of the five cabins—these are the five Iroquois Nations—and to cleanse their throats of whatever evil might have remained of the bad things that had occurred, and also to wash away the blood with which they are covered.

The second Belt is to be divided into two:—the first half is to testify Orehaoué's joy on learning that the Outawas had promised to restore the prisoners they had, to the Senecas. The other half, to say to them he was very glad they had notified him to tell Onnontio that they had recommended their people, who had gone out to fight in the fall, to spare the lives of the French whom they may take prisoners, and that Onnontio had promised, on his part, that, should the French take any of theirs, they would act towards them in the same manner, until they should have an answer from those he sends to the Five Nations.

The 3^{d} Belt thanks the Five Nations for having requested Onnontio to send him with his Nephews back on the Ice, and begs them to put all the French prisoners in the hands of the Onondagas, who, if affairs be arranged, may be able to restore them.

The 4th Belt is to tell them that he sees plainly he is forgotten as well as his father Onontio; inasmuch as they have not sent any Chiefs in quest of him, and to speak to their father; and that they would have afforded him pleasure had they sent him even a solitary one.

The 5th Belt is to tell all the Nations that he is desirous of seeing some Chiefs at Montreal; that he is like a drunken man who has lost his senses, seeing they send nobody for him; and he wishes those who had been in the habit of transacting business with him to come, in order that they may be aware of the good disposition Onnontio entertains towards the whole Nation, and of the good treatment he and his Nephews have received since they have been placed under his care in France.

The 6th Belt is to tie the arms of the Five Nations in order to draw them to Montreal, after which they will take him back with them.

The 7th Belt is to say, that it is at his request Onnontio has sent one of his principal officers whom they also well know to accompany his people; that this Belt is likewise to exhort them

not to listen to the Dutch who have turned their heads, and not to meddle with the affairs of those men, nor to be uneasy because Onnontio has begun to chastise them as they are Rebels to their lawful King who is protected by the Great Onnontio (that is, the King). That this war does not concern them, which they may perfectly understand because the French, in sacking Corlard, did no harm to those of their Nation, all of whom they sent back without wishing even to bring any of them away prisoners.

The 8th and last Belt is to say, that the Orehaoué is brother of all the French, but particularly of Collin, who had great care of them during their voyage from France and since their return to this Country, and that they both form but one body; and that being unwilling though anxious to go and see them until they came in quest of him, he divides himself in two and sends one-half of himself, to invite them to come and get him in all safety, inasmuch as they will be as free as he; that he does not wish to quit his father to whom he desires to be always united. Let them take courage, then, and come to Montreal where they will find him with Onnontio, who always entertains for him and the entire Nation, the same friendship that he has given them so many proofs of, during ten years.[1]

Gagniegoton was not among the number of those Indians who returned to their country. Chevalier d'Eau was accompanied by four Frenchmen and by Colin, of whom Orehaoué speaks in those Belts, who always acted as Interpreter to the Count in the voyage from France and since his arrival here. He was not entrusted with any message for the Iroquois. He was only to be present at the resolutions to be adopted on Orehaoué's message, to support the negotiation of those people, without being a party to it himself, and be a witness of all in order to make a faithful report of it.[2]

No reliable news have been received from him since he left. We have only learned from the English who came this fall to attack Quebec, that the Iroquois, as a proof that they desired no arrangement with us, had conducted him to New-York, and that he was a prisoner there without any harm being done him.

M. de Louvigny, a half pay captain, whom the Count sent to Missilimakinak to relieve Sieur de la Durantaye, also a reduced captain who commanded there, left Montreal at this time with Sieur Nicolas Perrot who was entrusted with presents and messages which the Count sent to all the Upper Nations. He was to dissuade them from the alliance they were negotiating with the Iroquois and English and which was nigh concluded. I send you copy of these messages.

He was accompanied by one hundred and forty-three French Voyageurs and six Indians. The French were going in search of peltries belonging to them, and which they could not bring down here in former years in consequence of the war, Captain d'Hosta and Lieutenant de la Gameraye, both reduced officers, were likewise ordered to accompany them with thirty men, only as far as the Calumets,[3] sixty leagues from Montreal, to bring back news of their passing that place, beyond which there was no longer any danger.

On the twenty-second of May, they left the head of the Island of Montreal; having halted on the second of June, three leagues above the place called Les Chats, under shelter of a point that shot out quite far into the River, they discovered two Iroquois canoes which appeared at the end of the Point.

Mess" de Louvigny and d'Hosta resolved to send thither three canoes of ten men each, and sixty men by land to surround them on all sides. Sieurs d'Hosta and De la Gemeraye

[1] Compare III., 735, 736. [2] Chevalier D'Eau's Instructions are in III., 733. [3] On the Ottawa River.—Ed.

embarked on board the canoes and Sieur de Louvigny was to lead the land party. The three canoes soon reached the enemy, and received a heavy point blank fire, the enemy aiming at them from the shore where they lay in ambush. Four Frenchmen were killed by this first volley. Two only remained unhurt in the canoe of Sieur de la Gemeraye who wished to be the first to land. They were therefore obliged to return to the place where they had left the other canoes. They found Sieur de Louvigny there, whom Perrot would not permit to quit him, for fear of risking the King's presents too much, and of being no longer in a condition (in case they were defeated) of continuing their voyage, and terminating the negotiation they were engaged in with the upper Nations.

The urgent prayers of Sieur d'Hosta and the despair of Sieur de Louvigny at the loss of his men, prevailed over Perrot's objections. They put themselves at the head of fifty @ sixty men and ran over land to attack the ambuscade of the enemy. Their first shock was so overwhelming that they forced the Indians to embark precipitately. They killed in all more than thirty Iroquois and many were wounded in the four canoes that escaped of the thirteen which they numbered. Four prisoners were taken; two men and two women. One of the men has been carried to Missilimakinak and eaten by the Hurons and Outawas; the other who was brought to Quebec, has been presented by the Count to Orehaoué.

Sieur d'Hosta returned to Montreal after the fight, and Sieur de Louvigny continued his journey without any mishap. You will learn, by and by, the result of this negotiation.

News was shortly after received through some volunteers who returned and the prisoners they took, of the expedition from Three Rivers commanded by Sieur d'Hertel.

He was accompanied by three of his sons, twenty-four Frenchmen, twenty Soccoquis Indians and five Algonquins, making in all fifty two men. They left Three Rivers on the twenty-eighth of January. After a long and most fatiguing journey he arrived on the twenty-seventh March near an English Village called Salmon falls,[1] which he resolved to attack after reconnoitering the place. He separated his party into three divisions in order to assault the three principal points. The first, composed of eleven men, was to attack a small stockaded fort of four bastions; the second, of fifteen, to capture a large fortified house, and himself with the balance was to attack another Fort which was supplied with a cannon. These three posts were carried without any great resistance. Those who made any resistance were killed, and the others were taken prisoners to the number of fifty-four. One Frenchman had his thigh broken in this attack and died the day following. Twenty-seven houses were burnt, and two thousand head of cattle perished in the stables. After this blow, scarcely any thing remained on the premises which were only six leagues distant from Pescadouet,[2] an English town, from which a considerable force could march against him. And, in fact, two Indians reported to M. d'Hertel, in the course of the night, that a body of two hundred men was coming to attack him. He made a stand on the bank of a small river[3] which the enemy, in order to reach him, was obliged to cross on a very narrow bridge. He laid four of them on the ground and wounded ten others, and forced them to leave him master of the field of battle. The son of M. Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis, and a Soccoquis were killed there; the Commander's oldest son was wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, which has lamed him. M. d'Hertel continued his retreat as rapidly as possible and three days after, having sent out some men to see if he were not pursued, they met some English scouts and

[1] Now, Berwick, New Hampshire. See note 2, III., 708.

[2] Portsmouth, N. H.

[3] Wooster river. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 207. — Ed.

killed three of them. He succeeded without any other adventure in retreating as far as the Village of the Indians where he left his son to have his wound attended to. He learned there that Sieur de Portneuf had not yet struck a blow, and had not been gone more than two days. This obliged him to send Sieur Gastineau his nephew, with some Frenchmen and prisoners to the Count here with the news of this expedition. Sieur Maugras went off likewise with five Algonquins and took the Saint Francis route. No intelligence has been received of him since. Sieur Hertel afterwards joined Sieur de Portneuf near Koskebée with thirty-six men, including French and Indians.

This officer had left Quebec on the 28th January with fifty Frenchmen and had as Lieutenant Sieur de Courtemanche, Repentigny his cousin. Sieur de Portneuf is the third son of Monsieur de Becancourt. He was to go and join Sieur de Menneval's Company of which he was lieutenant, and had served here in the same capacity. Sixty Abenaki Indians from the falls of the Chaudière accompanied him. They spent all the months of February, March, April and the half of May, in going with great difficulty, hunting on their way, to another Abenaki village, where they did not find any person. They pushed farther down the River Quinibequi and met, in another village, the Indians returning from the war against the English, six of whom had been killed. All our Indian allies in the neighborhood were called together and the party repaired on the 25th May to within four leagues of the place they were to attack. This post is called Koskebée, and is situate on the sea coast. It had a considerable fort[1] well supplied with ammunition and eight pieces of cannon, four other small forts stood adjacent to it but did not offer so good a resistance. Four Indians and two Frenchmen placed themselves immediately on the day following their arrival, in ambush near the fort; and a man having ventured out at day break and death cries being afterwards raised, the English became aware that some Indians were in their neighborhood. At noon, thirty men[2] issued from the principal fort, and came to the spot where our people lay who, after having discharged their guns at ten paces distance, rushed on them sword and hatchet in hand, and pursued them so hotly, that only four of them, all of whom were wounded, entered the fort again. As our men followed hot foot, they were exposed to the fire of one of the forts in the proximity of which they happened to find themselves. One Frenchman received a wound in the thigh, and an Indian was killed. At night the principal fort was summoned to surrender, but an answer was returned that they should defend themselves to the death.

The Count's order was, not to attack any fort, for fear of losing too many people; but to attend exclusively to laying waste the country. This order could not be executed, all the surrounding places having been abandoned in consequence of notice of the approach of this party having been given by a soldier who had been with M. Hertel and had been taken prisoner by the English. Under these circumstances it was unanimously resolved to attack the large fort in form, as it was impossible to capture it otherwise. The entire of the enemy had withdrawn into it and had abandoned the four smaller ones. Our people lay during the night of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, on the ocean within fifty paces of the fort under cover of a very bold bluff, whence they had no fear of the enemy's continual cannonadings and heavy fire of musketry. On the night of the twenty-eighth the trench *(traversée)* was opened. Our Canadians and Indians had not much experience in that mode of beseiging places. They did not fail to work right vigorously, and by good fortune found in the forts that had been

[1] Fort Loyal. It stood at the foot of King street, in the present city of Portland, Maine. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, I, 203, *note*. — Ed.

[2] Under Lieutenant Thaddeus Clark. *Williamson*.

abandoned, some implements wherewith to remove the earth. This work advanced with such rapidity, that the enemy demanded a parley in the course of the night of the twenty-eighth. They were required to surrender their fort, stores and provisions, and quarter was promised their garrison. They asked, on their side, six days to consider these proposals. They were allowed only the night to make up their minds, and the work continued. Their fire redoubled on the next morning — they threw a quantity of grenades without much effect. On arriving by trenches at the pallisades, preparations were made to set these on fire by means of a barrel of tar that had also been discovered, and some combustibles. Seeing this machine approacning very near them, and not being able to prevent it, those who pushed it along being sheltered in the trench, they hoisted a white flag in order to capitulate. The commander surrendered himself shortly after to Sieur de Portneuf, and the entire garrison and those in the fort marched out to the number of seventy men, exclusive of women and children. They were all conducted to the camp. A moment afterwards four vessels, crowded with people, made their appearance but seeing no English flag flying they retired. The fort was fired, the guns spiked, the stores burnt and all the inmates made prisoners. The Indians retained the majority of them. Captain Davys, the Commander, and the two daughters of his lieutenant[1] who had been killed, were brought hither with some others. Our people decamped on the 1st of June after having set fire to all the houses they found within a circle of two leagues, all of which were unoccupied. They arrived here on the 23d of the same month — Saint John's eve. One Frenchman had his arm broken in the trench by a cannon ball, and an Indian received a wound in the thigh.

There was another expedition against the English, in canoes. Sieur de Beauvais, son of Sieur de Tilly, accompanied by Sieur de la Brosse, a reduced Captain, and four other Frenchmen, joined the Indians of the Sault, and of the Mountain who composed the party which was led by the Great Mohawk.

They marched from the eighteenth of May to the twenty-sixth of the same month, without meeting any one. Scouts whom they sent out in the morning informed them they had heard the report of a gun, and shortly after they attacked two wigwams in which they discovered fourteen persons whom they seized.

These prisoners told them that they would find the remainder of their party, amounting to thirty men with their women and children, on the path they were pursuing towards an English fort which they were desirous of attacking. They continued in that direction and were the first to fall into an ambush those people had prepared for them. They attacked it, sword in hand, and carried every thing before them, after having killed four men and two women. They made forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight English women *(Anglaises)*.

They did not think it prudent to go any farther, having learned that there were seven hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* a day and a half's journey off who were in wait for them; and they retraced their steps towards Montreal.

Being arrived at noon of the fourth of June at Salmon river which falls into Lake Champlain, they constructed some canoes there for their return, and whilst engaged at evening prayer, were discovered by a party of Algonquins and Abenakis of Three Rivers who were on a war excursion in the same direction whence they were coming, and who attacked them the next morning at sunrise and killed two of their men and wounded ten; two Frenchmen, six Indians and two of the English prisoners.

[1] Lieutenant Clark. *Supra*, p. 472.

This mistake was the more to be regretted as the Great Mohawk,[1] who has been mentioned in connection with the affair at Corlard, was killed there. This is an irreparable loss which has drawn tears from the eyes of the entire country. Misfortune, it seems, attached to this party. All those who were defeated and taken prisoners by our people, were our most faithful allies. They had just made a successful attack with Sieur Hertel on the English, as could be proved by their prisoners. But the Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain knew nothing of it. This accident might have caused trouble, but through the address which was used in allaying discontent, it passed over.

Advice was received at Quebec, at the same time, of the fight which took place at Point aux Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, with some Iroquois canoes, probably a portion of the hunters who had learned the defeat of their party by Sieurs de Louvigny and D'Hosta, and had come, with a view to be revenged, by the River des Prairies, a branch of the Grand river which runs North of the Island. They were discovered by a surgeon named Jallot, who gave notice of their approach to Sieur de Colombet, a reduced Captain, who put himself at the head of twenty-five settlers and lay in ambush for them. The enemy charged him manfully and were received as bravely, but as our people were much inferior in number to theirs, they were obliged to give way, after having lost twelve men among whom was Sieur Collombet. The enemy lost twenty-five men in this affair, and retreated also.

Some time previously a party had made its appearance at la Riviere Puante,[2] opposite Three Rivers, and carried off fifteen or sixteen persons, Women and Children. They were followed, and as the pursuit was rather hot, they killed their prisoners so as to be able to escape more rapidly.

The Count had detached two parties of Regulars for the protection of the settlements on the south side of the River which were the most exposed. The 1st was commanded by Chevalier de Clermont, a half-pay Captain, who was to keep up a constant scout between Montreal and Sorel, a distance of about eighteen leagues.

The other which was commanded by Chevalier de la Motte, also a reduced Captain, was to patrol from Three Rivers to Saint Francis on Lake Saint Peter and come down in the direction of Quebec.

Chevalier de Clermont, on arriving at Sorel, learned that five or six children who were herding cattle in the vicinity of the fort, had just been carried off by a party of the enemy. He followed in pursuit with the best of his men and some settlers who joined him, speedily overtook the enemy and killed one on the spot, recovered four of the children, and put the rest of the party to flight. Four other men belonging to the same party have since been found killed; among these was an Englishman whose commission as magistrate of Orange has been taken and sent to My Lord. They killed the fifth child who was the youngest, as it was unable to follow them.

By the return of M. de Portneuf, news was received that some vessels coming from Boston had appeared off the coast where he had been engaged with his expedition. They were steering towards Port Royal which is the principal French fort in Acadia. This news was confirmed in the course of July, when the particulars were received of the surrender of that place. M. de Menneval was the King's commander, and governor of that Country. He had a garrison of between sixty and eighty men; eighteen pieces of cannon not mounted *(point en batterie)*, and the fortifications were so trifling that they in no wise protected the place.

[1] This Chief, who was known among the English by the name of Kryn, removed from Caughnawaga, on the Mohawk river to the Indian village of Laprairie, in Canada, about the year 1674. *Shea.*

[2] River Becancourt. — Ed.

Seven ships, which appeared pretty well armed, having a force on board exceeding 700 men summoned him to surrender. He accepted a tolerably advantageous capitulation, as he did not consider himself in a condition to resist. He was promised permission to march out with his garrison, arms and baggage, and to be conveyed to Quebec. He surrendered on the word of General Phips. But when the English became masters of the fort, they did not consider themselves any longer bound to observe any promises. The governor and all his garrison, along with the Reverend Messrs Petit[1] and Trouvé, missionaries in that country, were made prisoners. The Governor's and the Priests' residences and the Company's store were plundered; the Church, according to their goodly custom, was desecrated by divers ribaldries and infamous actions, and everything it possessed in the shape of ornaments was carried off. They left a sergeant of the garrison to command, under them, the colonists who had signed the Convention, to whom they permitted the free enjoyment of their properties on submitting to King William. They hoisted the English flag, which, on the arrival of M. Perrot, has since been removed by the settlers; the houses of the latter have consequently been burnt, and some of themselves hanged by other English pirates who came to the same place.

Monsieur de Menneval, his garrison and the Priests have been conveyed to Boston, where they still for the most part remain.

M. Perrot was absent from Port Royal at the time of its capture. He arrived there almost at the same time as his ship which came from France with M. de Villebon, who was in command of a company at Acadia, and steered his vessel towards the River Saint John in order to be able to unload her without anxiety. But some English pirates having had notice of the circumstance attacked him and he was constrained to escape on shore with Sieur de Villebon. No one of consequence remained, with the exception of Sieur de Saccardie, an Engineer, who went to that country in order to fortify Port Royal and was taken with the ship. M. Perrot having concealed himself sometime in the woods, was discovered one day whilst taking some rest, and made prisoner. He was subjected to a thousand indignities; but was fortunate enough, as we are informed, to have been overtaken by a French privateer who recaptured his ship and also took the English pirates by whom he had been seized. Several other occurrences took place between the French of Acadia and our Indians, and the English who summoned the settlers of the River St. John to sign the Convention which those of Port Royal had accepted, but they were ill received, and retired with some loss. Our Cannibas[2] and Abenakis[3] Indians have not ceased making war on them since M. de Port-Neuf's

[1] Rev. Louis Petit, of the Quebec Seminary, was born at Rouen in 1629, and admitted to Holy orders at Quebec on the 21st December, 1670. In 1672 he was appointed Chaplain of the Fort at Sorel, and returned to Quebec in 1673. He went back to Sorel the same year, and finally left it in 1676. He was sent to Acadia in 1677 and fixed his residence at Port Royal, where he was taken prisoner by Phips, on 25th May, 1690, and carried to Boston. He returned to Port Royal in the course of the same year, and retired from Acadia in July, 1700; remained at the Seminary of Quebec until 22d December, 1702, when he was appointed to the Parish of Ancient Lorette. He resigned that charge on account of his infirmities in 1705, and died in the Quebec Seminary on the 3d June, 1709, aged 80 years. *Rev. E. A. Taschereau's Memoir on the Missions at Acadia dependent on the Seminary of Quebec.* — Ed.

[2] The Canibas were a tribe of Abenaquis on the Kennebec river, and consisted of two or three villages. The territories they claimed extended from the sources of the Kennebec to Merry-meeting bay and the islands on the eastern side of the Sagadahock, probably to the sea. They are called by modern English writers, Norridgewocks, from their famous village. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 466, 467.

[3] The Abenakis formed one of the two great families into which the Aborigines of Maine were divided, and consisted of four tribes; the Sokokis, or Saco Indians; the Anasagunticooks, or those of the Androscoggin; the Canibas, or Kennebecks, and the Wawenocks, called Pemaquid and, sometimes Sheepscot, Indians. They originally inhabited the country between Mount Agamenticus (now York) and St. George's river, both inclusive; and eventually removed for the most part to Canada, where they are now known as the St. Francis Indians. *Williamson*, I., 463–469. — Ed.

departure; they have been burning them out as far as the vicinity of Boston; accompanied by some French, they have defeated them in divers considerable rencounters, and however feeble they might be against very strong parties, have always remained masters of the field of battle. The son of Sieur de Bellefonds, a gentleman much attached to the Count, who had performed wonders with Sieur de Portneuf's detachment and remained with the Indians in order to go out again with a war party, has, after numerous brave actions, been unfortunately killed with six Indians in a fight in which 40 Abenaquis contended against six hundred men; their small number did not prevent them routing their enemies, and killing a number of them.

As I am on the subject of the Abenakis, I shall submit to you, Madam, an extract of a letter they have addressed to the Count with a belt requesting him to cause the prisoners taken by the Indians of the Sault to be restored to them; namely, those of whom I spoke to you in Sieur de Beauvais' expedition. These are their words:—

"Father, suffer me to interrupt you for a moment with a recital of my troubles. To whom can a child disburden his heart if not to his father? You are aware what has happened to my brother, the Praying Iroquois (Thus they designate the Iroquois our allies, who have become baptized.) He mistook for enemies my relatives and some even of those who a short time before, had accompanied the French whom you sent against the English. He still retains them prisoners. This is what troubles me. I have just told him that, considering that accident as a pure mistake, I did not in truth feel unfriendly on account of it, but I did hope that on discovering, he would disavow, his error, and restore my relatives to me. Father, this Belt presented to you is to request you to confirm my word with your voice, or rather to draw from your heart, full of wisdom, words more effectual than mine to persuade them to restore us our relatives, who will come to dwell with us here if you think proper. If they refuse to restore them to us, I apprehend that my Brother at Acadia will take it ill and become disaffected in consequence, whereas I am sure he will listen to me, however bad the thoughts that might be engendered, if they be restored."

Here is also the Belt they addressed to the Iroquois:—

"Brother Praying Iroquois—for such is the name we call you since Prayer and Obedience to Onnontio, our common Father, have happily reunited us. I am about to visit you by this Belt, in order to tell you that those whom you still retain prisoners are my relatives, and to request you to restore them to me. Do not suppose that I have become ill affected on account of what has happened them. People often kill one another without distinguishing one from the other. These are some of the misfortunes attendant on war, and which it is impossible to avoid. But you would have an ill disposed heart, if after having mistaken my relatives, your allies, for enemies, after having carried them prisoners to your village, you would persist in detaining them when you are aware of your error. I measure your heart by mine own; if what happened to you befell me, and I had taken your relatives prisoners, I had no sooner perceived my mistake, than I should liberate them and restore them to you. Brother. Do not imagine, that I deceive you when I tell you, they are my relatives. The French can testify to the fact, because some of those whom you killed or captured did, as well as we, accompany them against the English, and that but a few days before the occurrence of that accident. I say nothing of the loss suffered by you of one of your warriors, (The Great Mohawk) though I feel it most sensibly. I am busy bewailing him and two of my warriors whom I also have lost in this melancholy rencounter. Brother Praying Iroquois! Let us weep for the Brave who are Dead, without allowing their deaths to upset our minds and estrange our hearts which Prayer and Friendship so long unite."

On receipt of this message the Iroquois of the Sault restored the principal Chiefs and some Squaws. They have promised to restore the others when they will see them all disposed to join their brethren who are settled here at the Falls of the Chaudière,[1] within two leagues of Quebec.

Dependent on Acadia was another fort called Chedabouctou[2] commanded by Sieur de Montorgueil with a dozen soldiers. The English proceeded to attack it after the capture of Port Royal; landed eighty men, and sent three times to demand its surrender. But their summons was not heeded. They afterwards assaulted it and were so well received that they found themselves under the necessity of retiring. Again they caused it to be summoned, but in vain. Finally, having discovered in an old store detached from the fort, some wet powder they made fuses of it, by means of which they set fire to one end of the building which was thatched. The flames soon communicated to the rest of the house, and Sieur de Montorgueil found himself, after two other summons, under the necessity of capitulating, but evincing, at the same time, so much bravery and such determination to bury himself in the ashes of his fort, if they refused him favorable terms, that he and his garrison and a Nazareth Friar[3] who served him as Missionary were allowed to depart with the honors of war—drums beating and match lighting—and to be conveyed to Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland. The fort was entirely burnt, but no harm was done to the settlers.

Isle Percée, consisting of a few houses situate at the entrance of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, has also been plundered this summer by some English pirates. That place is the rendezvous for a few vessels which come there to fish for Cod. It contained only seven or eight settlers with a Franciscan convent and a few friars; six vessels were at anchor there and fishing with their boats, which were all taken without any resistance. The Captains and the major part of the crews escaped into the woods along with the settlers, and finally got to Quebec in Biscayan long boats.[4] The houses have been burnt and the Recollect church desecrated. Some of those who escaped returned hence to see if the enemy had left any thing, but they have been attacked by the English army which was on its way to besiege us. They abandoned their vessel and escaped.

These are the most important occurrences in Canada that I have to entertain you with, Madam. I proceed now to detail to you what has happened in Canada since the beginning of summer.

The Count's departure for Montreal was delayed by the desire he felt to see completed the fortifications he was engaged in having constructed for the security of Quebec. He had the palisades necessary to inclose it, cut and brought in during the winter. After the snow had disappeared, he began a strong stone redoubt to serve as a bastion. They communicated one with the other by means of a stockaded curtain ten feet high, terraced with good sods on the inside, almost to a man's height. The exigency of the case and the want of money prevented the construction of more solid works. However, the English who threatened to swallow us up with their formidable armament, have never dared to approach these palisades, although they had artillery on shore. That work having been completed and the Burgesses' Companies arranged for the guard of their town, the Count with the Intendant and his lady

[1] The Chaudière river rises, under the name of the river Arnold, in the height of land dividing the N. W. corner of Maine from Canada, and after contributing to form Lake Megantic, flows northerly to within two leagues of Quebec, where it forms a considerable and picturesque fall, and afterwards discharges itself into the River St. Lawrence.

[2] Now Milford Haven, in the Southeast of Nova Scotia. — Ed.

[3] *Religieux du Nazareth* are properly Penitents of the third Order of St. Francis of the strict observance, or Recollects, founded by the Rev. Vincent Mussart in 1594, and also known as Fathers of Picpus; that and Nazareth were the names of two of their Convents in Paris. *Helyot. Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.*

[4] *Biscaïenne;* a row boat with sharp bow and stern, of various sizes, the largest having two masts. *Dictionaire National.*

took his departure on the 22d of July. He arrived at Montreal on the 31st of the same month. He was long and impatiently expected there. Nothing new occurred since the engagement in which M. de Collombet had been killed. Indians were out from time to time in the direction of the English, for the purpose of taking prisoners. One among the rest brought in a person he had captured at the gate of Orange. Scouts were kept constantly above the Island, on the avenues by which the enemy could come down.

Hostile parties, not exceeding two or three men, found means, however, to glide in and kill a soldier at la Chine. A farmer was also killed, or carried off, at River des Prairies.

We had only two alarms up to the eighteenth of August, on which day we experienced a very serious one. Captain de La Chassaigne, commanding at la Chine, sent a letter in great haste to the Count, from which it appeared that one hundred Indian canoes were coming down within two leagues of his fort. Orders had already been issued to fire alarm guns to notify every one to retire from the country; but this terror was soon turned into joy, when news was brought by Sieur de L'Ille Tilly, who had outstripped the others, that it was five hundred Indians of various tribes who were coming from Missilimakinak to Montreal to trade.

He was accompanied in his canoe by four of the principal Chiefs, Outawas and Hurons.

All the other canoes which had reached la Chine arrived the next day. They did not address the Count until 22d in solemn Council which was attended by every person of note, both among the French and the Indians.

So great a number had not come down since the Count had left this country, and their voyage was the result of the negotiation of Sieurs de Louvigny and Perrot from whom they received the presents the King had sent them; they were very glad to see again a Father whom they had formerly loved so much.

The speech of the Outawas was confined almost entirely to trade. They repeatedly demanded to be furnished at a low rate with the articles they were desirous of buying. A promise to that effect was given them.

They likewise demanded an explanation of the hatchet Perrot had hung up in their cabin. An answer to that was postponed to another time.

The Baron, Chief of the Hurons, spoke much more modestly. He said that he came down to see his father, to listen to his voice and do his will; that he needed powder and lead, but did not ask his father for any thing. He presented three Belts. By the first he exhorted the prosecution of the war against the Iroquois as well as against the English. He said that he feared his Father and he would die, if this war were not waged. But whatever would happen, they must die together and on the same spot.

The second thanked the Count for having formerly drawn them to Missilimakinak where they were in safety.

The third prayed him to take pity on their comrades, the Outawas, and to give them good bargains.

Souabouchie, chief of the Nipissiriniens, an Algonquin Tribe, said, that, agreeably to the orders he had received from his father, he had been at the attack on Corlard; (He gallantly performed his duty there as well as with Sieur d'Hosta); that they had on that occasion spared the Mohawks, who nevertheless came even to the gates of Montreal to kill them; that afterwards going up to Missilimakinak, he had also received orders not to attack any Iroquois should he meet them; that he was not the first who concluded from these things, that his Father was desirous to make peace with them, and that he inquired his pleasure.

The first meeting passed off in this way, and trade did not commence until the next day. As it was about to begin, La Plaque, an Iroquois of the Sault,[1] who was returning from a scouting party in the direction of the English, came within a quarter of a league of the camp of the Outawas, repeating Death cries after their manner. The Outawas quitted their peltries, and seized their arms in order to sally forth, believing the enemy were at hand. But they soon returned to continue their trade.

This Indian reported that on his way towards Orange he had discovered a large hostile army on the borders of Lake Saint Sacrament, constructing canoes; that he had followed them for some days endeavoring to secure a prisoner, but that it was impossible; finally that he had suspended three tomahawks within sight of their cabins, indicating to them that they were discovered, and that he defied them to come to Montreal. These tomahawks are a species of club on which they carve figures and in that way manifest their wishes.

Precautionary measures were adopted on receiving this notice, which afforded a pretext for inducing the Outawas to remain longer among us.

On the twenty-fifth, they were entertained at a Grand Feast consisting of two oxen, six large dogs, two barrels of wine, some prunes, and tobacco to smoke.

The Count told them he had no doubt of their obedience, and required not a new confirmation of it from them; that he would undisguisedly explain his sentiments to them when they were ready to return to their country; that he demanded from them the same frankness; as regards the war against the Iroquois which they appeared so anxious for, that he intended to prosecute it unremittingly until that Nation came, themselves, to sue humbly for peace; in which, when it was made, they should be included, being as much his children as the French; that the occasion presented itself to avenge themselves; they were aware of the tidings he received that a powerful army was coming to ravage his country; that all that was necessary to conclude was, as to the mode of proceeding; whether to go and meet this army, or to wait for it with a firm foot; that he put into their hands the hatchet which had been formerly given them, and had since been kept suspended for them, and he doubted not they would make good use of it. He began, the first, with his interpreter, to sing the War song, hatchet in hand; the Chiefs, the principal Indians and some Frenchmen chanted it likewise; the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain, the Hurons, the Nipisseriens, and such of the Indians from below as were present, appeared the most disposed to execute what was demanded of them.

To the song succeeded the feast, but it was rather a pillage than a repast, and they afterwards retired.

Chevalier de Clermont had received orders from the Count when going up to Montreal, to deviate from his ordinary course, and to proceed on a scout along the river Chambly as far as Lake Champlain, which is the route the enemy proposed to pursue in coming to attack this country. About the same time that La Plaque returned to Montreal, he discovered a number of fires and heard the report of some shots, up the Lake. He went to the place, and during the night saw eight of the enemy's canoes passing, in each of which were from eighteen to twenty men, who repaired to an island below the place where he lay in ambush. They were, doubtless, followed by others, and as he was afraid of being surrounded, and as his party, which consisted only of thirty men, could not resist so large a force, he retired under cover of the darkness, and encamped a league below the enemy. He watched them for two days

[1] Nephew of the Great Mohawk. Supra, p. 474.

successively; finally, as he feared an attack, he sent two of his canoes down the Chambly rapid, and with the third remained behind to be certain of every thing. He kept in the centre of the river to attract the enemy, two of whose canoes pursued, but could not overtake him; he found his men at the foot of the rapid, and proceeded by land with them to fort Chambly, whence he dispatched an officer named Sieur de la Bruère, who arrived at Montreal on Tuesday the 29th of August, at eleven o'clock at night.

This intelligence caused the Count to order the four guns to be fired as a signal to the troops, who were dispersed throughout all the settlements for the purpose of assisting the farmers to save their harvest. The nearest companies arrived in the morning with the settlers who were to accompany them; the others came in, one after the other, in the course of the day, and some of them left the same day for La Prairie de la Madelaine, two leagues above Montreal on the opposite bank of the river, which was the direction it was supposed the enemy intended to take.

The Indians were invited to join us, and some refreshments were given them in order to encourage them. They promised to send thither all their warriors and young men, the greater portion of whom started the same time as the Count, on Thursday afternoon.

At night a scouting party was sent out, consisting of two Frenchmen and two Indians of each tribe, making ten men in all. Friday morning, the first of September, the review came off, and this little army was found to be twelve hundred strong.

In the afternoon, some Iroquois of the Sault invited the chiefs of the other Tribes to visit the Count, when something of importance would be communicated to them.

Louis Atériata was the Orator. He offered several Belts and exhorted every one to open his heart to the Count, as they had promised, and not to conceal from him any, even the most secret, transaction.

He told the Outawas that he was aware of all their negotiation with our enemies; that he was informed of it by themselves. If they were indeed brethren, let them explain, then, why they wished to treat with the Iroquois, independent of the French.

One of the Outawas, who had accompanied *La Petite Racine* the head of the embassy to the Senecas, answered—It was true they had restored some Iroquois prisoners, and promised to give up some more; that they had been forced to declare war; to cease and renew hostilities without having been advised of the reason; that such conduct was wholly unintelligible to them, but that fearing lest Onnontio (i. e. M. de Denonville) who was unable to defend himself, should allow them to be crushed without affording them any assistance, they had been constrained to look, themselves, to their own safety, and by an arrangement prevent their ruin.

That this negotiation had not been concluded; that *La Petite Racine* had died at the Senecas; that the other messengers were at Missilimakinak, and had laid aside all idea of bringing this affair to a close, when they received their father's orders by the mouth of Perrot; that they had come down with a view to learn his will, and would no sooner have returned home than they would put all his orders into execution.

The Baron, a Huron chief, said: His Tribe did not participate in that affair; that as soon as he knew his father wished to wage war against the Iroquois, he sent one portion of his young men against them and had come, with the other, to see him.

The Count was very glad that Louis Ateriata had furnished him with an opportunity to learn the true sentiments of all the Indians. He promised to lead them against the enemy as soon as his scouts had returned; or to send them home as they requested.

They, then, went to their camp where their young men commenced a War dance which continued until night.

On Saturday at nine o'clock in the morning, the scouts returned. They had been as far as Chambly only, although they had promised to go farther. Reliance was placed on their report and representation that they had not seen any trails, and as it was of the greatest importance to finish the harvest, every one was dismissed home on the very same day. The Count returned to Montreal in the evening.

This negligence on the part of the Indians, who were too anxious to return home, was the cause of a small, and the only check we received this year from the Iroquois.

On the Monday after we left La Prairie de la Madelaine, the enemy, who no doubt had seen us and watched our movements, made an attack, a quarter of a league from the village at a place called La Fourche, where all the farmers and the garrison of the fort were engaged cutting the grain. This was the former site of the Village, the fort and La Prairie having been founded only as a more convenient place for defence; all the reapers were at a considerable distance one from the other, contrary to the orders they had received from the Count, and had no arms wherewith to defend themselves. The Officer in command of the garrison, had neglected to station sentinels and a guard who could give an alarm in case of attack. The enemy therefore encountered less difficulty than they would otherwise have met, had things been in a proper condition. Eleven farmers, three women, one girl and ten soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners. Little resistance was offered; six Iroquois, however, were killed on the occasion. They had time to set fire to all the houses and to some stacks of hay, and to kill some horned cattle before any reinforcement arrrived from Montreal; after which they regained the forest.[1]

On the same day, 4th September, a meeting was held with the Outawas who were expressing a strong desire to depart. The Count told them they ought to be satisfied with the cheap bargains they had had, and if notice of their intended arrival had been given, they would have had still cheaper; that the canoes and provisions which they were selling the French who were going to their country, were not any cheaper than the goods they received in return.[2]

That as regards the war, he endorsed all that Nicholas Perrot had stated to them; and he again presented them with hatchets, as well for themselves as for their allies; that he believed, by engaging them to make war, he was giving them life, thereby guaranteeing them against death at the hands of the Iroquois which they could not otherwise escape.

To what the Hurons had said, he answered—That he was very glad to see them so well disposed to listen to the voice of their Father who will never abandon them, and who assures them that he will never lay down the hatchet until he shall have humbled the Iroquois, and forced them to sue for peace, in which they shall all be included as well as the French; that he exhorts them to harrass the enemy on their side as he will do on his, until an opportunity be found to attack them in their villages; previous to which they will receive news from him; that they knew what he had done to the English, and that he proposed continuing his operations; that if the English had been attacked rather than the Iroquois, it was because he regarded them as the instigators of the Iroquois revolt, and wished to punish them accordingly; that the Mohawks had been spared in the affair at Corlard, because Orehaoué had advised them of his return, and it was expected that on hearing it, they would again become dutiful

[1] The English account of this fight will be found in Documentary History of New-York, 8vo. II., 287. — Ed.

[2] Que les canots et les vivres qu'ils vendaient aux Français qui allaient chez eux n'etaient pas moins chers que les marchandises qu'ils en recevaient. *Text.*

and sue for peace; but as they had made no overture, orders had been issued to spare them no longer; that they saw clearly, he opened his heart to them; let them decide what they had to do on their part.

They were then dismissed, and presents were made to all the Chiefs and principal men. The Count entertained them frequently at his table pending their sojourn at Montreal.

Three Indians made their appearance a few days after at the Fort of Chateauguay which was commanded by Sieur Desmarais, a reduced Captain. He had stepped out before they were discovered and was walking with a soldier and his servant. As he was somewhat ahead of these, he could not regain the fort where they were crying To arms! He was overtaken by the Indians who knocked him on the head with their hatchets but had not time to cut it off; they took away only three of his fingers. Nothing of moment occurred at Montreal since that time. Some alarms were given but they turned out to be false. Some of our Indians have gone to attack the Iroquois and have not yet returned.

On the 22nd September a servant of Sieur Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis on Lake Saint Peter, being in the woods, discovered some of the enemy, and came in haste to communicate the intelligence to the Fort. M. De La Mothe, a reduced Captain, who had his detachment in that vicinity, arrived there about two o'clock in the afternoon. He wished at first to attack the enemy, and did in fact leave shortly after, accompanied by Sieur de Murat lieutenant to Sieur de Galiffet who commanded the fort. They had thirty-four men with them and discovered the enemy in their huts, who were not expecting them and were put to rout by the first charge which was a vigorous one; but the fugitives formed a junction with those in two other cabins which had not been attacked, and returning in great numbers and together, found our people divided and easily made them retreat in their turn. No more than half of them escaped. Sieur de la Motte was killed on the occasion and nothing has been heard of Sieur de Murat. Such is the account, Madam, of the last brush we have had with the Iroquois.

The Count was preparing to return to Quebec; winter quarters had already been designated for each of the companies; he was waiting only for Sieur de la Durantaye and some other Frenchmen who were coming down from Missilimakinac. They arrived about the first of October to the number of fifty-five canoes loaded with beaver.

Ouabouchie, Chief of the Upper Algonquins, whom I have already mentioned, had left the Outawas and came down again with their party to act as their scout. For the purpose of escorting him beyond danger on his return, he was allowed a detachment of thirty men who were to convey him fifty leagues beyond Montreal. They returned without meeting anything.

Sieurs de Mantet, de Perigny his brother, St Pierre de Repentigny and de Montesson, with the two sons of M. de la Vallière, Captain of the Count's guards, went, also accompanied by fifty men, in the direction of Fort Frontenac, to try to take some prisoners from whom they might receive some intelligence of Chevalier d'Eau and of the enemy's plans. They have been as far as the fort, without meeting any one; they found only six trifling breaches in it although it was supposed entirely ruined. There is little appearance of the Iroquois having been there since spring, as the grass is every where extremely high. They arrived here two days after the departure of the English.

That of the Count for Quebec was fixed for Tuesday the tenth of October. As he was about to embark with the Intendant and Lady, a canoe, sent expressly by M. Prevost, Major of Quebec, arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon. It made extraordinary dispatch having left only on the seventh and brought two letters from him.

The first letter was dated the fifth, and he sent copy of the report brought by one of the principal Indians of Acadia of the Abenaki tribe, who was deputed expressly by his Chiefs.

"I come without loss of time to advise thee, that I have learned from an English woman of respectability whom we captured at the taking of Pescadouet,[1] that thirty ships, three of which are very large, are leaving in order to take Quebec; that these vessels are from Boston and four considerable towns; that the English boast they will reduce Quebec as easily as they have taken Port Royal. On learning this news the chiefs and principal men have deemed it necessary to send word to the Great Captain of Quebec. I have been twelve days coming; therefore it must be six weeks since this fleet sailed."

The second message was to request the Great Captain of Quebec that he cause the Praying Iroquois to restore their people whom they took on the supposition that they were attacking Indians entirely in the English interest.

The third, that they had sent this Sachem to tell the Great Captain of the French that their principal chiefs could not come this fall to speak with him as they had promised, because they are still actually at war; they will endeavor to send some one towards the end of next winter; that they will make a sudden irruption on the English after Christmas, when they expect them all to be returned home.

The other letter of the seventh stated that Sieur de Cananville had, on his way back from Tadoussac, and whilst stopping to ascertain if he did not perceive some French ships, had seen four, eight[2] of which had appeared to him very large.

M. Prevost, on this intelligence, dispatched his brother-in-law Sieur de Granville, a reduced lieutenant, with a well armed *biscaïenne*[3] and canoe towards Tadoussac to obtain intelligence.

We started shortly after the receipt of this news, without, however, attaching much credit to it.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, whilst opposite St Ours, fifteen leagues from Montreal, the Count received additional intelligence from M. Prevost confirming the first. He had learned from three men who had made their escape, that the vessel which the Misses La Lande and Jolliet were on board of, had been captured thirty leagues below Quebec, by an English fleet of thirty-three vessels; that the enemy might be about the Isle aux Coudres, twelve leagues off.

This last confirmation obliged the Count to dispatch Captain de Ramsay to inform M. de Callières thereof, and to order down the troops and a portion of the militia. He slept that night at Sorel.

Thursday. The wind being favorable, he arrived at noon at Three Rivers where he issued orders to send every body down. He was obliged to sleep in the sloop *(galliote)* at Grondines, fifteen leagues below, as the night and bad weather prevented his going ashore.

On Friday, he could only reach Point aux Trembles, where he arrived at noon. The rain and storm detained him there the remainder of the day.

Saturday, 14th. He left in a canoe and arrived at noon at Quebec where, as you may well imagine, Madam, he was received with great joy. The citizens seemed to have no more fear, now that they possessed their governor; and although he brought along with him only two

[1] Piscataqua, New Hampshire.

[2] *Sic.* The numbers, ought, doubtless, to be transposed. — Ed.

[3] For an explanation of this term see note 4, *supra*, p. 477.

@ three hundred men, they openly declared that they waited unflinchingly for the English who could come whenever they pleased.

On his arrival he inspected all the posts; found every thing in perfect good order, and was surprised at the diligence with which the Major had, within six days and with very little help, constructed retrenchments at unprotected points, and batteries which, one would have supposed, had been begun two months before.

Sieur Le Moyne de Longueil had already gone with some Hurons and Abenaquis to examine the enemy's movements; the settlements of Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans and Point Levy were perfectly well provided, and should the enemy approach them, the settlers had promised to make a good resistance, which they did effectually.

The other settlers around Quebec who were even protected by the town had flocked into it; streams of them were arriving every moment, and it appeared that every one would fain participate in an action which each hoped would terminate gloriously for Canada.

Sunday morning the 15th 8ber. M. de Vaudreuil, Colonel of the Regular Troops, left with a hundred men to meet and attack the enemy, should they land; he was, also, to keep them constantly in sight, and give notice of the moment of their arrival.

The Count dispatched at the same time two canoes which were to go along each side of the river, to meet our vessels and advise them of what was going on.

He caused the erection of a battery of eight guns to be begun the same morning on the height, to the right of the fort; it was completed next morning at day break.

Though I am no Engineer, I shall give you Madam, a brief description of Quebec, which will not be perhaps entirely technical, but you will excuse my imperfect ability in this regard.

You know that the River, at that point, forms a large basin; it flows down in a single stream and divides at the Island of Orleans, two leagues below, into two arms, one of which passes to the North between that Island and Côte de Beaupré, and the other to the South, between the same Island and Point Levy. Thus is formed that large basin, on the Beauport side of which the enemy's fleet came to an anchor. The falls of Montmorency, the most beautiful sheet of water in the world, separates Côte de Beaupré from Beauport which is only a league from Quebec. There is a Little river[1] between these two last mentioned places, fordable at low water.

Quebec is situate a little above Point Levy, on the opposite shore. It is divided into an Upper and a Lower Town. The only communication between these is by a very steep street.[2] The Churches and all the Convents are in the Upper Town. The fort is on the crest *(croupe)* of the Mountain *(Montagne)* and commands the Lower town, where the handsomest houses are located and all the Merchants reside.

The Palace in which the Intendant lives is almost wholly detached from the other parts of the town. It lies to the left, on the shore of the Little river, and at the base of the hill.

The fortifications the Count caused to be erected, began at that point, ascended towards the Upper town which they inclosed, and terminated on the fort side at the pitch of the Mountain, at the place called Cape Diamond.

A palisade was continued along the beach near the Palace, and ran under the Hospital as far as the fence of the Seminary where it was lost in inaccessible rocks. Above was another palisade that terminated at the same place, which is called Sault au Matelot, where a battery of three guns was erected.

[1] The River St. Charles.

[2] Mountain-street. — Ed.

The other upper battery, already mentioned, stood to the right. There were two in the lower town of three eighteen pounders each, both of which were located in the interval between those above.

The entrances where there were no gates, were barricaded with heavy beams and hogsheads filled with earth, and mounted with pedereros.

The street leading from the Upper to the Lower Town was intersected by three distinct barricades *(retranchements)* formed of barrels and bags of earth. Another battery has been erected, since the attack, at the Sault au Matelot a little further to the right than the former one. Still another has been constructed at the gate leading to the Little river.[1]

Some small cannon were ranged around the Upper town, particularly on the Windmill hill[2] which served as a Cavalier.

Such, Madam, was the disposition of the town on the arrival of the English. But we placed more reliance on our good cause and the resolution each had seemingly formed to perform his duty well, than on such feeble fortifications.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, news arrived that the enemy's fleet had weighed anchor and passed the point at the lower end of the Island of Orleans. Another message stated that they had anchored three leagues from Quebec.

Monday 16th October. M. de Vaudreuil returned about three o'clock in the morning, and the ships' lights were perceptible shortly after. At day break, the entire fleet was discovered, numbering thirty-four sail, four only of which were first class ships; four others were smaller, and the remainder consisted of ketches, barks, brigantines or flyboats. The small craft ranged themselves along the Cote de Beauport, and the large ones kept farther out in the offing.

At ten o'clock a boat carrying a flag of truce at the bow, left the Admiral's ship and made toward the shore. Four canoes carrying a similar flag, went out to meet it; they met about midway. On board the boat was a trumpeter who accompanied the General's messenger. The latter was placed alone in a canoe; his eyes were bandaged and he was conducted to the Count's quarters. The following is a copy of the letter he presented:

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majesties Forces of New England, by Sea and Land;

To Count Frontenac Lieutenant General and Governour for the French King at Canada; or in his absence, to his Deputy, or Him or Them, in Chief Command at Quebec.

The War between the two Crowns of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the Destruction made by the French and Indians under your command and encouragement, upon the Persons and Estates of their Majesties Subjects of New England, without any provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition, for their own security and satisfaction.

And although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and Indians might, upon the present opportunity, prompt unto a severe Revenge, yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchristian like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

[1] Now called Palace Gate.

[2] The "butte du Moulin" mentioned in the text was a hill or elevation, originally called Mount Carmel, situate behind Saint Louis-street. It was the site of a Windmill. *Letter of G. B. Faribault, Esq., Quebec.*

I the aforesaid Sir William Phips, Knight, do hereby in the Name, and on the Behalf of Their Most Excellent Majesties William and Mary, King and Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their Majesties Government of Massachuset Colony in New England, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King's and other Stores, unembezzled, with a seasonable Delivery of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your persons and Estates to my Dispose; Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a Christian; according to what shall be found for their Majesties Service, and the Subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am come provided, and am Resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all wrongs and Injuries Offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of England; and when too late, make you wish you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

Your answer positive in an Hour, returned by your own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Required, upon the Peril that will Ensue.

(Signed) WILLIAM PHIPS.

After this letter, which was in English, was interpreted, the Messenger pulled out of his fob a watch which he presented to the Count who took it and, pretending not to see distinctly what hour it was, the Messenger came forward to inform him that it was ten o'clock, and required him to send him back, with his answer, at eleven o'clock precisely. "I will not keep "you waiting so long," replied the Count. "Tell your General I do not recognize King "William, and that the Prince of Orange is an Usurper who has violated the most sacred ties "of blood in wishing to dethrone his father in law; that I recognize no other Sovereign in "England than King James; that your General ought not to be surprised at the hostilities he "says are carried on by the French against the Massachusetts Colony, since he must expect "that the King, my Master, having received the King of England under his protection, and "being ready to replace him on his Throne by the force of his arms, as I am informed, would "order me to wage war in this country, on a people who would rebel against their lawful "Sovereign."—And pointing to a number of Officers with whom his room was filled, he said to him, smiling, "Does your General imagine, even if he offered me better conditions, "and that I were of a temper to accept them, that so many gallant gentlemen would consent "to it, and advise me to place any confidence in the word of a man who has violated the "Capitulation he had made with the Governor of Port Royal; who has been wanting in loyalty "to his lawful King, forgetful of all the benefits he has received from him, in order to adhere to "the fortunes of a Prince who, whilst he endeavors to persuade the world that he would be the "Liberator of England and Defender of the Faith, tramples on the laws and privileges of "the Kingdom, and overturns the English Church. This is what Divine Justice, which your "General invokes in his letter, will not fail some day to punish severely."

This speech having greatly astonished and alarmed the Messenger, he asked the Count if he would not give him an answer in writing? "No," replied he; "the only answer I can give "your General will be from the mouth of my cannon and musketry, that he may learn it is "not in such a style that a person of my rank is summoned. Let him do his best as I will "do mine!"

On this reply being rendered, the messenger's eyes were again bandaged, and he was conducted back to his boat.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, some of the enemy's boats went in pursuit of Sieur de Longueil who was passing along the fleet on his return with his Indians, in company with

Sieur de Maricourt, his brother, who was coming from Hudson's bay in the ship commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, the latter having been fortunately advised sufficiently in season to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. Monsr de Longueil, however, gained the shore and received them with a sharp volley of musketry. The boats were forced to return to their ships, and on their way were saluted also by the people of Beauport, who were on the beach.

Tuesday, a bark crowded with men proceeded from the Point Levi side to between Beauport and the Little River: a pretty considerable skirmish occurred there after she grounded, and she would have been boarded were it not that the people would have to go up to their waists in the water to reach her.

Wednesday 18th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, almost all the boats were seen making towards the same point where this bark grounded the evening before. As it was uncertain where the enemy would land, there was but a small force at that place. The major portion of the Montreal and Three Rivers Militia, and those who were considered the most alert, were dispatched thither to skirmish. The enemy, to the number of two thousand men, had already landed and were drawn up in order of battle before the arrival of our people, who with some settlers from Beauport that united with them, amounted to at most three hundred men, all of whom were not engaged, as the ground was very uneven, full of brushwood and rocky, add to which, the tide was out and they were half up to the knee in mud. They were divided into several small parties, and attacked this large force which was very compact, without observing scarcely any order, and in Indian fashion. They caused a first battalion to give way and force it to retire to the rear. The firing continued over an hour; our men skipped incessantly around the enemy from tree to tree; consequently the furious fire to which they were exposed, did not greatly inconvenience them whilst they took sure aim on men who were in a solid mass. The Count detached a battalion of the troops to bring off our people. We lost on this occasion Chevalier de Clermont, a half pay captain who had volunteered with some other officers. He advanced rather too far, and was unable to retreat. The son of Sieur de la Touche, Seigneur of Champlain, was also killed on that occasion and Sieur Juchereau de St Denis[1] aged over sixty years, who commanded the Beauport Militia, had his arm broken. We had, in all, ten or twelve wounded, one of whom is since dead; all the others are expected to recover.

The enemy lost in that affair one hundred and fifty men according to the report of a farmer who visited the field of battle during the night. They burnt some houses after the battle.

At night, their four largest ships anchored before Quebec. The Rear admiral who bore the blue flag, lay a little to the left, nearly opposite the Sault au Matelot; the Admiral was on his right; the Vice admiral a little above, both opposite the Lower town, and the fourth who bore the pennant of Commodore *(chef d'escadre)* lay somewhat further towards Cape Diamond. We fired at them the first, and they then began a pretty brisk cannonade. We answered them as vigorously. They fired almost entirely at the Upper town. That evening a citizen's son was

[1] Nicholas Juchereau de St. Denis, son of Jean Juchereau, Sieur de More, a native of Ferté Vidame, diocese of Chartres, came to Quebec with his father in 1640. In 1649 he married Marie daughter of Robert Giffart, Sieur de Beauport, first surgeon of the Province. He was appointed by De Tracy, captain in the militia; served in both campaigns against the Mohawks and continued to serve in that capacity in the various subsequent campaigns and in 1690 was wounded as above. For his bravery he obtained letters of Noblesse in 1692 entitling him to the rank of Esquire. He died at Beauport in October of that year, and was buried on the 5th of the same month. His age according to the Parish Register was about 66. His son was the celebrated St. Denis who attempted in 1700 to found a settlement at the mouth of the Ohio, and subsequently took a prominent part in the colony of Louisiana. — Ed.

killed and another wounded. Sieur de Vieuxpont had his gun carried away and his arm disabled by the same shot. About eight o'clock at night the firing ceased on both sides.

Thursday. At day break we again were the first to begin. The enemy had, seemingly, slackened their fire somewhat. The Rear admiral who kept up the most vigorous fire found himself greatly incommoded by the Sault au Matelot batteries, and that to the left, below. He also was obliged the first to haul off *(relâcher)*. The Admiral followed him pretty closely, but very precipitately; he had received more than twenty shot in his hull many of which were below the water line. All his rigging was cut; his main mast was almost broken so that he was obliged to fish it; a number of men were wounded and several killed. For the most of these shots he was indebted to Sieur de Ste Helène, who, himself, aimed the guns. Fearing to receive any more which would finish him, he paid out the whole of his cable, cut it, and drifted away in disorder. The two others held on their fire a little longer, but ceased between noon and five o'clock in the evening. They went for shelter into *L'ance des mères*, beyond Cape Diamond, where they repaired as best they could. A detachment was sent to this cove to observe them; some of their men were killed on shore, and they were obliged to anchor beyond the range of musket shot.

Friday. Sieurs de Longueil, de Ste Hélène with some Frenchmen began to skirmish, about two o'clock in the afternoon, with the van of the enemy's army which was marching in good order along the Little River, and drove in their flankers *(gens détachés)* who rejoined the main body. The engagement was a long while obstinate; our people fighting in the same manner as the day before. The Count had, meanwhile, caused three battalions of Regulars to be posted in order of battle on this side of the river, and was at their head to receive the enemy should he attempt crossing. Our men retreated regularly but unfortunately Sieur de Sainte Hélène had his leg broken by a musket ball. His brother, Sieur de Longueil, who had an arm broken last year at the battle of La Chine, received, also, a contusion in the side, and had it not been for his powder horn which happened to be where the ball struck, he would have been killed. Two other men were wounded and a soldier and farmer killed. The enemy fired some volleys of cannon at our people, without effect. They sent some shots, also, where the Regulars were in line, from which we knew that they had loaded some guns. They were answered from the battery at the Little River gate. They afterwards set fire to some barns, which could not be prevented, and killed some cattle that were wandering about the country and sent them on board their ships. They did not lose less on this occasion than on the preceding.

Saturday 21st. Sieur de Villieu, a half pay Lieutenant, who had demanded a small detachment of Volunteer soldiers from the Count, proceded also towards the enemy's camp.

Sieurs de Cabanac and Duclos de Beaumanoir[1] went out likewise with some other small detachments.

Sieur de Villieu began skirmishing about two o'clock in the afternoon. He drew the enemy into an ambuscade where he maintained his post a considerable time. With a view to surround him, they detached a party which was attacked by another ambuscade of militia belonging to Beauport, Beaupré and the Island of Orleans. Sieurs de Cabanac and de Beumanoir made an attack also, on their side. Our men skirmished whilst constantly retiring until they reached a house when they came to a halt where there was a quantity of palisades on a hill, and from behind these renewed their fire. The fight continued until night, and the reinforcements the enemy were always sending thither served but to increase their loss. We had only a

[1] Charlevoix makes three, of these two officers. *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, I., 86. — Ed.

young student and one Indian wounded. The enemy must have suffered considerably. The night, which was very dark and wet, afforded them means to remove their dead and to conceal the extent of their disaster and prevent its being known; for their alarm was so great that under favor of the darkness they precipitately reëmbarked and abandoned their artillery. Sieur de Villieu and the militia were not aware of the circumstance, and did not perceive their success until daybreak the next morning Sunday the twenty-second. The Indians, who first made the discovery, found five cannon with their field furniture, a hundred pounds of powder, and forty @ fifty balls; those of Beauport and Beaupré took possession of them. Several boats attempted to land in order to retake them and were repulsed.

Captain de Moine went out on the evening before, with a hundred men. He made a very considerable circuit to reach Beauport and was not in the engagement. The Count stationed him at some distance from the Camp of the militia in order to support them in case of a fresh attack. They felt confident of keeping their ground with two pieces of cannon which were left them. The others three were brought hither the same day.

In the afternoon the two Vessels which were in *L'anse des Mères* set sail in order to rejoin the fleet; they were saluted with some shots in passing which they returned without doing us much harm.

Monday. Captains de Subercaze and D Orvilliers started at the head of one hundred men to throw themselves into the Island of Orleans. Sieur de Villieu also received orders to go down to Cape Torment, below Cote de Beaupré. It was correctly surmised that the enemy would soon quit us, and it was feared they would attack those places. They sailed during the night and drifted down with the tide; but some not being able to find good anchorage were obliged to put into port. Finally, they all disappeared on Tuesday at ten o'clock in the morning, and went to anchor at *L'Arbre Sec.*

Miss de La Lande, who was prisoner on board the Admiral's ship, seeing they were about to return home inquired of the General, through an interpreter, if he wanted to take her along and abandon a number of his countrymen who were prisoners at Quebec; if an exchange were proposed, she hoped such negotiation might succeed. She, herself, was sent on parole to make this proposal. The Count readily consented, being very glad to recover her and her maid, Sieur de Grandville, and Sieur Trouvé, a priest, who had been taken at Port Royal and had been brought hither with some others from Acadia, expecting they would be very useful after the capture of the Country.

In the evening she returned, greatly elated, on board the Admiral's ship. The English prisoners we wished to restore were mustered that very night; they consisted merely of women and children and none of any consideration except Captain Davys[1] who was commander of the Fort which Sieur de Portneuf took. There were, besides, his lieutenant's two daughters who appeared very well bred. The Count had ransomed them from the Indians, and put them to board. Another girl[2] of nine or ten years of age who was somewhat well looking, had

Silvanus Davis belonged to one of the oldest families in Maine. He had served already in the Indian war of 1676 when he was wounded and had a narrow escape from the enemy. He settled in Portland in 1680 as a merchant and built saw mills there. At the commencement of hostilities in 1689 he again entered the public service and was in command of Fort Loyal (Portland) when the French captured it. He remained at Quebec a prisoner four months. On the return of Governer Phipps from England with the new Charter in 1692, Capt. Davis was appointed a Counsellor for Sagadahock. He died in Boston in 1703. *Collections of Historical Society of Maine*, I., 209.

[2] Sarah Gerrish, grand-daughter of Major Waldron, who was killed in the attack on Dover, New Hampshire in 1689. She had been taken by the Indians to Canada, ransomed by Mde de Champigny who treated her courteously, and sent her to school. She lived with her friends on her return till she was sixteen years old. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 203.

been ransomed by the Intendant's lady, who felt considerable pain at her surrender yet, nevertheless, submitted for the public good. They amounted to eighteen in all.

M. de la Vallière was entrusted to make this exchange. He proceeded by land on Wednesday morning to the place opposite where the English were moored. The negotiation continued throughout the day. A Chaplain had come ashore and means were found to detain him in consequence of the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the surrender of M. Trouvé. Finally, the exchange was completed in good faith, but we had greatly the advantage in it, since in return for children we received adult men, fit for service, and the number of French exceeded that of the English. They detained two of our French pilots whom they promised to put ashore after passing the dangers of the River. It is not known if they kept their word, as they boasted they would return next spring.

All our prisoners arrived that night, with the exception of Sieur Trouvé who did not return until Thursday morning with Sieur de la Vallière. Some Abenakis arrived from Acadia at the same time. They said they had been to a Mohegan village where they learned that the English had been defeated off the Coast of France.

That the Small pox had destroyed four hundred Iroquois and a hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* and that in the great Mohegan town where they had been, only sixteen men had been spared by the disease.

That one hundred Iroquois belonging to the party that accompanied the English, had died of it; that the Iroquois afflicted by this loss had returned home, so irritated against the English that they plundered them on the way of all they could.

That fifty Dutchmen were to go in seven days, with some of their Indian allies, to the Outawas to endeavor to impose on them.

That within two months, the Canibas had defeated one hundred and seventy Englishmen and thirty Mohegans *(Loups.)*

That on one occasion, when the English manifested a disposition to make peace with the Abenakis, the latter gave them for answer, that neither they, nor their children, nor their children's children should ever make peace with the English by whom they had been so often deceived. This is the latest intelligence we have had from Acadia, and the only news we have had of the Iroquois. That distemper might have been the reason that they had attempted so little during the whole of this year, and doubtless made them retire to their villages.

Friday, 27th. Three men arrived from the Bay St Paul who report that they had been on board two French ships which were ready to pass the Narrows at Isle aux Coudres; that they had notified them that the English fleet was before Quebec; that they learned from them that they were to be followed by eight others in whose company they had left Rochelle. Some canoes kept exprcssly by the Count along the shore, confirmed soon after what those settlers had reported. A third ship called *le Glorieux* was also notified to the same effect, and news arrived that she was preparing to enter the river Saguenay in order to remain concealed there until the enemy's fleet had passed; no news of any the others had been received. Regarding the two first, it is not yet ascertained what decision they have come to, and at this date which is the ninth of November, no intelligence of them has as yet been received. Immediately upon receiving this information from those settlers, the Count dispatched a number of canoes filled with people to go on board those ships, but they could not find them. One of these canoes went down as far as Saguenay, and has not yet got back, which induces us to hope that it will have overtaken some of those vessels and returned in her when the wind comes around

favorable. An armed bark with thirty men on board, has also been dispatched to meet those vessels. We are thus prevented despairing, as yet, of their arrival, and we expect them from day to day with impatience in consequence of our want of all sorts of necessaries, every thing failing in this country, and the Count's family not being spared any more than the rest by this scarcity.

Several passengers left the ship and came here in a canoe. Sieur De la Forêt has delivered to the Count the King's packets and your letters. It has afforded us great joy to receive news so agreeable as those which have arrived from France. We hope the great victories his Majesty has gained over the enemy by sea and land, and the advantages France derives from them, may be reflected on us, and that He will not abandon this poor country, which despite of the wretchedness in which it has long been, essays to make the other extremity of the Earth acquainted with the Glory of its August Monarch, and has been fortunate enough to add some trifle to his triumphs.

Sunday last, rejoicings were made with great pomp. The Admiral's Flag and another taken by Sieur de Portneuf at Acadia, were borne to the Church amidst the rolling of drums. The *Te Deum* was sung by the Bishop, and there was afterwards a solemn procession in honor of the Virgin, the patroness of the Country, all the troops being under arms. A perpetual festival under the name of "Our Lady of Victories" was instituted, and the Church commenced in the Lower town was dedicated, in eternal commemoration of the protection we have received from Heaven on the occasion of this sudden attack; since, had the enemy used as much diligence as they might, and not been delayed by the winds, they would have arrived at Quebec unawares and had infallibly overpowered it, as it was unprovided with any force.

Bonfires *(feu de joie)* were lighted at nightfall in honor of the Count. Cannon, and musketry were repeatedly discharged, and we did not forget to fire off several times, the guns we captured from the enemy, and which will be of use hereafter, to us.

At last, on the 12th November we learned that the three French Ships which appeared off Isle aux Coudres, had entered the Saguenay, which after having seen the enemy's fleet sail by, they had left and were at hand. *Le Saint François de Xavier* came to anchor on the 15th; the frigate called *la Fleur de Mai* the 16th and *le Glorieux* the 17th. The two former prepared to return, although the season is far advanced and ice appears already in the river, all the small streams being frozen; we should have been glad had the eleven ships which, we understand, have left Rochelle for these parts, arrived here in safety. This year might be said to have been replete with every sort of good fortune.

You ordered me, Madam, to give you a detail of every thing that occurred. I know not if this Account will be acceptable to you. It is true. This is the sole good quality I dare ascribe to it. I shall be richly rewarded for my trouble if this little task be agreeable, and can add any thing to the protestations I have ever made to you, that I am with profound respect, Madam,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant

DE MONSEIGNAT.[1]

[1] M. de Monseignat was Comptroller general of the Marine and fortifications of New France. He was a protegé of the celebrated Mde de Maintenon. J. R. B.

CHAP. II.

Speaker ſaid, we have ſomething to tell you, which was not proper to be ſpoken openly, for ſome of our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*; and we were afraid, that they would diſcover or hinder our Deſigns.

Now we aſſure our Brethren, that we are reſolved to look on your Enemies as ours, and that we will firſt fall on the * *Owaragees*; and then on the *Owenagungas*, and laſtly on the *French*; and that you may be convinced of our Intention, we deſign to ſend five of our young Men along with our Brethren to *New-England*, to guard them, who have Orders to view the Country of the *Owaragees*, to diſcover in what Manner it can be attacked with the moſt Advantage. This we always do before we make an Attempt on our Enemies. In a Word, Brethren, your War is our War, for we will live and dye with you.

But it is to be obſerved, that they confirmed nothing relating to theſe *Indians*, by giving Belts.

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with ſome Art on this Occaſion, for they really had favourable Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had Reaſon not to increaſe the Number of their Enemies, by making War on the *Eaſtern Indians*, who avoided doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* likewiſe have always been averſe to engage our *Indians* in a War with the *Eaſtern Indians*, leſt it ſhould change the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own Doors.

On the 25th the Magiſtrates of *Albany* had a private Conference with the *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, and deſired to know their Reſolutions as to the War with *Canada*, and the Meaſures they reſolved to follow. In this Conference the *Indians* ſaw that the People of *Albany* were ſo much afraid of the *French*, that their Spirits were ſunk under the Apprehenſions of the approaching War; and for this Reaſon made the following Anſwer.

* Called by the People of *New-England Panocok Indians.*

We

"We have a hundred and forty Men out-ſkulking "about *Canada*; it is impoſſible for the *French* to at- "tempt any Thing, without being diſcovered and ha- "raſſed by theſe Parties: If the *French* ſhall attempt "any Thing this Way, all the *Five Nations* will come "to your Aſſiſtance, for our Brethren and we are but "one, and we will live and dye together. We have "deſired a hundred Men of our Brethren of *Boſton* to "aſſiſt us here, becauſe this Place is moſt expoſed; but "if the Governor of *Canada* is ſo ſtrong, as to overcome "us all united together, then he muſt be our Maſter, "and is not to be reſiſted; but we have Confidence in "a good and juſt Cauſe; for the great God of Heaven "knows how deceitfully the *French* have dealt with us, "their Arms can have no Succeſs. The Great God "hath ſent us Signs in the Sky to confirm this. We "have heard uncommon Noiſe in the Heavens, and "have ſeen Heads fall down upon Earth, which we "look upon as a certain Preſage of the Deſtruction "of the *French*: Take Courage! On this they all im- "mediately joined in ſinging and crying out, Cou- "rage! Courage!"

CHAP. III.

An Account of a general Council of the Five Nations *at* Onondaga, *to conſider the Count* De Frontenac's *Meſſage.*

ON the 27th of *December* 1689, two *Indians* came to *Albany*, being ſent by the *Onondaga* and *Oneydo Sachems*, with ſeven Hands of Wampum from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York* and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends, who had been carried Priſoners to *France*, were come with Propoſals from *Canada*; that there was a Council of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*, and that they therefore deſired the Mayor of *Albany*, *Peter Scheyler*, and ſome others of their Brethren, to

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to come thither, to be present and to advise on an Affair of so great Consequence; for they were resolved to do nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of all those that were included in the Chain with them.

The same Messenger told them, that some Letters were sent to the Jesuit at *Oneydo*; and that they would neither burn, nor suffer those Letters to be opened, till the Brethren should first see them.

All that the Magistrates of *Albany* did on this important Occasion, was to send three *Indians* with Instructions in their Name, to dissuade the *Five Nations* from entertaining any Thoughts of Peace, or yielding to a Cessation of Arms.

On the 4th of *January* one of the chief *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany*, to tell the *Magistrates*, that he was to go to *Onondaga*, and desired the Brethren's Advice how to behave there; on which the Magistrates thought it necessary to send likewise the publick Interpreter, and another Person to assist at the general Meeting, with written Instructions; but no Person of Note, that had any Influence on the *Indians*, went.

When the Messengers arrived at *Oneydo*, they discoursed privately with one of the Prisoners that had returned from *France*, and found that he had no Love for the *French*; but it is impossible but that *Indians*, who had seen the *French* Court, and many of their Troops, must be surprised at their Grandeur: he complained however of the ill Usage he had met with. The *French* chose, on this Occasion, to send first to *Oneydo*, because of the Assistance they expected the Jesuit, that resided there, would give to their Negotiation.

I believe it will not be tedious to the Reader, that desires to know the *Indian Genius*, if I give a circumstantial Account of this general Council or Parliament of the *Five Nations*, that he may see in what Manner a People that we call Savages behave on such important Occasions.

On

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On the 22d of *January* the general Council was opened at *Onondaga*, consisting of eighty *Sachems*; in the first Place *Sadekanaghtie*, an *Onondaga Sachem*, rising up, addressed himself to the Messenger of *Albany*, saying,

Four Messengers are come from the Governor of *Canada*, *viz.* three who had been carried Prisoners to *France*, and a *Sachem* of the *Praying Indians* that live at *Montreal*.

The Governor of *Canada* notifies his Arrival to us, that he is the Count *de Frontenac*, who had been formerly Governor there; that he had brought back with him *Tawerahet* a *Cayuga Sachem*, and twelve Prisoners, that had been carried to *France*; then taking the Belt of *Wampum* in his Hand, and holding it by the Middle, he added, what I have said relates only to one Half of the Belt, the other Half is to let us know, that he intends to kindle again his Fire at *Cadarackui* next Spring, and therefore invites his Children, and *Dekanasora* an *Onondaga Captain* in particular, to treat there with him about the old Chain. Then *Adarahta* the chief *Sachem* of the *praying Indians* stood up, and said, with three Belts in his Hand, I advise you to meet the Governor of *Canada* as he desires; agree to this, if you would live, and gives one Belt of *Wampum*

Tawerahet sends you this other Belt, to inform you of the Miseries, that he and the rest of your Countrymen have suffered in their Captivity; and to advise you to hearken to *Yonondio*, if you desire to live.

This third Belt is from * *Thurensera*, † *Ohgueſſe*, and ‖ *Ertel*, who say by it, to their Brethren: We have interceded for you with *Yonondio*, and therefore ad-

* *Thurensera* signifies the Dawning of the Day, and was the Name given by the *Indians* to the Jesuit *Lamberville*, who had formerly resided at *Onondaga*. † Monsr. *le Morne*, the Word signifies a Partridge. ‖ *Ersel* signifies a Rose, the Name of some other *French* Gentleman, for whom the *Indians* had an Esteem.

vise

CHAP. III. vise you to meet him at *Cadarackui* in the Spring, because it will be for your Advantage.

When this *Sachem* had done speaking, the *Mohawk* Messenger sent from *Albany* delivered his Message Word for Word, as he had received it, without omitting the least Article. The Interpreter, while the *Indian* was speaking, read over a Paper, on which the Message was set down, lest any Thing should have been forgot.

After this *Cannehoot* a *Seneka Sachem* stood up, and gave the general Council a particular Account of a Treaty made last Summer, between the *Senekas* and the *Wagunha* Messengers, (one of the *Utawawa* Nations) who had concluded a Peace for themselves, and seven other Nations, to which the other four Nations were desired to agree, and their Brethren of *New-York* to be included in it. He said the Proposals made in several Propositions were as follow.

1. We are come to join two Bodies into one. Delivering up at the same Time two Prisoners.

2. We are come to learn Wisdom of you *Senekas*, and of the other *Five Nations*, and of your Brethren of *New-York*. Giving a Belt.

3. We by this Belt wipe away the Tears from the Eyes of your Friends, whose Relations have been killed in the War, and likewise * the Paint from your Soldiers Faces. Giving another Belt.

4. We now throw aside the Ax, which *Yonondio* put into our Hands, by this third Belt.

5. Let the Sun, as long as he shall endure, always shine upon us in Friendship. Here he gave a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate.

6. Let the Rain of Heaven wash away all Hatred, that we may again smoke together in Peace, giving a large Pipe of red Marble.

* The *Indians* always paint their Faces when they go to War, to make themselves look more terrible to the Enemy. A Soldier in the *Indian* Language is expressed by a Word, which signifies a Fair-fighter.

7. *Yonondio*

7. *Yonondio* is drunk, but we waſh our Hands clean from all his Actions. Giving a fourth Belt. CHAP. III.

8. Now we are clean waſhed by the Water of Heaven, neither of us muſt defile ourſelves by hearkening to *Yonondio*.

9. We have twelve of your Nation Priſoners, who ſhall be brought home in the Spring; there he gave a Belt, to confirm the Promiſe.

10. We will bring your Priſoners when the Strawberries ſhall be in bloſſom, * at which Time we intend to viſit *Corlear*, and ſee the Place where the Wampum is made. (*New-York.*)

The Speaker added, we will alſo tell our Friends the other *Utawawa* Nations, and the *Dionondadies*, who have eleven of your People Priſoners, what we have now done, and invite them to make Peace with you.

He ſaid further, we have ſent three Meſſengers back with the *Wagunhas*, in order to confirm this Peace with their Nation.

After the *Seneka* Speaker had done, the *Wagunha* Preſents were hung up in the Houſe, in the Sight of the whole Aſſembly, and afterwards diſtributed among the ſeveral Nations, and their Acceptance was a Ratification of the Treaty. A large Belt was given alſo to the *Albany* Meſſengers as their Share.

The Belt of Wampum ſent from *Albany* was in like Manner hanged up, and afterwards divided.

New-England, which the *Indians* call *Kinſhon* (that is a Fiſh) ſent likewiſe the Model of a Fiſh, as a token of their adhering to the general Covenant. This Fiſh was handed round among the *Sachems*, and then laid aſide to be put up.

After theſe Ceremonies were over, *Sadekanahtie*, an *Onondaga* Speaker, ſtood up, and ſaid, Brethren,

* The *Indians* in this Manner diſtinguiſh the Seaſons of the Year, as the Time of planting Corn, or when it is ripe, when the Cheſnuts bloſſom, &c.

we

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we muſt ſtick to our Brother *Quider*, and look on *Yonondio* as our Enemy, for he is a Cheat: By *Quider* they meant *Peter Schyler* the Mayor of *Albany*, who had gained a conſiderable Eſteem among them; as they have no Labeals in their Language, they pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

The Meſſenger from *Canada* had brought Letters, and ſome medicinal Powder, for the Jeſuit *Milet*, who reſided at *Onondo*. Theſe Letters and the Powder were delivered to the Interpreter from *Albany* to be carried thither, that the Contents of them might be made known to the *Sachems* of the ſeveral Nations. The Jeſuit was preſent all this While in their Council.

Then the Interpreter was deſired to ſpeak what he had to ſay from their Brethren at *Albany*. He told them, that a new Governor was arrived, who had brought a great many Soldiers from *England*. That the King of *England* had declared War againſt *France*, and that the People of *New-England* were fitting out Ships againſt *Canada*. He adviſed them, that they ſhould not hearken to the *French*, for when they talk of Peace, ſaid he, War is in their Heart, and deſired them to enter into no Treaty but at *Albany*, for the *French*, he ſaid, would mind no Agreement made any where elſe.

After this they had Conſultations for ſome Time together, and then gave the following Anſwer by their Speaker.

Brethren, our Fire burns at *Albany*. We will not ſend *Dekanaſora* to *Cadarackui*. We adhere to our old Chain with *Corlear*; we will proſecute the War with *Yonondio*, and will follow your Advice in drawing off our Men from *Cadarackui*. Brethren, we are glad to hear the News you tell us, but tell us no Lies.

Brother *Kinſhon*, we hear you deſign to ſend Soldiers to the eaſtward againſt the *Indians* there; but we adviſe you, now ſo many are united againſt the *French*, to fall immediately on them. Strike at the Root, when the Trunk ſhall be cut down, the Branches fall of Courſe.

Corlear and *Kinſhon*, Courage! Courage! In the Spring to *Quebeck*, take that Place, and you'll have your Feet on the Necks of the *French*, and all their Friends in *America*. CHAP. III.

After this they agreed to the following Anſwer to be ſent to the Governor of *Canada*.

1. *Yonondio*, you have notified your Return to us, and that you have brought back 13 of our People that were carried to *France*, we are glad of it. You deſire us to meet you at *Cadarackui* next Spring, to treat of the old Chain; but *Yonondio*, how can we truſt you, after you have acted deceitfully ſo often? Witneſs what was done at *Cadarackui*; the Uſage our Meſſengers met with at *Utawawa*, and what was done to the *Senekas* at *Utawawa*. This was their Anſwer; however, they ſent a Belt with this, which always ſhews a Diſpoſition to treat.

2. *Therhanſera*, *Oghueſſe* and *Ertel*, do you obſerve Friendſhip with us, if you have not, how come you to adviſe us to renew Friendſhip with *Yonondio*, they ſent them likewiſe a Belt?

3. *Tawerahet*, the whole Council is glad to hear, that you are returned with the other twelve. *Yonondio*, you muſt ſend home *Tawerahet* and the others this very Winter, before Spring, and we will ſave all the *French* that we have Priſoners till that Time.

4. *Yonondio*, you deſire to ſpeak with us at *Cadarackui*: Don't you know that your Fire there is extinguiſhed? It is extinguiſhed with Blood, you muſt ſend home the Priſoners in the firſt Place.

5. We let you know that we have made Peace with the *Wagunhas*.

6. You are not to think, that we have laid down the Axe, becauſe we return an Anſwer; we intend no ſuch Thing: Our Far-fighters ſhall continue the War till our Countrymen return.

7. When our Brother *Tawerahet* is returned, then will we ſpeak to you of Peace.

As

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As soon as the Council broke up, their Resolutions were made publick to all their People, by the *Sachems* of their several Nations.

Two *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, by their general Council, to inform their Brethren there of their Resolutions, and to bring back the Contents of the Letters sent from *Canada* to the Jesuit.

As soon as they arrived, one of the *Mohawks*, that had been sent from *Albany* to the Council, delivered the *Wagunha* Belt, and repeated over distinctly all the Articles agreed to with that Nation, and referred to the *Onondaga Speaker*, being one of those sent by the Council of *Albany*, to recite the Answer to the Governor of *Canada*. He rising up, repeated over the whole as before set down, and added; The *French* are full of Deceit; but I call God to witness, we have hitherto used no Deceit with them, but how we shall act for the future, Time only can discover. Then he assured the Brethren, that the *Five Nations* were resolved to prosecute the War, in Token whereof he presented * *Quider* with a Belt, in which three Axes were represented. Perhaps by this Representation only three Nations joined in sending it, the *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes* being more under the Influence of the Jesuit *Milet*, who lived among them intirely, according to their Manner of Life, and was adopted by the *Oneydoes*, and made one of their *Sachems*. The Letters from *Canada* to him were read, they contained nothing but common News and Compliments.

* *Peter Schyler*, Mayor of *Albany*.

The *Mohawk* Messengers, that had been sent from *Albany*, had carried with them Goods to sell at the general Council. This was taken Notice of at the general Council, and gave the *Indians* a mean Opinion of the People of *Albany*, and particularly of *Peter Schyler*; for it is exceedingly scandalous among the *Indians*, to employ a Merchant in publick Affairs; Merchants, (I mean the Traders with the *Indians*) are looked upon by them as Liars, and

People

People not to be truſted, and of no Credit, who by their Thoughts being continually turned upon Profit and Loſs, conſider every Thing with that private View. As this made a Noiſe at *Albany*, by its giving the Jeſuit an Opportunity of ſetting the Meſſengers from *Albany* in an ill Light, *Peter Scheyler* cleared himſelf by Oath, of his having any Intereſt directly or indirectly in thoſe Goods, and ſent a Belt back with his publick Juſtification. The *Mohawk* Meſſengers had refuſed to take the Goods, as being ſcandalous to the Buſineſs they went on; but were perſuaded, by being told that the Goods belonged to *Quider*.

The Magiſtrates of *Albany* adviſed the *Sachems*, to ſend the Jeſuit Priſoner to *Albany*, where he might be kept ſecurely, without having it in his Power to do Miſchief, but they could not prevail. The *Indians* were reſolved to keep all the Means of making Peace in their own Hands.

CHAP. IV.

The French *ſurpriſe* Schenectady. *The* Mohawks *Speech of Condoleance on that Occaſion.*

CHAP. IV.

THE *Count De Frontenac* being deſirous, as before obſerved, to raiſe the drooping Spirits of the *French* in *Canada*, by keeping them in Action, and engaging the moſt daring of them, in Enterprizes that might give Courage to the reſt, had ſent out three Parties againſt the *Engliſh* Colonies, in Hopes thereby to leſſen the Confidence which the *Five Nations* had in the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, now that *England* had declared War againſt *France*. The Party ſent againſt *New-York* was commanded by *Monſr. De Herville*, and was ordered to attempt the ſurpriſing of *Schenectady*, the neareſt Village to the *Mohawks*; It conſiſted of 150 *French Buſh-lopers* or *Indian*

to consist one-half of Soldiers, one [quarter] of Canadians, and one-fourth of Indians, With five or six hundred soldiers, the whole country within the government of Montreal ought to be well guarded.

The government of Three rivers ought to be well secured with two companies of fifty men, for it is covered by Montreal, Chambly, Sorel, and the River Saint Francis.

Quebec has nothing to fear except from the sea. I consider it in complete security in that direction; fortified as it is, and having in its vicinity more than fifteen hundred active settlers. That is amply sufficient for its defence. We who are more enterprising than the English, would look more than once before we should attack Quebec, which does not offer many facilities for posting five to six thousand men that would be required to take it. Canada is not a sufficiently fine country to tempt them to incur an expense so great as would be necessary for its conquest. They could, at a trifling outlay, drive us out of Newfoundland and Acadia, and take possession of all the fisheries, (which constitute a considerable trade) and of the avenues to Canada the annual exports whereof do not equal in value ten to fifteen cargoes of codfish, of which notwithstanding, I do not believe they think. I know not whether it be that they are aware the Colony of Acadia and Newfoundland do not increase in proportion to theirs of Boston and Yorque and that they will, in a few years, be much better able to fit out expeditions.

It is a country which suits them better than Canada, of which they will not think so soon but will content themselves with getting their allies to wage war on us without it costing them ten thousand écus a year. That is what, as smart men, they ought to do.

As for Acadia, it is to be feared that they will destroy it, and remove the settlers before it increases, lest when populous it may ruin their Fisheries.

Canada will not fail to say that she requires a post among the Outawas to maintain those Indians in our interests and to make them come down to trade with her. I believe it to be necessary and that forty soldiers are sufficient for it with the Voyageurs whom the Merchants of Canada will send thither every year.

It would be desirable for Canada that the entire Beaver trade should be carried on at Montreal only.

Canada will certainly be stronger and protect itself at half less expense when it has no frontier post.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal, for My Lord, the Marquis de Seignelay. On the State of the Affairs of Canada. January, 1689.

M. de Denonville having sent me expressly to report to you, My Lord, the veritable state of the affairs of Canada, and to furnish you all the information you will deem necessary for the adoption of proper measures in regard to the orders which it will please you to give me for the safety of that country, I consider myself obliged to add to my preceding Memoirs that it would be absolutely useless in the present conjuncture to flatter ourselves with the hope that we could conclude peace with the Iroquois, for the reasons which I shall, hereafter, submit.

You will have seen, My Lord, by M. de Denonville's letters that in carrying out the King's orders, he has not omitted any thing to induce the Iroquois to make peace with us; and with a view to that being effected with more dignity for the glory of his Majesty's arms, we concluded that it would be necessary to retain some of the Iroquois prisoners, whom we had taken, to employ them in persuading their compatriots to come and demand it. M. de Denonville selected for that purpose those of the Onontaguè tribe whom he separated from those he sent to France, because they had appeared less animated against us, and were in communication with Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit. He sent them back to their nation after having paid them attention, and made them some presents to gain them over; they succeeded in persuading their nation to send him a delegation, and also induced two other tribes, called Cayugas and Oneidas to add their deputies to it.

The delegates of these 3 Nations being come, escorted by 900 Warriors, to sue for peace from us, M. de Denonville received them with a great deal of attention, and by the advice of the principal men of the Country, answered them, that he was ready to grant them terms when they would bring with them deputies from the two other Iroquois Nations, called Senecas and Mohawks, prescribing to them the time when the Deputies of all the Five Iroquois Nations could return to conclude it conjointly with our Indian Allies: Whereupon, we remarked that those deputies repeated the proposition which had reference to our Indians, and led us to understand that they wished to make peace only with us so as to destroy the others after the conclusion of that peace; and as an evidence of that they entertained that design when those Deputies were at Montreal, a part of their escort went to pillage three Canoes belonging to our Indians, some of whom they killed and others they took prisoners. M. de Denonville thought proper to pretend ignorance thereof, in order not to interrupt the negotiation.

The time of their return being come, they sent four delegates from the Onontagué Nation to create in our minds the hope of a general deputation from the Five Nations.

These four Onontagués were met and attacked by a party of our Indians who killed one, and took the three others prisoners, with a view to break up our negotiation with the Iroquois, being fearful that they would remain exposed alone to their resentment. We learned this from one of these Iroquois prisoners who escaped from our Indians to Catarocouy where he was well treated by the Commander, and who promised to report to his Nation that we had no participation in that insult in order to confirm them in the designs they had manifested of returning to negotiate with us.

That accident, however, interrupted the negotiation and afforded the English an opportunity to break it off entirely, which they effected on the arrival of Sir Andros, Governor-General of New-York reunited to New England, who having convoked a general Assembly of the Five Iroquois Nations they repaired to him. He declared to them that the King of England, his Master, took them under his protection, and forbade them to make any Treaty with us except with his participation, on pain of being deprived of the aid of arms, powder, lead and other supplies all which they received from the English of New-York. Whereunto they solemnly pledged themselves, and he, at the same time, obliged a party of about 300 Iroquois to make a foray into our Colony, where they burned 30 houses of our Settlers scattered along the River St Lawrence, taking advantage, for that purpose, of my absence whilst I was, at the head of the principal forces of the Country, engaged in revictualling Fort Catarocouy.

Sir Andros afterwards sent to declare to M. de Denonville that the Iroquois were subjects of the King, his Master, and that he took them as such under his protection.

At the time of my departure for France we received intelligence that the English had collected some people at Orange and its vicinity with intention to send them with some Iroquois to Michilimakinac, a country of the Outaouas belonging to us. This can be only with a view to take it, as they endeavored to do two years ago, and to seize all the peltries that have been brought thither from the surrounding country for the account of our Traders, and which are estimated at the value of nearly 800,000 livres; and this on pretence of reprisals for some goods the French took from some Iroquois and from 70 Englishmen who were arrested two years since on their way to the said Michilimakinac to debauch our Indians there by presents and the cheap bargains they give of their Merchandises; so that there is every reason to fear that those English and Iroquois have executed that project since my departure.

Things being in this state when Sir Andros recognized the authority of the King of England, it would be idle to flatter ourselves with the hope to find them improved since the usurpation of the Prince of Orange, who, as has been already observed, will be assuredly acknowledged by Sir Andros, who is a protestant, born in the Island of Jersey, and by New-York the inhabitants whereof are mostly Dutch, who planted this Colony under the name of New Netherland, all of whom are protestants and have been conquered by the English.

We may, then, assuredly, reckon that there is no longer any hope, nor any overtures, of peace between us and the Iroquois, who being so much attached by their proper interest to the English, have no desire to return to us to renew negotiations, contrary to the prohibition of the latter, from whom it is impossible to detach them; and that the English, who are interested in keeping them at war with us and have declared them to be their subjects, so far from permitting them to enter into any accommodation, will furnish them all the aid necessary to carry the war into our Colony, and to continue the burning of the isolated houses of our settlers, as the troops kept in the country by the King are insufficient to protect them against those incendiaries, in consequence of the vast extent of country to be watched, and the great distance of the settlements one from the other.

The English, in keeping with their ancient policy, will not fail to urge the Iroquois to continue the war against our Indians in order to reduce the latter to the necessity of joining them and breaking off all trade with us. This they will effect by cutting off with their parties the communication between us and Michilimakinac, which is 300 leagues distant from the Colony and the general entrepôt of all the trade of Canada, without which the latter could not subsist.

I consider it necessary to answer the objection that may be offered, that, in previous times, Canada maintained herself alone without troops and without the extraordinary expenses incurred there by the King those last years, and without the Iroquois daring to make any attack. These were then engaged in war against the Andastes,[1] a numerous tribe of Indians in the vicinity of Virginia who had given them employment for several years, and whom they had at last destroyed. They have added considerably to their numbers by the quantity of prisoners they have made, whom they spare when young and adopt into their nation. The English were at the same time at war with other Indian tribes called Abenaquis and Socoquis; this prevented them forming any alliance with the Iroquois, which has since been effected through the care of Colonel Dongan, the former governor of New-York, who regarded it as an assured means of ruining Canada, and of diverting the entire trade to that English Colony.

[1] See note 2, supra, p. 227. — Ed.

War being thus inevitable, it becomes absolutely necessary to consider the means of sustaining it.

If we remain simply on the defensive, it will be impossible to avoid the inconveniences above noted—such as frequent burnings of several of our settlements; estrangement of our Indians when they will behold us incapable of sustaining them against their enemies, and of conveying necessaries to them; a circumstance that would infallibly draw after it the ruin of the country.

If we carry the War into the country of our enemies, we shall preserve all our Indians in our dependency; place our Colony in security, and cause Religion and Commerce to flourish there.

All those advantages are combined in the success of the expedition against New-York which I have proposed; it is more easy of success than the destruction of a single Iroquois canton. The English are our real enemies inasmuch as it is they who force the Iroquois to wage war on us; who furnish them the means of supporting it; who have violated the Treaty of Neutrality concluded between the two Nations, and who incessantly labor to usurp our lands and ruin our commerce.

If the present state of affairs do not permit as yet an open attack on them, orders, at least, can be issued for the necessary preparations according to the Memoir thereof which I shall present for the execution of this project, when war between France and England will be declared, or when the English of New-York, united with the Iroquois, will come to attack us; which, perhaps, they have already done.

36:1

Answer to be Returned to ye Flag
or five Nations at Albania

Wee have sent to acquaint the Governour with yr
Message about yr fear Indians Coming to Annie
and doe mischeife to you

In answer to which

the Governour Returns to what he said to you when
last at Albany Particularly that you should be Carefull
not to be Surprized and yt none do Come to Settle
in y. Country forcibly But to appehend & Secure
any that shall attempt it or to do you any harme
and may at all times come to
their Protected and Supplied

Wee also
Indians having Committed
Injuries and Spoyles
their Associates

Col. Mss. 36:1-39

Answer to be Returned to ye Maqu
or five Nations at Albania

Wee have sent to acquaint the Governour with ye
Message about ye five Indians Coming to annoy
and doe mischeife to you

In answer to which

the Governour Replies to what he sayd to you when
last at Albany Particularly that you should be Carefull
not to be Surprized and yt. none doe Come or Settle
in ye Country forcibly. But to apprehend or Prevent
any that shall attempt it or to doe you any harme
and may at all times come to Albany and be
there Protected and Supplied as occasion

Wee are also to acquaint ye
dians having Committed Severall
Injuryes and Spoyles and fled
their Associates or Confederates
now taken as Enemies

25 Jan. 1690

Lords to be Related to ye Sachims
of ye Mahicans at Albany

We have sent to acquaint the Governour with ye
[illegible] of ye Indians Coming to Annap
and do make this to ye ——

[illegible] answer to which ——

The Governour Replies to what he sayd to you when
last at Albany Particularly yt you should be Carefull
not to be Surprized and yt none do come or Settle
in ye Country forcibly But to apprehend or Secure
any that shall attempt it or to do you any harme
and may att all times come to Albany and be
there Protected and Supplied as occasion ——

We are also to acquaint ye ye Sinne Nation
Indians having Committed Several Murthers Rob-
beries and Spoyles are fled, and That we find that
their Associates or Confederates to be Looked
upon As Enemies.

25th Jan. 1690/1

The Answer to the
Sachims Message

We have Received your
Lre ye 25th Instant by
all Particulars Reported

15 Jany 165$\frac{4}{5}$

Answer to y^{e} Maquaas
C^{a}. to be Delivd at a Cons:

Messag^{d} to y^{e} Cachkake
Indians at Albany

25 Jan 168½

Answer to y^e Maquas C^a to be Deliver'd at Alb^y:

Message to y^e Sachkoke Indians at Albany

The Maquase Oneydes Onnondages Cayouges
Sinnekes Reply to ye Governo: Answer sent them
by Arnout the Interpreter into their Country in
February 168⅞

First ye Maquase said

That ye Sinnekes and Cayouges would take Care
yt the Iraquahaes should not be long on their
Confines, O Brother Corlaer wee are much griev'd
to hear yt ye Kennebeck Indians doe murther
and Robb our Brethren the Christians, when our
Young Indians come home in ye Spring, Wee will
help Corlaer, there is an old grudge between us anes
the Onnagongues, who knows how it will goe yet

The Oneydes said

Wee thank our Brother Corlaer for acquainteing
us that wee may Defend our Selves, wee shall
not Suffer our People to be soe Plaqued again by ye
Jaraganhaes and their Associats, as now all our Young
Soudjers are come from hunting, for all our Indians
are gone a hunting

O Brother Corlaer our heart is much Prest with
Grief that our Brethren to ye Eastward are soe
kill'd and Robb'd; Believe it and wee doubt not but
this comes from Onnondio ye Governo. of Canida
heart (though Closely) Lest Corlaer Subjects Defend
themselves Bravely that they be not Ashamed

The Onnondages said

The Onaganhaes with their Associates the Dionondad
Twichtwichs and Kichtages who have killed three
Onnondages and some of ye Sinnekes and Dickyd
have done it of their owne Authority and have
broke ye Covenant Chain of Peace or Essalien —
Onnendio ye Governo of Canida is very angry
at it, thus hath he acquainted us; The Governo
Canida says they have Deserv'd Punishment —
We Believe shall have news shortly from Canada
Many of our Onnondage Indians are gone out
a hunting towards ye french Territories and
without to have an Eye towards ye french Proceed
ings hear of all ye french Buckloopers are sent
to come home in ye Spring, Onnendio ye Governo
of Canida will not admitt them to be Longer
among the Indians

The Chiefe Sachim of Onnondage a great Creature of ye french & Entirely to ye Engl. Interest & Leonard Howell Sachim of Cayuy.

Brother Corlaer wee are sorry for ye Death of our Brother Peckins Aquirachrongd an Dekaraecho but much more grieved to hear that our Brothers are soe murthered and Robbd by ye Onnagongues and their Associates tis ye Custome at Condolence from the Downeanhaes you must Defend ye Relict Brandy and wee shall doe ye Same —

The Sinnekes and Cayouges Say

There are five hundred of our People gone out a Hunting towards ye Confines of Ottowa ever a
the Tourgantheas are gone, to their Country or Elsewhere
the houses which ye French had at Jagara we Burnt
some of our People lye at Jagara as Scouts and
some att another Place called Djajago

We are Sorry to hear of ye Mischiefs done to our
Brethren by Onnondies Indians, we will help Revenge
with all our hearts to kill them Dikarachqua our
Sachem of Cayunge is Dead

A Copy Transl. ff
Robt Livingston

The Maquas said the Sinkes and the Cajogges will take care that the Wahonhaes do not stay long on their border.

Brother Corlaer we are very sorry to hear that Kinnebeck Indians are murdering and robbing our brothers the Christians so. When our young Indians come home in the spring we shall help Corlaer. There is an old spirit of revenge in us against the Anwenagonses. Who knows what will happen.

The Onejeddes said we thank our brother Corlaer for letting us know that we may defend ourselves. We shall not let the Waganhaes and their allies torment us so any more, as soon as our young warriors come home from the hunt. All our Indians are oppressed by sorrow that our brothers to the north are killed and robbed so. Believe us, we doubt not but these doings proceed from Onondijo. His heart is secretive. Let Corlaer's subjects defend themselves bravely in order that they may not be ashamed.

The Onondages said the Waganhaes and their allies the Joenondades and Tuyghtuigses and Kigtages who killed 3 Onondages and also some of the Sinkesse and Onejeddes nations have done so [ ] peace or truce [ ] Onondijo is very [ ] [ ].

Many of our Onondages Indians are out hunting toward the French border and also to keep an eye on what the Frenchman will do. We hear that all the French coureurs-de-bois

are summoned to come home in the spring. Onondiejo does not want them to stay any longer among the Indians.

Brother Corlaer we are sorry that we have lost by death our brothers, sachems Aquyeroronge and Caragko, but to hear that our brothers are murdered and robbed so by the Anwanagonges and their allies makes our sorrow greater. This matter is like what happened to us on the part of the Waganhaes. You must bravely defend yourselves; we shall do the same.

The Sinkes and Cajogges. There are 500 of our Indians out hunting toward the Ottawawasse ~~shores~~ border. The Waganhaes have left for their country or elsewhere. The houses which the French occupies while hunting we have burned. Some of our people are lying out, hunting or watching, and also at another convenient place called d'Jajago. We are sorry to hear of the misfortunes which have befallen our brothers through Onondiejo's Indians. We shall be glad to help Corlaer kill them. Caragko, our sachem of the Cajogge, is dead.

INDORSED:

Alb: 7 March 1689/8
Answer of the 5 Nations
to the Governor's speech
per Arnout

Translated from the Dutch by A. J. F. Van Laer

2e

Alb. 7 Maart 1604

De 6 natiën antwerpen

d'Oostmaan g'arrest

alb: 7 mart 1611

De s natiuis antio. gi

d gouernaur ſte armut

Of the 18 quintals of Pork, 11250lbs are to be charged to the pay of 1000 Soldiers, and the remaining 6750lbs which will go to victualling the 600 Militia, will be charged to the Extraordinary.

Of the 30 barrels of Brandy, 20 may be charged to the pay of the Soldiers, and the other 10 barrels for distribution among the Militia, to the Extraordinary.

The powder horns are to be paid for by the Soldiers who are deficient in, and will have lost, them.

The militia can eventually be made to pay for the guns furnished to them.

It is necessary to give immediate orders for the boat, gun carriages and other articles, and to retain room on board the merchant vessels for the biscuit, flour, brandy, pork, and other articles required for Canada.

My Lord calculates that the two Men of War will be ready to sail, at latest, the 15th June.

An Engineer is required.

Observations on the Project of Attack on New-York.

Versailles, 24 April, 1689.

The orders of the King of England relative to the Treaty of Neutrality of the month of November, 1687, had favorably disposed Mr. Dongan, then governor of New-York, to terminate the war with the Iroquois.

Said Mr Dongan had previously declared that he claimed the Iroquois to be subjects of the King of England, and the transactions before that war did not leave any room to doubt his participation in what they had done, nor his having furnished them with arms and ammunition.

Meanwhile he had altered his tone; but Mr. Andros being come to relieve him with the Commission of Governor of New England and New-York, declared and wrote that the Iroquois were subjects of England, and that he did not understand that they should treat without his order.

There is no appearance of improvement in the dispositions of the English in the meantime.

The last season was passed inactively on the part of the French, in the expectation of a treaty of peace; and, as far as they were concerned, things have not apparently up to the close of the season been in any worse state. This inactivity and the indispensable abandonment of the forts cannot fail to have increased the courage and insolence of the Iroquois, and it must, it appears to me, be inferred that the English will, in consequence of the interest they have in depriving us of the Trade, continue to use them for that purpose. It costs nothing—for in the present state of the Colony of New-York, they cannot, of themselves, afford considerable aid, with the exception of the arms and ammunition they sell them. Under cover of the Iroquois war, they would endeavor to draw the beaver trade to themselves, and to send to form establishments, which they had commenced doing, on the route of the Tribes that brought the beaver to Canada.

Under these circumstances, should peace not be concluded, or in progress of conclusion, when the King's orders arrive, it would be, apparently, dangerous to permit the Iroquois to

be always the aggressors; and should Monsieur de Denonville demand a large military force to attack them, My Lord perhaps will find it expedient to send him orders to make use of the troops he has, together with the militia, to wage war as far as he is able against those Indians, so as to endeavor to oblige them to sue for peace.

Were we certain of a rupture with England, there would be no apparent inconvenience in attacking New-York, and in that case the proposal of Chevalier de Callières might be examined, in order to see if it were not possible to execute it as projected merely with the forces already in Canada. In this case, the expense would be increased only a trifle.

And it seems certain, that by the conquest of New-York, whether it would be destroyed or retained, an end would be put to the War of the Iroquois, who are as difficult to conquer as the capture of Manathe and Orange appears easy to Chevalier de Callières and to those who are acquainted with that Colony.

things be left, as far as regards them, in *statu quo*, unless they declare war against him and be the first to commence an attack.

His Majesty agrees with them that the most certain plan to crush the Iroquois at one blow, would be to have three or four thousand good troops; but this is not the time to think of it, his Majesty's forces are too much occupied elsewhere, and nothing is more important or more necessary in the present state of affairs than to conclude a peace with the Iroquois forthwith, his Majesty not being disposed to incur any expense for the continuance of this war. And, in order to facilitate the means of accomplishing that peace, his Majesty has sent to Marseilles the necessary orders to convey to Rochefort the Iroquois who had been sent to the galleys, and has issued directions that they be dressed somewhat decently preparatory to being sent back home.

But in case all the measures to be adopted by Sieur de Denonville for securing a peace will happen to fail, it is his Majesty's wish that, rather than afford the Iroquois an opportunity to make any attacks on the Colony, and to render the French contemptible in their estimation, he will employ whatever forces he has, and whatever assistance he can derive from the settlers not only for a vigorous defence but even to attack, and make as fierce a war as possible upon them, until it be in his Majesty's power to adopt other resolutions.

It is, likewise, highly important that Sieur de Denonville do all that is proper to protect the trade of the French in the distant posts, particularly at Missilimakinac, in order to prevent the execution of the plan entertained for a long time by the English to establish themselves there; and as he cannot preserve that post except by means of the Indian allies, it is important that he encourage, by all means in his power, the hopes they may entertain of not being abandoned, and that he foster, in every way, their animosity against the Iroquois.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

M. de Seignelay to M. de Denonville.

Versailles, 1st May, 1689.

Extract.

Sir,

As the King explains to you his intentions on the affairs generally of Canada in the Memoir you will receive, I shall not repeat them to you here, and content myself with informing you, that the most important service you can render his Majesty in the present conjuncture, would be to succeed in negotiating a peace with the Iroquois, directly, without the interposition of the English. Chevalier de Callieres whom you sent here to furnish explanations necessary in the negotiation to be entered upon with the English, and which have been broken off by the invasion of the Prince of Orange, has proposed to attack Manat and Orange, presupposing that the inhabitants of these places, who are protestants, will not hesitate to declare against the King of England, nor preserve appearances any longer with us. Although his Majesty thought well of the proposal, he has not deemed its execution, at present, expedient, and is pleased to return it to you, and to order me to write to you that he intends you should

examine it, and arrange means to put it into execution in case he, eventually, find it expedient for his service to come to some conclusion on the correct plans and memoirs which he desires you to send him on that subject.

• • • • • • • • • • • •

1689.

Albany and Chester to be watchful and to keep the people quiet. Letter of May 1 to Sir E. Andros, condoling with his misfortunes and asking for return of the records of New York from Boston. Letter to the revolutionary Government of Boston, May 1, expressing surprise at the arrest of Sir E. Andros and hoping that he and the other officers may be liberated shortly. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXV., pp.* 62-74.]

May 4. **2,736.** Minutes of Council of New York. Disturbances being reported in Suffolk County and Long Island, a letter was written to Major Howell at Southampton, hoping that he had put an end to them, and desiring information as to his position, and as to the men and guns that he can spare for defence of New York. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXV., pp.* 72-76.]

May 6. **2,737.** Proclamation of the Council of New York. For payment of the arrears due to the soldiers who took part in the late expedition. *Original.* 1 *p. Endorsed.* Read 29 Aug., 1689. 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 29 Aug. 1689. [*America and West Indies.* 578. *No.* 3A.]

May 6. **2,738.** Proclamation of the Council of New York. For applying all the revenue of Customs, Excise and Weigh-house to the fortifications of the city. *Original.* 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 29 Aug., 1689. [*America and West Indies.* 578. *No.* 3B.]

May 8. **2,739.** Minutes of Council of New York. Letters to Major Howell, informing him that there had been an alarm of invasion from that side of Canada, and that Boston had been thrown into confusion by the revolution, and ordering him to send down all the forces that can possibly be spared for defence of New York.

May 9. Intelligence that all the men who had been with Colonel Dongan were in arms and the whole of Queen's County in uproar. Order for payment of the arrears due to the soldiers, partly from the revenue in the Collector's hands, partly from sums due by the Collectors of Queen's County. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. LXXV., pp.* 74-82.]

May 10. **2,740.** Proclamation of the Council of New York, calling upon all good citizens to act against mutiny and sedition. *Original.* 1 *p. Endorsed.* Recd. 29 Aug., 1689. [*America and West Indies.* 578. *No.* 3C.]

May 12. **2,741.** Minutes of Council of New York. Letter from the Mayor of Albany, reporting that the Indians were getting suspicious. Letter to the authorities at Albany, to the following effect:—We believe that the Indians' suspicions that Sir E. Andros designed to destroy the Five Nations is due to evil persons from New England. You have done well to have sent messengers to endeavour to dispel such suspicions in the minds of the Maquas, and desire that you will act likewise towards the other nations, telling them (1) that the Dutch and English are leagued chiefly to check the pride of France and that we expect daily a declaration of war; (2) that we too heard from Boston that Sir E. Andros was in league with the

1689.

French, but that this was contradicted and not believed; (3) that the Indians may be sure of our friendship, that we do not fear the French and hope to fight them soon; (4) that the persons who stopped their late victories in Canada are laid aside and that they need suffer no more abuses from Canada; (5) that if they go to war they should leave their wives and children at Albany; (6) that the French statements are not to be trusted. You may give them also a barrel of powder; but you will best judge how to conduct the negotiations. Meanwhile it is not safe for any persons to go trading, and you will stand on the defensive, trying to keep people quiet and confident and checking internal quarrels.

Memoire touchant le Droit des françois sur les Nations Iroquoises

7e. Juin. 1689

Sur ce que le Memoire remis par les Srs. Commissaires d'angleterre le 26. 9bre. 1687. contenant que les Cinq Nations Iroquoises etoient Sujettes du Roy leur Maitre, et que cette pretention pouvoit former une des plus grandes difficultés au partage des Terres de l'Amerique

Les Commissaires de S.M. soutinrent que les Nations sus nommées Etoient en la Domination des françois, et s'y sont soumises les Années 1664 et 1610.

Que le Sr Champlain a pris possession de toute ces Terres avec Commission au nom de S.M.

Et qu'en 1665 et 1666. toutes les Nations Iroquoises firent un traité solemnel avec M. De Tracy Commandant en l'Amerique par lequel elles se mirent sous la protection de S.M. et se declarerent ses Sujets.

Que quelques Tems après, quelques uns des dits Iroquois s'etant revoltés, Le dit Sr. De Tracy les Punit en Rebelles, et prit de nouveau possession de leurs Terres et Chasse, dont il fut dressé un procés Verbal Le 17. 8bre. 1666. par lequel, il leur fut fait défense d'une maniere autentique que les peuples Sauvages ayant Cy devant toujours reconnu la Domination de la France Sans aucune discontinuation

Et sur les autres Chefs de possession par les françois et les

Commissions de la part des Sauvages, sont soutenus par
plusieurs sorte que les Français y ont fait Batir.

Il Semble après Cela qu'en Leur fait en l'année 1684 par
Les dits Sauvages en faveur des Anglois, ne peut avoir Lieu
au préjudice de l'ancien Droit et actuelle possession des
Français qui paroit Clairement par toutes les pieces
enoncées Cy dessus.

about seven Leagues from Yorke to Coll. Dungan & other parts & some popishly affected, where there seems to be some considerable gathering of such: and also there being some ill minded, disaffected, and disloyale persons in the Citty & places adjacent; having first don you that justice, noble & Loyall Capt Leisler, whose Loyaltie, courage, prudence, paines, & charge, hath been great; and you ye other nobl corragious & Loyall Capts, Lieuts, Ensigns, Sergtts and good souldgers in the train bands, that hath been active in this affaire, as also Loyall Mr. Samuell Edsall & other good worthy and Loyall gentlemen, that have taken such paines and beene at such charge, we say we must doe you that justice as to owne and acknowledge yor good service to God and unto our gracious Soverain Lord King William, and service done for yor Country in ye preservation of ye protestant religion.

And in ye next place we have our advice for yor consideracon, first, that you yet continue therein of thorough and effectuall meanes to secure and maintain this Fort and other fortifications for his Maties service, untill you receive his Maties command

2ly—That more be expended in repairing ye fort; fitting ye gunns, so as they may be serviceable

3ly—That no papist be suffered to come into ye fort; let not ye warning given that day his Maties was proclaimed, be soon forgotten by you, wherein ye terretts in ye fort was fyred in three places, under which roufe lay yor ammunition, soe hellishly wicked and cruell, a papisticall design to have destroyed you & us and ye fort & towne, it made our flesh to tremble.

High praise unto Almighty God that you & we, fort & City, were preserved.

4ly—Wee advise that no knowen papists be suffered Armes in his house.

5ly—That if it is, or shall be knowen yt any person hath embezzled ye Armes & ammunition or other things belong to this ffort, we advise you to seeze & secure such person or persons, to answer for ye same, when seasonably called to an acct.

6ly—If by foreigne or entestine enemies & your hazardous & necessitious condition calls for it, wee from our Colony shall be ready to aford you helpe & assistance according to our hability & yor necessity, in defence of ye protestant religion and in securing the fort for his Maties service—your friends pray God to encourage yor hearts and strengthen yor hands and patiently waite for ye dispose, orders and commands of yors & our most gracious, never equalled, commended & admired King Willyam, ye very best this lower world knowes, *whom* God preserve long to Reign. Soe prays

In ye Fort of N Yorke
June 26, Anno 1689.

Signed NATHAN GOLD Senr
JAMES FITCH

[Translation.]

Albany, 30 July 1689.

ARNOUT CORNELISE.—Capt Bleeker came just now from Skinnectady and brings us word that an Indian and a Squaw arrived there from the Mohawk army, and report that the Mohawks have accepted the presents of the Onnagonques[1] which appears incredible; and that their proposition was to wage war against the Christians as they understood the Christians intended to exterminate all the Indians; and that it became therefore necessary for all the Indians to unite against the Christians—and they now consult with the Mohawks as they knew better than they how to manage the matter.

The said Indian stated that some of the Skackhook Indians had gone home from the army, so that it appears they abandon their design towards Canada.

Jannetie the Indian who left in the morning for the army, met this Indian on the Road and requested us to send up an Express forthwith to see and dissuade the Mohawks from accepting any presents, but

1 Called by the English, Penobscots, or Abenaquis.

deliver up here according to their Bond & promise the said 4 messengers who shall suffer no harm, but by that means accomplish a desirable peace ; and he, Jannetie, doubted not if Christians came there to the army or the Indians met them else where, but they would be persuaded to deliver up the four messengers or if they were gone, that they would send out and bring them back.

It is, therefore, our Request that you proceed forthwith to the army or where you hear said 4 Indian Ambassadors to our Indians are, and do your endeavors to persuade the Mohawks to deliver them, having promised to act herein as we shall deem prudent ; and if their Engagements with said Indians be not too far advanced, we doubt not of the good success of the matter, which we commend to God's and your good care.

Write to us by the Bearer hereof how you find all matters, whom you take with you to the Army, and send them all hither in the quickest by Ger^{t} Luykassen that we may regulate ourselves accordingly. This is all for the present, meanwhile remain

Your affectionate friends

was signed, L V Schaick.

D. Meyer, Mr Wessels & Mr Wendel and some other gentlemen expect the arrival of said 4 Ambassadors, being assured by Jannetie that they were to be in the morning at Skinnectady.

Arnout Cornelisz Albany 30 July 1659

So' als stants is Capt. Beecker van Schinne-hta dy
gesonden & brenght ons t nieuws dat daer door
wilt met een wilden vant Magnaas Legor gko=
men was d' welke Rapporteerde dat d' Magnaas
d' Oorsaeck van d' onnagongues nesten alreydo=
men was dat d' propositie van haer was dat sy
den oorlogh hadden alreydt tegens d' Christe=
nen & dat het dierhalven nodigh was dat all d' wilde
eens waren om tegens d' Christens als Vyanden
te gaen & dat het dierhalven nodigh was dat all d' wilde
eens waren om tegens d' Christens als Vyanden
te gaen want dat sy meenden dat d' meesten van
Cornelis waren all d' wilde uyt de Bosch
& dat het dierhalven nodigh was dat all d' wilde
eens waren om tegens d' Christens als Vyanden
te gaen & sy gaven nu by d' magnaas en Raet en dat
sy wyder waren als sy Corsaniegh dat sy haer
Saeke soude aenleggen, d' gemelte wilt Bydde
vonder dat eenige van d' Seeckkoocke wilde
waren getrocken vant Legor naer huys so
dat het schynt dat sy haer vorneemt nae
Canada staecken. Jameis d' wilt die
vand morgens is getrocken naer Legor huys
& wilt ontmaet sy d' wegh is [illegible]
wilt dat sy den Capitt [illegible]
[illegible]

de vrijheyt, de, ny Jamets de ruyt de niet
dat Christoffel in t'leger quame off de vlo
de dat ontmoete, dat ny de wegh sonde syn
om de vijandt te beloren off so ny stroo
waren dat ny dan wel schuylpoorts
om haer te achterhaelen; Derhalve
so wordt onse Begeerte dat gij ons spoedich=
lijk naer t'leger gaet offwaer dat gy hoort
dat gemeldde vijandt gelandt sijn, dat
daer mede mede
hadde Lewen hebbende de Cost hierinne
de dan t'gene wy Ratificeren sullen
te vinden dat haer Engagement niet te
vree is met gy onder vlot wy tuyschen
met alle de goede Succes van de saecke
als wilde wy Gode nesens ons goede
Bleyt Verder Schrijft ons met de
Bringer deser Pertinent hoe dat gij alle
Saecke Vint, die gy met vol naer t'leger
sullen nemen, en sent alles met het spe
dichste met gode Luyckers Schuyt, gode wi
sullen daer naer Ryden — Dat is alsvoor
sent Bleyt middelwijle

[illegible]

Propositie Gedaen voor de Magnale
Jachtmaken den 2 Augustij 1659

Tabula quatuor, de sanguinibus de Anagrammum de
noxindagad met nogh 3 andere Fionondagers die Assech
hier tegen ons gesijdt dat die 4 onse magongers die ander
voorgende als haer gepropongeert hebben

1

Onse Broeders voor de Castele, wij Lijen hier onse Bij de
ons met malkander te spreken, wij Lijen onse alder
andere als Jongens van Kennis de Broederschap: wij
hebben Broederse Kennis gehadt, maer de Engelse Lijen
ons in Kennis te boven gegaen: want Lij hebben ons
Sachemakers de rechte Kennis Badet, met Peterogh omgebracht

2

Broeders voor de Castele, ick staet hier als voor de
Kennis, de kom hier om U: E: te doen te weten, dat
gij onse Broe Luijden Lijt, gij de ons gantsche
Huijsgesin, de wij altoos de regte Vrijde onderhout:
want als Christen hebben sij ons gesaent om ons
gesamentlijck te dooden: daer is tegenwoordigh
geen Christen Broederschap onder. want Lij Lijen gesamentlijck
tegen ons: de gij moet ander onse dencken, als dat gij
ergens geen Christen Broeders soude

3

Onse Broeders, onse Vrouwen wij de vorigh om te spreken
de Engelse, maer van Lij selfs de voorige Lijen
hier ick geen Reden toe dat Lij

4

Mine Broeders wij maken Vrij: mine Kinderen, dat onse Kinders moten sal by mine kennis. moeten wij stilly sitten wedder ich gestaen sunder dat wij ook op komende redyn stilly moeten: ende dat onse overige tegenwoordigh Kinders dat wij hier mine moten mine [illegible] sprechen: also wij mine te Rijck komen dan stilly wij tegen onse wolck ook sprechen, ende dit tegen onder andere moten Kinderen maken:

Ende ook worden Vrije onse plantasie, dat wij dit Land stilly op Lees, ende dan stilly wij inde Herfst by Vrij komen

5

Mine Broeders ich ben mine Doodt, moeten wij stilly malhandse mine Ende dit Broeders Klagen sonder ende, want ich dit mine stem gesyden, dat alle Christen kennis spannen ende de rechte Menschen te remmen: ende daerom segh ich mine dat wij stilly Krachy Lich van ich Vrij op de Christen

N. Y. State Library

6

Vrij Heeren ende ook Broeders Kinderen gemaeckt, dat Godt Vrij Land Canada Hebt ontmoet dat Vrij de oor ende stilly mensch tegen de Engelsch, ende dat Vrij Hebt Sterckte Heeren ende Munitie, ende dat Vrij Hebt Vromen als Canada stilly besingh dat Vrij onder Kost ende Kleeding, ende als Vrij Canada Kinder

N. Y. State Library

? ..ebr 2 augustinus
Magnus Prior: vantgend
Dominus ... qui
ponent libros ... —

Y. Sign. Library

Colonel Bayard to Captain Nicholson.

[New-York Papers, B. II. 210.]

New York[1] 5th August 1689.

Honnored Sir.

Since the inclosed of the 23rd of July I had severall letters from my friends in New Yorke— acquainting mee of their continuing trouble and dangers, whereof the particulars undoubtedly will be sent yourselfe by Mr Mayor as I had desired him.— Itt is greatly feared if no sudden orders or releefe arrives from His Majesty that some great mischeefe will befall, for the abuses and threatnings of Leiseler and his rabble encrease daily to imprison, plunder and massacre those who will not acquies, although they do submitt to their illegal proceedings, wherfore I hope it will please God to send some speedy deliverance.

Wee have from Boston that the Indians about Piscattoway had lately killed about 50. Christians and destroyed many settlements, which you will have more at large from New Yorke — And now about six days past wee received the same advice from the army of our Macquas Indians, who laid about a days journey from Schaneghtede, and that four Onnongonges or Pennequid Indians where sent them by that nation to make som proposalls, desiring the advice of the Magestrates here either to kill them, or to take them prisonners, or what to do with them; Whereuppon the Magestrates desired them to be sent hither bound, with an intention to have them conveyed to His Excell: at Baston, for to be employed if possible for some use to procure a better peace ettc. but it seems some difference happened between our said Indians, which occasioned that before this message came the said Onnogonges had made their proposals and where dismist and departed — Yett what was ocurred the said Maquaes Indyans on yesterday by our Messenges and interpretor Arnout Cornelisson acquainted the Magestrates here viz: That the said Onnogonges had proposed and desired that the Maquaes and the other four nations with the Schaghkoos Indyans would take up the ax with them against all the Christians on this continent, since it was quite certain, that all the Christians English Dutch and the French alsoo had made a compact to cut of all the Indians whatsoever — Item that they might be furnished by meanes of said Macquaes with some powder and balls, being in great need thereof and presented 40 bever skins — ettc.— Whereuppon the said Maquaes had replyed, that they wanted not take up the ax but only against the French, and such as would assist them, and for powder and balls they could not spare any — The said Maquaes alsoo acquainted the Magistrates that they gave no credit to the Annogonges Allegations about the Christians compact — Item that they had resolved to send 80 Indyans back to guard their castles and that they could not spare their young Indyans to pursue the 4 Annogonges, because the time of their departure was already spent, and soo went on their march to Cannida, this answer settled the minds of many of the old Inhabitants here, who were verry suspicious that their Indians might be delivered and go to the Eastward, since wee had various reports to that effect. And it is credibly reported that the French of Cannida are the chief promoters of this message, who will never desist as long they continue there, by all possible means to entice our Indians against us and all His Majties subjects on this continent, and there make use of other measures to cleare themselfs out of the warre, which not only would secure all the Indian trade to Canida but must unavoidably tend to the utter ruine of all the English settlements on this Continent. Itts therefore most certaine that these English Collonies

[1] Ought to be "Albany," where Colonel Bayard was at this date, as appears by the postscript of the preceding letter. — Ed.

will never be at rest or safe till those ill designes of the French be stiffled, by the subduing and invading of Canida, which easily might be accomplished with some small assistance from England, by Water from New Yorke and by land from hence, in which wee may have a sufficient number of Indians for assistance if any of their Indians would side with the French —And truly it is of that great import that His Majᵗʸ ought to be duly informed thereof, for it would not only be a meanes to secure all the Indians to joine and stick close to the English, and hinder any of them from doeing any mischeafe, but the said conquest would be a considerable advantage to England itselfe, in respect of its trade; wee have various reports that the warr is proclaimed between England and France, which if soo I humbly conceave it would be the only time to make that attempt this verry next spring, yett leave the consideration thereof to better Councell, In the interim my hearty prayers and wishes shall bee for their Majesties most happy, glorious and victorious Reigne, and with the harty offers of humble service to yourselfe — remain — Honnored Sir

Your very humble servant
(signed). N. Bayard.

[No date]

Mr Pieter Schuyler, Mr Jan Jansz Blycker and Mr Dirck Wesselsz

Aeckes has handed this to me and he has done everything according to your order and because no copy was kept I return the same to you. I should have done so in the enclosed [answer], but received it only afterwards. In the enclosed you can see everything more fully as to the news, etc.

By order of the Justice,

Joris Aerts, Clerk

ADDRESSED:

To the mayor, Mr Pieter Schuyler, or to one of his Majesty's justices of the city of Albany

---

Translated from the Dutch by A. J. F. Van Laer.

36. Tab. b

Albany y 20 Augusti 1689

Antwoort van de Magistraet & Justicies van de Peace aen d onmondages gesant de 28 deser is van d onmondages met het nieuws van Canada

Dat wy de Broed. van hartehebben te Bedancken voort niews die zy ons toesende wegens Canada alhoewell wy't niews over d Ylanden wel gehoort hebben Vand groote victory d w d Engelsche gewochten hebben tegens de Franse int Baye dox & Sineden van Seltien groote Scheepen & nemen Van 12 yder Schip zijnde van 60 stucken & 400 men, welke genomen Scheepen d Engelsche moste thuis Brengen gelyck als gevangens doet, & daeron Tandert

Albany

Col.Mss.66:1-22 No 8-6

[No date]

Mr Pieter Schuyler, Mr Jan Jansz Blycker and Mr Dirck Wesselsz

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To the mayor, Mr Pieter Schuyler, or to one of his Majesty's justices of the city of Albany

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Translated from the Dutch by A. J. F. Van Laer.

Extract uyt de Resolutien van

Antwoort van de Magistraet & Justitie
van de Place aende 2 voordagen gestaet
die 28 deser is van d'ommedages metthet
Fort van Canada

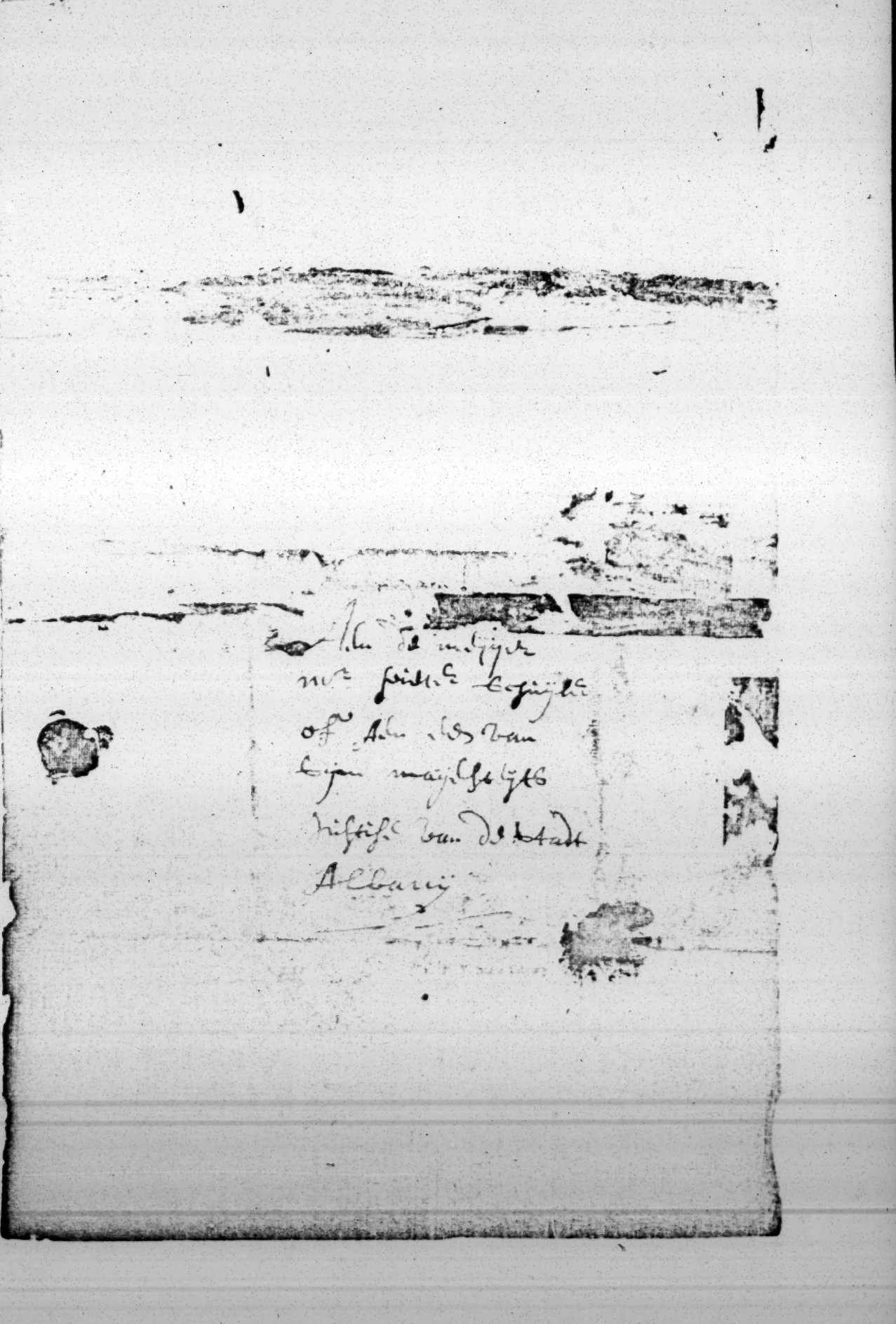
Dat alle de Coopl. van hare hebben te Bedanckt
voor t' niew die sy ons toesende wegens Canada
als oock uyt t' niew onder d' Vlaenden wel
gehoort hebben van groote victory dw d' Engel=
sche gewoncken hebben tegens de Franse inde Bran=
dewyn & Sinder van seecken groote Scheepen
& nemen van 12 yder schip zynde van 60
stucken & 400 man, wdl. te genomen Scheepen
d' Engelse moste thuis bringen gelyck als
oock 2 à 3 m gevangens deden, & daerom Tandeert
het 's Lants eer ons schepen comen om
dat sy de franse oorlogh Scheepen intmoet
& Vaerte gens slaegen

Declareert de Broet van d' goede Solaten
die aldaer syn in d' Laetste Slagh met de
Engelsen mede Royalk doch syn d' Vlyt=
tende groote victory door de Borgher
tegen

tegens haer & wercke wy u Recommenderen
te volgen, & niet na eenige Loose & Be=
driegelycke Practyck vande Gouv.r van Nieu
Luyckerlant, & ook geen van Syne gheselen Schou=
ten, want gy hebt van Syn Edelheyt
gesmaeckt doer hy so veel Papegaeyen
van u gestolen heeft & d'arde Schip
Herfst aen Canadys gaet datse nu Sonde
Somer Comen sullen, doch wy hooren datse
5 Schepen gereedt Syn maer hooren niet
van een wilt daerby.

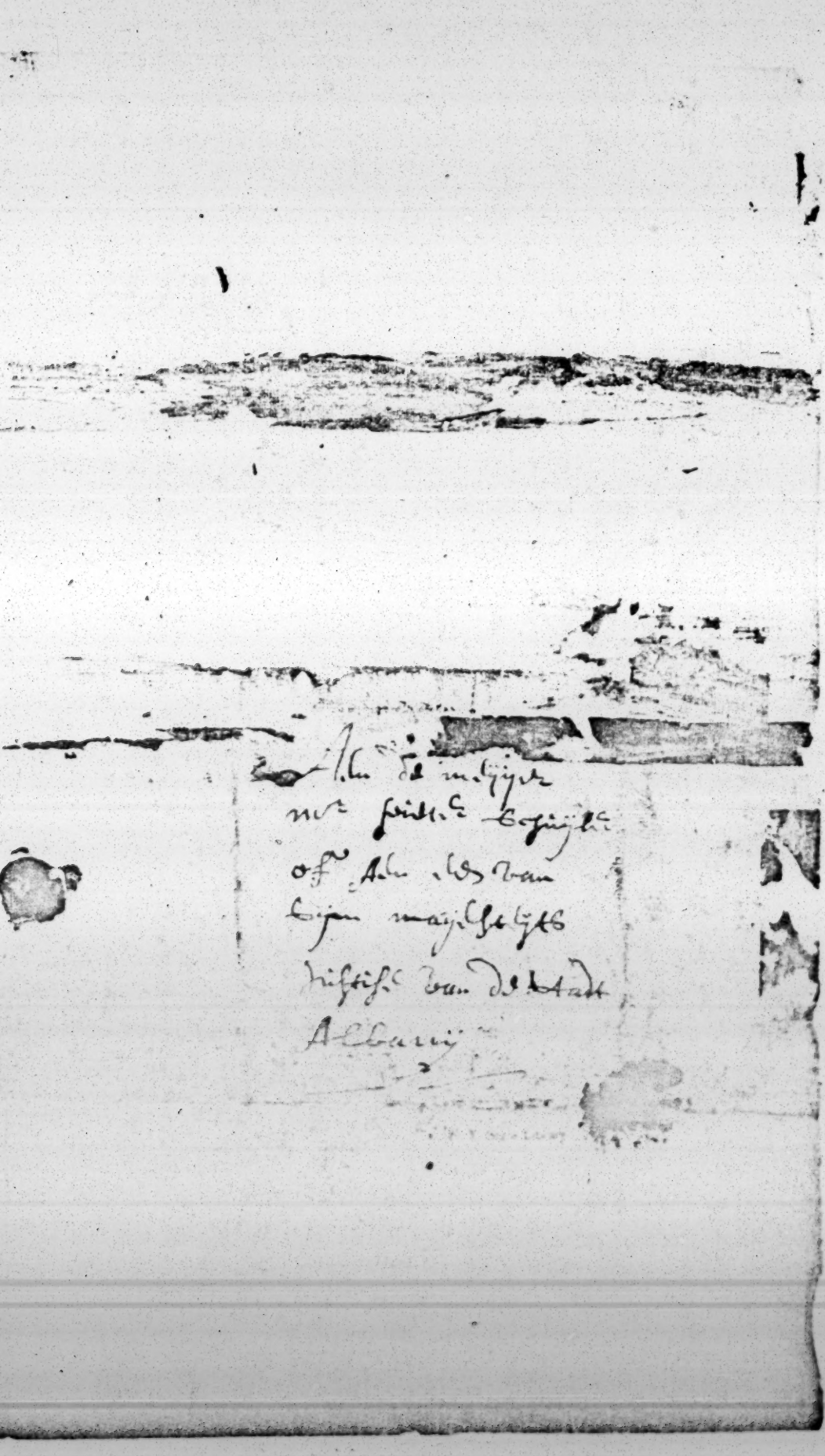
3 Wy hoopen datt d' Broed haer victory sullen
volgen sonder uytstell alsoo wy merken datt de
Gou.r van Canada nu int naw is, & sonder=
geerne hebben dat gy watt Tardeerde Datt
aen een Schepper mede Broeders ge moet
Bedriegen Derhalve hebt een goet wae=
oogh opde Motie vand Franse, & waerhoot
gelyck wy u sullen waerschouwen, & Schepen een
Vande Jachtmaekers & Vermoedtlyck ontrent
Van 30 of 40 Daegen hierbuijten dickwils
Voorby wel gesmeert sullen Syn

Hier w.t Pas



tegens haer & wel te wy u Recommenderen
te volgen, & niet na eenige Loose & Be=
drieglycke Practyck vande Gouvrnr van Canada
Luyden, & oock geen van Syn gelanten Stroo=
en, want sy hebt van sijn Valsheyt
gesmaeckt doen hy so veel Papieren
van u. gestolen heeft & de copye
herfst aen Canada gegaen dattse nu vande
Somer Comen sonde, doch wy hooren datt=
5 Scheepen gekomen syn maer hooren niet
van een wilt daerby.—

3 Wy hopen datt de Broed. haer victory sullen
volgen sonder uytstel alsoo wy merken datt de
Gouvr van Canada nu int naw is, & sonder=
gelove hebben dat gy watt Tardeyt datt
aen een Scheepen imd Broeders ge meent
bedrieger Derhalve hebt een goet waec
oogh opde Motie vand franse, & waerschou=
dyck wy u sullen waerschouwen, & Scheepen
vande Jakevaders & Vermeulen
van 30 of 40 Daegen
voeren will gesmeert



The 13th day of august 1689

A Peticon of Anthº Lespinard Jan Van Loon and Lafleur being read whereby they request that there Bussiness may be inspected into & examind that they may make there Defence & so be clearᵈ if Innocent Else Punished if guilty.

Upon which it was considered by yᵉ Magistrates Justices of the Peace Commission officers & Common Council yᵗ yᵉ sᵈ Three Prisoners be bayled out of yᵉ fort giving security each one hundred Pounds to answer when they shall be called, Provided they doe not goe above yᵉ Citty of albany til such time yᵉ Case be Decided

At a Convention &c albany yᵉ 21 of august 1689

Present

P. Schuyler Mayr	J Bleeker	albt Ryckman	Is: Verplank	Capt Jochim Statets
D. Wessells Recordr	J Lansing	Reynier Barentse	Joh. Beekman	Rt Sanders
J Wendel	Dav. Schuyler	Ev. Banker	J Mingael	

Resolved to acquaint yᵉ Inhabitants of yᵉ County yᵉ news yᵗ we received of Col Pynchen

That Pemmaquid was taken by yᵉ Indians and french 45 People kild & Taken—also that there should be a ship be come to Quebek of yᵉ french with news of wars Between Englᵈ & france & therefore nothing can be Expected but yᵗ yᵉ french will doe all yᵉ mischieffe they can to this governmᵗ & therefore every one to be upon there guarde & take care they be not surprized

Mr. Wessells and Reynier Barentse were Desyned to Communicate this to the farmers of kinderhook & Claverack—Capt Wendel & John Lansing the People above—Richᵈ Pretty & Evert Banker at Skenechtady & Canastagiorne.

The 24th day of augᵘst 1689

Resolved that yᵉ Inhabitants of yᵉ County be Informed of yᵉ alarm which was last night at yᵉ green Bush occasioned by some Malitious Persones fyreing of Severall gunns wᵗʰ Baale throw yᵉ Door and house of John Witment which was done by letters accordingly

The 28th of augᵘst 1689

Resolved yᵗ Barent Gerritse of Bethlehem who is suspected to have a hand in yᵉ late disturbance yᵗ was at Green Bush, or leat Privy to it yᵗ he give 500 Security to answer when he shall be called for to be Examined about yᵗ Bussinesse

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ANSWER OF THE MAGISTRATES AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

TO THE ONNONDAGE AMBASSADOR WHO IS SENT FROM THE ONNONDAGES WITH THE NEWS FROM CANADA.

[Translation.]

Albany, ye 28 Augusti 1689.

1. We heartily thank the Brethren for the news they send us from Canada, though we have received the news by the Islands of the great victory the English obtained over the French in burning and sinking sixteen big ships and capturing 12 others, each ship being of 60 guns and 400 men; which captured ships the English convey home as you do your prisoners; and therefore our vessels are so long delayed coming because they meet french men of war and fight with them.

2. We lament the death of the brave warriors who were slain in the last battle with the french above mont Royall but rejoice at the great victory gained by you over them, which we recommend you to follow up and not be imposed on by the idle and nonsensical speeches of the Governor of Canada and not to trust any of his ambassadors, for you have experienced his falsehood when he kidnapped so many of your warriors, and promised last harvest to Canadgegai that they should return in summer; but we hear that 5 ships have come but do not hear of one Indian in them.

3. We hope the Brothers will follow up their victory without delay as we perceive the Governor of Canada is now in distress, and would be very glad that you should now make some delay, that he may ship his bait again to cheat the Brothers. Have therefore a keen open eye on the motions of the French and warn us, as we shall warn you; and we hope to see within 30 or 40 days some of the Sachems and Chief Warriors here whose feet shall be well greased.

Pr order Robt Livingston.

CHAP. II.

A Treaty between the Agents of Maſſachuſet's Bay, New-Plymouth, *and* Connecticut, *and the* Sachems *of the* Five Nations, *at* Albany, *in the Year* 1689.

CHAP. II.

ABOUT the Beginning of *September* 1689, Colonel *John Pynchon*, Major *John Savage*, and Captain *Jonathan Bull*, Agents for the Colonies of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, *New-Plymouth*, and *Connecticut*, arrived at *Albany*, to renew the Friendſhip with the *Five Nations*, and to engage them againſt the *Eaſtern Indians*, who made War on the *Engliſh* of thoſe Colonies, and were ſupported by the *French*.

The *Five Nations* had received four Meſſengers from the *Eaſtern Indians*, which gave the People of *New-England* ſome Apprehenſions, and they were therefore deſirous to know what Reception theſe Meſſengers had met with.

The *Five Nations* anſwered by *Tahajadoris*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, on the twenty fourth of *September*. He made a long Oration, repeating all that the Agent from *New-England* had ſaid, the Day before, and deſired them to be attentive to the Anſwer now to be made to them. They commonly repeat over all that has been ſaid to them, before they return any Anſwer, and one may be ſurprized at the Exactneſs of theſe Repetitions. They take the following Method to aſſiſt their Memories: The *Sachem*, who preſides at theſe Conferences, has a Bundle of ſmall Sticks in his Hand; as ſoon as the Speaker has finiſhed any one Article of his Speech, this *Sachem* gives a Stick to another *Sachem*, who is particularly

ticularly to remember that Article; and ſo when another Article is finiſhed, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and ſo on. In like Manner when the Speaker anſwers, each of theſe has the particular Care of the Anſwer reſolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his Memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge. *Tahajadoris* addreſſing himſelf to the Agents, ſaid: CHAP. II.

" *Brethren*,

" You are welcome to this Houſe, which is appointed for our Treaties and publick Buſineſs with the Chriſtians; we thank you for renewing the Covenant-chain. It is now no longer of Iron and ſubject to Ruſt, as formerly, but of pure Silver, and includes in it all the King's Subjects, from the *Senekas* Country eaſtward, as far as any of the great King's Subjects live, and ſouthward, from *New-England* to *Virginia*. Here he gave a Bever.

" We are glad to hear of the good Succeſs our great King has had over the *French* by Sea, in taking and ſinking ſo many of their Men of War. You tell us in your Propoſals that we are one People, let us then go Hand in Hand together, to ruin and deſtroy the *French* our common Enemy. Gives a Bever.

" The Covenant-chain between us is ancient (as you tell us) and of long ſtanding, and it has been kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars ſome time ago with the *Indians*, you deſired us to help you; we did it readily, and to the Purpoſe; for we purſued them cloſely, by which we prevented the Effuſion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and ſincerely, and from our Hearts. Gives a Belt.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

CHAP. II.

"You adviſe us to purſue our Enemies, the "*French*, vigorouſly; this we aſſure you we are "reſolved to do to the utmoſt of our Power: But "ſince the *French* are your Enemies likewiſe, we "deſire our Brethren of the three Colonies to ſend "us an hundred Men for the Security of this Place, "which is ill provided, in Caſe of an Attack from "the *French*; the Chriſtians have Victuals enough "for their Entertainment. Gives one Belt.

"We patiently bore many Injuries from the "*French*, from one Year to another, before we "took up the Axe againſt them. Our Patience "made the Governor of *Canada* think, that we "were afraid of him, and durſt not reſent the In-"juries we had ſo long ſuffered; but now he is "undeceived. We aſſure you, that we are reſolved "never to drop the Axe, the *French* never ſhall "ſee our Faces in Peace, we ſhall never be recon-"ciled as long as one *Frenchman* is alive. We ſhall "never make Peace, though our Nation ſhould be "ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces. "Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend "on this. Gives a Bever.

"As to what you told us of the *Owenagungas* "and *Uragees*, we anſwer: That we were never ſo "proud and haughty, as to begin a War without "juſt Provocation. You tell us that they are "treacherous Rogues, we believe it, and that they "will undoubtedly aſſiſt the *French*. If they ſhall "do this, or ſhall join with any of our Enemies, "either *French* or *Indians*, then we will kill and "deſtroy them. Gives a Bever."

Then the *Mohawks* offered five of their Men, to guard the Agents Home againſt any of their *Indian* Enemies, who they were afraid might be laying in wait for the Agents, and gave a Belt.

Afterwards the Speaker continued his Speech, and ſaid: "We have ſpoke what we had to ſay of "the War, we now come to the Affairs of Peace:

"We

" We promiſe to preſerve the Chain inviolably, and CHAP.
" wiſh that the Sun may always ſhine in Peace over II.
" all our Heads that are comprehended in this Chain.
" We give two Belts, one for the Sun, the other
" for its Beams.

" We make faſt the Roots of the Tree of Peace
" and Tranquillity, which is planted in this Place.
" Its Roots extend as far as the utmoſt of your
" Colonies; if the *French* ſhould come to ſhake this
" Tree, we would feel it by the Motion of its
" Roots, which extend into our Country: But we
" truſt it will not be in the Governor of *Canada*'s
" Power to ſhake this Tree, which has been ſo
" firmly and ſo long planted with us. Gives two
" Bevers."

Laſtly, He deſired the Magiſtrates of *Albany* to remember what he had ſaid, and gave them a Bever.

But the Agents perceiving, that they had not anſwered any Thing about the *Owenagunga* Meſſengers, and had anſwered indiſtinctly about the War with the *Eaſtern Indians*, deſired them to explain themſelves fully on theſe two Points, about which the Agents were chiefly concerned.

The *Five Nations* anſwered:

" We cannot declare War againſt the *Eaſtern In-*
" *dians*, for they have done us no Harm: Never-
" theleſs our Brethren of *New-England* may be aſ-
" ſured, that we will live and die in Friendſhip with
" them. When we took up the Axe againſt the
" *French* and their Confederates, we did it to re-
" venge the Injuries they had done us; we did not
" make War with them at the Perſuaſions of our
" Brethren here; for we did not ſo much as ac-
" quaint them with our Intention, till fourteen Days
" after our Army had begun their March."

After the Company had ſeparated, the *Sachems* ſent to the *New-England* Agents, deſiring to ſpeak with them in private; which being granted, the

CHAP. II. Speaker ſaid, we have ſomething to tell you, which was not proper to be ſpoken openly, for ſome of our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*; and we were afraid, that they would diſcover or hinder our Deſigns.

Now we aſſure our Brethren, that we are reſolved to look on your Enemies as ours, and that we will firſt fall on the * *Owaragees*; and then on the *Owenagungas*, and laſtly on the *French*; and that you may be convinced of our Intention, we deſign to ſend five of our young Men along with our Brethren to *New-England*, to guard them, who have Orders to view the Country of the *Owaragees*, to diſcover in what Manner it can be attacked with the moſt Advantage. This we always do before we make an Attempt on our Enemies. In a Word, Brethren, your War is our War, for we will live and dye with you.

But it is to be obſerved, that they confirmed nothing relating to theſe *Indians*, by giving Belts.

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with ſome Art on this Occaſion, for they really had favourable Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had Reaſon not to increaſe the Number of their Enemies, by making War on the *Eaſtern Indians*, who avoided doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* likewiſe have always been averſe to engage our *Indians* in a War with the *Eaſtern Indians*, leſt it ſhould change the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own Doors.

On the 25th the Magiſtrates of *Albany* had a private Conference with the *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, and deſired to know their Reſolutions as to the War with *Canada*, and the Meaſures they reſolved to follow. In this Conference the *Indians* ſaw that the People of *Albany* were ſo much afraid of the *French*, that their Spirits were ſunk under the Apprehenſions of the approaching War; and for this Reaſon made the following Anſwer.

* Called by the People of *New-England Panocok Indians*.

We

" We have a hundred and forty Men out-ſkulking " about *Canada*; it is impoſſible for the *French* to at- " tempt any Thing, without being diſcovered and ha- " raſſed by theſe Parties: If the *French* ſhall attempt " any Thing this Way, all the *Five Nations* will come " to your Aſſiſtance, for our Brethren and we are but " one, and we will live and dye together. We have " deſired a hundred Men of our Brethren of *Boſton* to " aſſiſt us here, becauſe this Place is moſt expoſed; but " if the Governor of *Canada* is ſo ſtrong, as to overcome " us all united together, then he muſt be our Maſter, " and is not to be reſiſted; but we have Confidence in " a good and juſt Cauſe; for the great God of Heaven " knows how deceitfully the *French* have dealt with us, " their Arms can have no Succeſs. The Great God " hath ſent us Signs in the Sky to confirm this. We " have heard uncommon Noiſe in the Heavens, and " have ſeen Heads fall down upon Earth, which we " look upon as a certain Preſage of the Deſtruction " of the *French*: Take Courage! On this they all im- " mediately joined in ſinging and crying out, Cou- " rage! Courage!"

CHAP. III.

An Account of a general Council of the Five Nations *at* Onondaga, *to conſider the Count* De Frontenac's *Meſſage.*

ON the 27th of *December* 1689, two *Indians* came to *Albany*, being ſent by the *Onondaga* and *Oneydo Sachems*, with ſeven Hands of Wampum from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York* and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends, who had been carried Priſoners to *France*, were come with Propoſals from *Canada*; that there was a Council of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*, and that they therefore deſired the Mayor of *Albany*, *Peter Scheyler*, and ſome others of their Brethren, to

CHAP. III.

one thousand seven hundred and fifty guilders Holland money, with this reservation or condition that all the expenses which may be made or incurred in Holland in connection with said sum shall be chargeable to the aforesaid Cregier, the aforesaid Banker and the aforesaid Van Eps, to wit, to each a just third part, wherewith the aforesaid Cregier, as well for himself as for his wife aforesaid completely waives and relinquishes their right of inheritance in the aforesaid sum of *f* 3500 Holland money, with promise of the aforesaid Cregier and his wife aforesaid nevermore to do nor cause to be done anything contrary hereto in any manner.

Third, as to the estate in this country left by the aforesaid Maritie Damen, deceased, mother of the aforesaid Van Eps, Elisabeth and Jannetie aforesaid, therein shall each participate and share to the same extent whenever the parties shall proceed to the division and settlement thereof. Furthermore, the parties shall adjust and settle among themselves their private accounts, both those between themselves and those concerning the estate and of the expenses which [116] have been made and incurred in this country each party shall bear his own share.

In confirmation of all that is hereinbefore written and for the full performance and execution of the same, the parties mutually bind their respective persons and estates, nothing excepted, subjecting the same to all lords, courts, tribunals and judges, and furthermore before and in presence of Mr Dirk Wessells and Mr Cornelis van Dyk, called hereto as trustworthy witnesses, they have signed and sealed these with their own hands, without fraud or deceit. Thus done in Albany on the date above written.

M: Cregier (L. S.)
Gerrit Banken (L. S.)

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of
Dirck Wessells
Cornelis van Dyck

Recorded ye 15th of August 1698

Deed from Mohawk sachems to Reynier and Jan Quackenbos for land at Kanistagajoene (Niskayuna)

[172] Know all men by these presents that we, the undersigned, Roode and Sagodiogquisax, both sachems of Cagnewage and Canagere, being also empowered to act for Thodorasse, declare that we have heretofore sold and granted a certain parcel of land of woodland, which parcel of woodland we are now inclined to convey, be-

cause we are old people and it may perhaps be a long time yet before we have a governor general in the land, owing to which unfortunate absence of the governor general no grant can now be had; therefore, we declare that we have sold, granted and conveyed as we hereby do sell, grant and convey to Rynier and Jan Quackenbos, or their heirs, a certain parcel of woodland lying on the Kanistagajoensse river, beginning at the old marked black bark oak tree where Claes van Bockhoven's claim ends, which tree stands on the side of the aforesaid river, running thence from the river to another white bark oak tree which is marked with the wolf, standing near the dwelling of Jan Quackenbos aforesaid, being by estimation about two thousand paces long and so far into the woods northward as all the other neighbors have privilege; for which aforesaid parcel of woodland we acknowledge that we have been fully paid and satisfied, desiring therefore furthermore that when a governor general shall have arrived it may please his excellency to grant a patent for the aforesaid parcel of woodland to the aforesaid Reynier and Jan Quackenbos, or their heirs. In witness whereof we have subscribed this with our own hands and marks and sealed in Albany this 25th of September 1689.

Was signed:
The mark X of ROODE, made with his hand (L. S.)
These marks X were X made by SAGODIOGQUISAX with his own hand (L. S.)

Signed and sealed
in presence of
Pr. Schuyler, Justice
Dirk Wessells, Justice

Recorded ye 4th Sepr. 1700

Contract of sale of a house and lot in Albany between Douwe Aukes and Jean Rosie

[176] We, the undersigned, Douwen Aukas[1] of Shanheghtade village and Jan Rosie of Albany city, acknowledge that we have agreed with each other as follows, to wit:

D. Aukas aforesaid acknowledges that he has sold and J: Rosie that he has bought the seller's house and lot standing and lying here in Albany city aforesaid between the houses of Willem Hogen and

[1] Intended for Douwe Aukes, that is, Douwe, the son of Auke, both Douwe and Auke being distinctly Frisian names. About him see Jonathan Pearson, *History of the Schenectady Patent*, p. 83–85.

Col. Pap. 36:138-158

X 1 36:138-1

Coppie of seberall letters sent to the
Governor & Committis of Scotland at
Boston

Honoured Sirs:

I make bold to signifie unto you of the forthcoming of the Gold by this the same Bonds of
Mr Gyles Elliot & Company is the Ship [illegible] in two dayes after
the Governor & his Counsell with several of their neighbours had go
to consult upon the receipt of the letters aforesaid & after
they were they resolved upon and concluded upon the sending
this present bring by water unto Scotland & accordingly upon said ordered
in the ship with the Gold, now before the Governor upon
resolved not to have it had brought all the treasure found
ship to come with me, for 30 were had moves of them ships in sight
upon which tooke occasion to call unto the towne & gett five
Englishmen besides me & upon them to signe the outside paper
which I discovered the reverse partly, and since they have
not yet shewed that the Right Governor Winthrop is deprived
without taking [illegible] they have
with Colld. Deryans who is Lyon in the Bay this
[illegible] is a copie of an Edict made two years
by the same Governor, N.1: is a copie of an Edict
[illegible] Scotlands with Capt. Scotch & one with Capt
Scotland with this qualification promised to be observed
presented to the King and Counsell which they know more then
Scotland have made one great [illegible] of the Gold with some
late communions, and found of 33 good guns out fifteen fell
to the share of the Governor [illegible] was but one that could goe 7
[illegible] for 3 yeares some not at all, the most part of the rest
have unfitt to appeare as a ransom of sadly
Now [illegible] of this instant in the meantime the Gold is
guarded by five Englishmen two whereof is Company for myself, and
Capt. whose wealth this is for that by me Capt of the Gold, the Governor
in this English house is a rank papist, scarce all the elder
to receive [illegible] nine out but adds fifty as before. One allayes
the Edicts with new arts affaires & discourages constables to Recognizance
peare expecting some sedition for to make the inhabitants desire
there is new alteration in quality of a single Card, sw Edict
Address & his wife is new have raised in the Heroods out of
remedy to Boston, shore by this present have in the Cale &
at Boston have taken care to prevent ill and I commend you to our
[illegible] care & evil, but our Condition of safety may have some
[illegible] about it, the Lyon will not commit no [illegible]
I refer your address in application in our affaires, if we deserve
and [illegible] any wise respect I remain &c. James Gyles

Anno 1669 the 29th January in York
House Strand

Sr
Yours by the post I have received & come to my hand with the printed papers, for which I return you thanks & desire you still to continue to me your kindness towards me that you were so free to any person as you have shewed in this volume now sent me, and assure you that I will endeavour to deserve such a continuance of your favour & kindness as I may be capable of, & that I will not omit any opportunity to serve you in any thing that you shall command me, & that I will not omit any opportunity to serve you in any thing that you shall command me, & that I will not omit any opportunity to serve you in any thing that you shall command me

Col.Lbr. 30:138-156

138-2

[illegible] acquaint[illegible]
of our resolucõe with [illegible] to the [illegible]
due to [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] me [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] all the [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] made me [illegible] and in the morning [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] and Sumoning [illegible] and
[illegible] to [illegible] and Commissions [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] to
[illegible] to [illegible] to
[illegible] to [illegible] to

5 7

138-3 V

[illegible] Connecticut State [illegible] having [illegible] Soul [illegible]
of his said commission dated at Hartford in New York [illegible]
first 1689.

X Anno 1689 5th March
To the Governor of Boston in Connecticut

Honorable Sir

Yesterday was myne last to your Honr this morning I received
news that one Jacob Leisler who of his own head and
great disorder in the County of Albany and also in the
whole province by maintaining the late Commissions granted
to Collo Dongan & Sir Edmund Andross
whereby they have raised a division & have borne rule
of watching Denying the Civil Power sent up under
command of Capt Bias to Albany from Boston by
most of the Inhabitants, and Windowing one commissioned
with 25 men to joine himself with our neighbour
Indians to wave the fourth, this without understanding
our Govrs coming upon purpose to unite Govrs
Connecticut and Boston for to defend Albany is
yesterday for that submit if possible to get sure & obtain
them to be obedient to their wicked turbulent
they may expect him again, to their wages the wages
sins for being confidently in debt to his Matie, I have
have sent the bearer Capt Benjamin Blagg or Lieutenant
Daniel Lamson to persuade him with a warrant to bring
him if possible observing your Hr to assist them in the forming
the service well, I will be a great sufferer if you are backward
I will further recommend your Hr not to fail to assist
us, for well by sea assistance not doubting if you are backward
& our [illegible] your can-but woe shall conquer Canada may
give us speedy advice to what we may trust that we may
encourage the Indians & all else in the world, & so is all
the present affair my self remains &c

N.Y. Papers

Paul William claireth his 5th March
To his Governor of Boston

V Honored Sir.

Yesterday was my last to your Honr this morning I received
that one Jacob Leisler who of his own head and great
great disorder in the County of Albany and also in the
whole province by maintaining the late Commissions granted to

[illegible] by Sir Edmund Andross Coll: Dongan & other divers of
which were sworn by the magistrates which were appointed by
Coll: Dongan & Sir Edmond Andross were by they hab [illegible]
-dibtions & revocations, soe that they have been ruinous
wasting & spoyling 52 Souldiers which were sent upon
the command of Capt Stake Inhabitant at Albany chosen by
the most of the Inhabitants have conditionated by Major Gover
& Councell in sending one Capt Leister who was commissionated
with 25 men to joyne himselfe with our confederate Indians
to prevent ye French, this we doe Lobing Stone doing
contrary to his orders & undermining our power, were
sending up the upon pretence of going to raise powers at
Connecticutt & Boston for to depose Albany is deprived
ye Sheriffe day for that intent as it is to obtaine such impossible
as may feed with them & be obedient to their revolutions
& we doe beg they may be stopt him against the
rogue does not mind further which I doubt he will [illegible]
prevented, by apprehending of him and doing also confederate
indebted to his estate, that we pray you have Capt
Benjamin Blagg or Capt Daniell Sonow to prevent him
with a warrant to that purpose desiring your Honor to
assist him or either of them in this service that so we may [illegible]
do a great service, & we desire you to recommend your Honor not to
faile to assist us, so we will by so as by land not doubting [illegible]
and wish & doe what you can but we shall request Canada
pray give us speedy advice to what we may trust that we may
encourage the Indians & close them the truth, this is all your
present at this my service I remain Sir Your

X Sir Boston William 1689: 24 August Major Gouldney
yours of the 19 of Septembr last past by Capt Edwards I have
well perused and am obliged for your good advice I shall
not be wanting in continuing of good correspondence, and hope
it will be answered & doing as you will observe a great
necessity to give his Majesty service in these troubles some [illegible]
about Albany we are sending up forces and have sent orders
of our Council to settle & adjust all things there which by I
have given an account to the Honble Governor & Council &
have sent him a copy of a letter received from
Barbadoes & delivered to you the provost Marshall of
to wait upon your Capt Edwards is ready to
send the voyage to Boston & having that he was better
informed of the county commands their orders and inhabit
do keep a better correspondence with us we have answer
Capt Blagg sent back to London with whom I have sent
myne

Col.Lbb. 36:136-154

7 1384

myne & ffigne with bedous to his mate so that we hope by the
first to receive a gracious answeare of what we have done
wherin now make to humbly pray for his princely assistance
resteth I remaine Sir your humble seruant

Jno Pethaven in ffavl william

Mayor Nathan Gold

Sir

I have send your an answer of yours dated the 5th of this
instant by the messinger that brought it, with a copy of the
Lords Gates Lords declarations & proclamations, this is
only to enclose his paper N:1: wherin is a copie of his
address wee have send to his Matie the King & Queen of
England & which is signed of fiue Captaines in Colchester of
their company and fiue sider all the under officers N:2 is a copie
of one Ebidons widow of wee have taken of one to serue
under his sonne, one copy of a letter send to Sir Edward
your Surveyor, if your pleasure be mooued to your Country
and the rebellyon in Norfolke to send with the under two
I would be thankfully inclined by the country, and I would
desire your advise truly wherin we may be ruled
saving protection amongst us, for we are enclined to make
the Company daily more by them we be weary us, all
those auxiliers daily flee people of their seuerall parts
from their Lords more adhere shall made and
subsidary as the soul & artillary and some of 33 great pie
ces is still to us, of 50 barrells not aboue but one fift -
teene barrell about halfe way the river, the rest goe a
nothing, wee have all the guns more passive to play, we
have found 3200 li powder out of the towne in the great and more
agreed with the maiden marker to mark the poor powder for
for 40 barrells no is to deliuer 28 barrells good, the maist
rate doe is slie in his office, I can get not Capt to stay
with me to turne tim out, our Mayor wise middle natured
civill affaires and discouragers the constables to keep the peace
oppressing some disorders for to make the more orderly
I have writ to the Lords now & consell of Norfolk & Suffolk
them an annual of all, I have given to your self & five
& your advise & further approbations in our behalf
will deserue it, and after my most humble commend your -
yours & us in Gods protection remaine &c

Yarmouth the 10th of June 1648

Do this Yeare ye [illegible] of Aprill 1650 [illegible]
[illegible] acquainted you by my last to which I refer me
have not received one to this day which much wonders me
have vehicled by a sloope coming from Virginia [illegible] to Boston
and [illegible] who [illegible] bound in your parts promised
us [illegible] to communicate to you of all which was past between his
Honour and [illegible] which I have [illegible] by this
to keep peace and the Civil Customes [illegible]
clarey, have made bold to enter the Colony of King William & Queen
Mistresse wife of the aforesaid [illegible] and [illegible]
formerly in offices have done what they could to shame our
of our actions in serving his Majesty endeavours to make [illegible]
[illegible] as in Edmond Andros case only and to speake truely of
Mr Stone amongst us I endeavoure to preserve what [illegible]
enclosed is a copy of a Declaration whereby wee have our
Ships libertie of trade now shall be ever to stand in the
ingal established him at this house and made him Governor of Virginia
during Life and in possession had shee wood or sure to
purpose without any tribute was effected by a consent of parties
in all I have sold three Indian men to a Dutch man
servants & soe suppose his wife wants, so they God send you
[illegible] robbed of the eggs of which I have them in the Land,
number of Barbadoes he brings relation news of wars with
England & Holland against Virginia, and was published at Barbadoes
and that Boston ships were well victualled and
well commanded I am daily working in the Lord with
ravenous & lovely men which I shall continue but this only
in good posture of defence against digging up the soil and [illegible]
killed by Capt Morgan [illegible] to Florida the Lord found
within three weeks of his dayes God to have all remitted, I shall
glad to have the honour of an answer of this & his Lordships and
having [illegible] of you shall not [illegible] to advise you of our parts
[illegible] this mean time I rest your most faithfull
your to serve Almighty God, and remain &c

X

Anno 1650 10th July in Newgate

Your brother William Jones in Newgate

Honored Sirs

Sir [illegible] having been bound to Newhaven I thought it
[illegible] you a small token of my love and [illegible] from
[illegible] God [illegible] in writing to desire you to be his remembrance
[illegible] as dutifully I shall ever to obey God & my
own Conscience that I have wrote many and brought them in

Your

Add. MSS. 36136-15B

[illegible] subscribed, and after I could not find so they are [illegible]
[illegible] of the Committee of safety are angry [illegible]
hope they will meet to day, and expect with impatience —
the ten soldiers from your party, so that way soul was not
attended by the [illegible] of the Beare, the reasons I withdrew
[illegible] but being required, I was ordered to repair the Ghost
out of his station between me the Ghost of June, but
there is nothing now like to be, they offer me the people
enuies who intends to disturb his tranquility I doubt I shall
a ravender to work, but his work will approaches me —
soul so out of repaire as this is, our adversaries &
opposers in our present work keepe us in a continuall
feare, as you will find by the enclosed copies &
what followes. I am informed that they labouring
knowledge that safety men was ordered by the rome the
to keep the soul for his estate and that I should beat the
drum for them, they had amongst themselves lifted 50
men who intended upon the beat of the drum to offer
themselves volunteers to serve his Mate for nothing, I
refused byme to take a quarrell & make some friendship
pretence upon me; I attended to goe fairly in the soul
still me & to hinder me & the other appointed officers
out, but I lifted myne souldiers by the drum & they —
were routed, then the magistrats who also have
disapprobers of our actions of preserving the soul, sent some
[illegible] of their company & arquainted me they intended to
the beat & most legitimate to administer Justice, in quality of
Mayor aldermen & common Councill by vertue of King
James his Commission, saying they could not good Justice for
King William & Queen Mary, by vertue of those Kings —
Commission, how & what we ought to give credit to such —
sham pretensions I referred to your Judgment being present
who have always opposed their Mates interest & [illegible]
me to defend them from all enquiries they were then ended
I answered them that I had the charge from the [illegible] to
defend the soul for their Mates, and so I intended not to
hinder them, they should also not oppose any [illegible]
me. and I doubt not if they meet as Justices, nor [illegible] should
oppose them, they did not meet, I sent also for the [illegible]
to me, and I received a resolute answer of their [illegible]
or do not to administer the oath to the listed so —
which they refused to do in the soul, but if I would
draw them out they would, which I refused, for they

affe[illegible]

admitted the oath to them which I gave to the soldiers who were willing to take the oath in their garrisons and both they for the kings rebellion from the first of June, to the pardon the kings soul, he answered he had nothing but the late Collection had it, he was all Coll. Dongans, all his wrytting shud he had no but the entries, I examined a boat man coming from Scotland having had some rumour of some underhand upon the C of Orl & recorded the William Informations N. 1. which I sent out the enclosed warrant N. 2. & Coll Thomas Dr. who confesses being in drink & in passion had a some oath, but remembers not all & knows of nor denies, that vison out of the bed, in the morning & was not dressed, I be ing enquire out to disarme the papists, the enclosed is a warrant issued forth of Colr Coulland as qualify of Mayor directed to the high Sheriff newly revalled by them but wee neber knew him but constable, I heard of the warrant one of our sergeants made the pretended Sheriff drunk & so gott the printed warrant from him of which the is the copy, when I mounted the soldiers newly listed I sent them through the city to publish it & observed the Inhabitants would depart to rome to my doore to take a view of them & to object any they had the least objections of why they should not be cloathed with the cloth, there is Scarbridge Bond in Yorkshire in all England, two thousand known papists & Jacobites all known papists, our adversaries have & are daily busie to sow the seed of division & have made equal impressions amongst the burgers as they could make them sensible how affaires went, now they pretend against to be very well satisfied, they were so far that the company came to me men 100, but the people among now wholly sensible of the making of the addresses are now all joint heads and mutuall bound in old England joint with us & reason by our company to oppose them, they have shot his horse & have aimed his person that our burgers will not trust him to show mercy but watches his house with our cruelty, which is so high treason by them, they have allowed them to act partly to undress the people with abominable lies making them believe the people are abused by the enclosed that I have the cloth for the thirds have listed 25 fourth and that some my officers are continually drunk & in drunken all consults a great deale of insolency, for sure you be travelled, & I have received some of our comunities that thereby more & acquainted of what I wrote to signify that you may not doubt of what is herein expressed which is but

some paynfly & [illegible] & also has so [illegible]
Lord and Daily [illegible] rooy shipped, & [illegible]
vrommend you & my to his [illegible] of Almighty God
remains &c

X Anno 1609: 9th August in Nonyork in his [illegible]
Honored Sr Governor & [illegible]
I have will to give my & understanding my Letters came to
to which I was now my [illegible] time, I have used all the diligo
imaginable to [illegible] & repaire the [illegible] wch is [illegible]
[illegible], I have is [illegible] fool bony good water & is 36
fool deep, all the platforms rendred, all the guns [illegible]
[illegible] mounted, the powder house nice & ready to [illegible]
the powder is made good & [illegible] the [illegible] from 13 to
26 degrees, wee have now in the [illegible] of the Kings po[illegible]
& lowing powder 600 [illegible] and 900 ℔. of the best [illegible]
powder for [illegible] & about 100 armes well [illegible]
the Gibbonlashed 400: which seemed good in the eye, and [illegible]
examined amongst [illegible] one first, there was [illegible]
under the fool, which being [illegible] & vnmade
peare of which I am making an halfe moon of 100 fool [illegible]
grass which [illegible] the landing of both sides &
[illegible] my and [illegible] & [illegible]
getting Stockades the [illegible] to stoake & breastwork
rool according to your advise for which I am [illegible]
have within fourteen dayes if it please God to [illegible]
all I need myn last I have made Coll. Dongans [illegible]
[illegible] prisoner [illegible] for having forged [illegible]
[illegible] from ago the [illegible], it was that the late King
was in [illegible] & the [illegible] of that Kingdom
Scotland joined to him in his army & that he was
when Russell (who is gone) & [illegible] the late King [illegible]
Royalty but is left out by a [illegible] of waves (
for this good behaviour was past by Capt Brown [illegible]
company of Capt Cuter being at work and [illegible]
spared wanting stones to finish it, we forbid to [illegible]
the pigeon house of Coll. Dongans which was [illegible]
the stone for missing & we all armed in the [illegible]
without Capt or Lieut: & began to [illegible] but [illegible]
observed immediately so long stood at his work [illegible]
left of & had done [illegible] bills damage they intend [illegible]
same time to [illegible] some words & slaves at Governors
house made of the same stones, but so [illegible] was given [illegible]

that wee have no news at present from these parts
mentioned in this enclosed is a petition of two of your
Souldiers wife which I could not with a safe conscience
them have as you will see by his answer upon his petition
complaint upon the Gouernor and other officers of your
Souldiers are resolved to stand like released from England
they have promised me to write to you, and I do pray me
further what passes to his hands, and expecting his
honour of an answer after mine remain

Your

To his Honour at Boston this 13 August

This above is a copy of mine last by John Elliot to which
I referre my selfe since I have received news from
Connecticut by this copy of the enclosed your Honour may
where upon we have answered according to our ability
have complied with their desire as by the enclosed copy of
my letter to them, and since have brought news that the
news that came from the Indians we feare that there
killed & taken by our Indians of this Country how great
above 500 & this Information of this River men killed wo
false, this place called Stratfordbrook belongs to his Majesty
Indians, who doe still justify our duties against King Charles
Queen claim by his oath they have sworne to his late
King James this the utter most of our duties are sup
posed against all our right & duties against that have
their relations at Canada and suppose settled their
bad designe & are loath to be troubled there in their conjunctures
of time their desire this bad resolutes amongst us gives
us great occasion, I have related this right
their request after I had dismissed to them the oath
to their Majesty King Charles Queen Mary in this City, about
us wee are now set at liberty every one, and every one sure
least rumour not rumours themselves in walking & gone
among the plurality, I have further urged to inform
you Lyons that Coll. Dongan in his time did erect a
Iesuits College upon Fullers to draw Calvin to the Indy
rest — the Governour Judge palmer & Secretary did
contribute their sons for some time, but no body imitating
from the College transported over seas against
gave us for their state use some great guns & musk
orders your Honour can speak an answer about our
your good advice shall think my self much obliged
& after presents remains &c I your Honours to command
to much powder shot and bullets &c shall follow.

Col. Rec. 30:136-158

X

1689 25th August Gouernor Dudal

Honored sir I receiued yours by the Beaver & wilbe very
ready to inquire in answer about the Letter of your
late committee & I desire of god & Capt Hill that we
may haue a Letter of recommendation to your agent in
England to soeke this province in ye cause therein
an act of the Committee about your Soldiers to which
I professe yet I haue will by the Kennick Donk to the
assembly to Maryland & an other papist Letter which
my use by which you may discouer their way of worke &
desired him to communicate it to your honour to which I
referre you since is arryued here one man from Maryland
who affirmes that all the head of plantations there is murthered
ten dayes ago which Families where there is preserued
one woman & it is found out by their rabble that it was
Canada Indians, & that all the head of Cuantahe river
the Indians full of all their corne & giuing fire & burnes
& began their October in one Swamp where they were
incircled & opprimed & said they were offended
& offered seruice in Maryland that the English should
vtterly destroy them all the change of the moone.
All which wee know not but will aduise your honour
the ten Soldiers haue had aboue their prouisions
& make Connecticott Colony Debitor for.

X Anno 1689 28 August in the yeare of K Wm ye 3d

Honored sir your Honour Dudal Gouernor &c

I haue written you seuerall Letters & haue had ye
Copy of all that was past in those parts yet receiue an
answer now specially about the Kings Soldiers that are
& improuided me to goe home by which I haue & now your
the reasons are mine Gouernor I am satisfied is right & you
ready But of the last by three Soldiers Bound for Boston
to the Gouernor & on to Lett you haue the perticulars they
being so hasty could not haue time to write but I am
ashamed you haue not soon this is then to acquaint you that
the Episode of this mistake all night after watch set & came
aboard the Ketch Tribe armed Strangers & rowed after William
Allerick after whom the door & windowes were closed
immediately a man a horse back & Pistoll out the gate was

[illegible] man on horseback [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Col.Lbb. 30(136-138)

158-8 ✓

Col. Mss. 301.18-186

Sr

Since your honor first received a particular letter from a Mohawk Indian woman of Albany of nation a Mohawk, your honor knows a person who has formerly professed property & rendered a profitable & honorable employment by our late Royall Governor Dongan, for ambassador to Canada & made distant not one month since, for which ambassador he was then most cruelly murdered by both parties being a mystery to many, he is returned at Albany much quality for that employment he has occasioned fourty miles from Albany towards the French to battle about upon his land where he has store of men to guard it, who must be a savage of lady mind & that fowl aught to this animus of mendacity was our tranquillity & military have boded so much to be foul up for assistance at Albany, as now enclosed appeares I give your honor leave to consider for your readiness in assisting us with ye gun & powder, but-shot as by your own skrivoly I have computed 1000lb powder & gibbs odd to buy us what may be had at Philadelphia & indeed please God to found for it by land with a roundboy of 40 men, & shall endeavour that there shall may be proclaimed thereabout above written, I pray your honor also ready thanks for the favor and desire if possible may your profound to have a catalogue of books & papers have belonging to this robinet, & further desire your honor for a mutuall & neighbourly correspondence as occasion shall require, make matters considering to their state service & I shall omit nothing that may appear serviceable to your interest & credit, I shall add not more but that I am sir &c

Anno 1689: this 9th August in your [illegible]

Honored sir

This 7th of this instant was my last to you by two sachems, appointed to go to their country with more like, I have received [illegible] from Governor Broadstreet with your [illegible] desired me by the bearer, being advised [illegible] studious escape & the diligence about the messenger [illegible] have had notice of the slaughter at Kinnesland about the [illegible] ago, this about eight days date, were have received [illegible] Equebaloe by the Iroquois nation no doubt had instigation [illegible] & hope to see him here, they have much discouraging the people to work, spreading abroad it was only my ambition to make [illegible] & hasting for fortification that I was obliged to get the militia in one day above 100 load stones, the mayor & [illegible] aldermen &c

departed from Rome, shee hoping it now to meet sir Edmund
ere and vppon our guards, & hopes that they are greatest of their
expectations, & speeding this honor of an answer of my forme
-lies, I stade in the mean tyme advise your grace what passe
by all opportunities & after my verry duty to you & Mayor Gold
I recommend you & us in the protection of the Almighty & remaine
your &c.

A: 1690: 26 March in good william

Honorable sirs

I received yours the night & am in expectations of the other
gentlemen, see them I cannot be able to answer your honors
first request, gladly I valiue those to fall in the hands of the
Lord then man, & find not that worse did you such yeoman
& great enemies, but we can propose one thing of
the towne a good & well house by Capt. Adrian Comelis —
wauve no small proves, but God be thanked the infection
is not so great nor mortall as it is reported to you, the
bearer shall take me to informe you &c.

A: 1690: 19th August in Newyork.

Honored sir To the Gobernor of Boston

I have received yours of the 4th instant & understand the rudely
I am much obliged for your good advice & have immediately
dispatched one boat to Albany with the copy of your letter
& the newes the Mohaucks & Sinnekes returned that wauve-
with the Frenche, they have lately lodged a fourth privat
& that 3 prisoners besides, wee have newes of 31 Christopher
that all the habitations were burned & all the people
in the fort besieged by land with 2 or 3000 men & hardly
two besieged by water, wee had an alarum the 5th of
of this instant, being occasioned by this gentleman the bearer
who found after water left runned in the towne gibe in numbe
without pass from your honor, nor to be acquainted with,
made them to be suspected, sir Edmond Andross company
they were forced to the dissatisfaction of the people who
are zealous shall that sir Edmond is amongst us, that the alarum
occasioned the confinement of eight & fifty people in our
action, which commitment occasioned great satisfactions by
the people who offer themselves that no further was sought tho
alwayes opposed in our action they would work continually
with 300 men till the fortifications were fully completed
& upwards 30 boys to fetch faggots & palisadoes, the fort abound
& ammunition, is now in one nostrum of defence, one water
fort now made to the westward of the town & hope in ordain
pleasure

138-16

Pleas God &c defend: I will my lyfe & fortune for their
Maties King William & Queen Mary: I desire to know
y our resolv & forward, & offer your honor my
humble seruice &c.

Honorable sirs

Since the deliv: of your messages, wee have been
very much employed, that wee have not been inabled
hee now to send to your honors Capt: William Mason
Lieft: Wadlow, & master Dudson to assure your honors
of myn & his councells most humble seruice, & that you
are heartily welcome in this his Maties province, where
you will find my best complyance in any thing that may
tend to his Maties seruice & the welfare of his subjects
in these his provinces, & hope wee shall shortly have the
honor to salute you, further meanings after my
respects &c.

Newyork April 20 1690.

To the honble the Governor
& Counc: in authority of or his
Maties Colony of Connecticutt

Honble sirs

Whereas Capt: Jonathan Bull hath by order from
his authority of your Colony, with advice his course
steered for Albany routeway to the order of those
commissionated for that post & the appeasing both of
the Christians & Indian Confederates, to the good
discouragement of the warring powers for his Maties
service in that province, In some parte to frustrate that
designe, I desired that Mr Samuell Staats & the
gentlemen the Commissioners may have liberty
leave to goe the direct way passing into Albany
shall find them in his Maties service for their
assistance, & transport the same into this place, or
thither without any let hindrance or molestation whatsoever,
Moreover desiring your aide & assistance therein —
which request of ours wee hope not to faile of, subscribing
your loving friends & neighbours &c.

A: 1690: 30 May in post William

Honorable sir

yesterday was myn last by post since I have not stood

ouer clod to Capln: Stirk to be forwarded by him, In answer of
yours of this 15 instant I have sent your honor the aduertisment
of our Indians that order to our vessell, wch is now
for Boston, Just now receiued another Letter dated 27 instant
signed John Allan Secretary by order of the Gouernor &
Councell In that of the 15 your honor make mention of Major
Gendall winthrop as commander of your forces, Ill obtain-
able, seing you were dubious, I did not mention the lack I had
of such noble & worthy persons, hauing with your forces
we should not be obtained about the particular diligent of-
Secretary Allan ago after Mr Bound, I thought it not worth-
my while to take notice of, In answer of yours of the 27-
wch am glad that at last you have, seing the danger you were
in with us, & resolued to assist us, when we were so resolutely
aduanced, In readines to ioine, with our resolued Indians
to defend & attack his Matties enimies the French, & their
adherents in our defence, & have ioined with us, in assum-
unanimous resolu, to effect wt we had proposed & engaged
on both our small proportions with us notwithstanding equally
surrounded in danger, neuer desiring to choose commissioned
the Major, but resolued that the Second commander was to
be sent in by Boston, for the new England forces In
wch we can resolue to no alleviations, the more because
according I receiued any of yours, we have writt to our
Commissioners & send up a Commission for Major in blank
& ordered to give it with such person at Albany as they thought
fitt proposed Capt: Jacob Mitchbourne whom we know a couragious
inuincible & courageous person, but have not newes of his
arriuall, we hope he will accept & doubt not of his capacity
& dilligence, that he will draw the to be of the souldiers &
contributo what ne-time shall lye to oblige & agree with
with the person you shall be pleased to send, therefore
desire that you may stand to our unanimous resolu & that we
may be united, Assure your honor I shall contribute what in
me lyes to make this the opinion of our Brethren Indians that
unity is our strength, wee rejoyce to understand the victorious
success of Sir William since all the eastward, & pray God to bless
him & our forces, to day I have understood that in
Maryland they have raised their forces but it is feared they
being bare of Boates & other speedy coming there is
demanded for Boating 50 of them 1000 to Albany (except
our messenger wee have sent by his wife) may obtain-
dispatch, here is arrived a person from England by Midway
of Maryland who reports that in Plymouth he spoke at his

do passing

COLLEGE

138-11

I doe believe with some master of ships & seamen yt you
coming from Virginia, that there was great preparations
made with all diligent mouth upon of waves to come to Lake
Iroquois & to make it strong, I hope upon notice of my
declaring you will speedily & readily assist his Excellency
your honor further to my Governor & also my respects
recommend your honor & yourself to his protection
of almighty God remaine &c.

1690: 4th August In Fort William
the Lieutenant Governor in Chief

Honble Sir

After last to your honor was by the way of Rhode Island
in great haste only to present to your honor the
great necessity of a general meeting in New York
to which I request your honor, I have also for the
same purpose sent to accompany last express
that Capt Leisler was ordered, giving some
representation to your Honor such matters occurred
with a reasonable reynes, we have raised to joyne my
house at Albany against that time & imployed all
all hop and paines concerning his affayres provided
notwithstanding a whole year without giving an account
his Matie will loose considerable thereby, we have no other
to doe but assist & encourage thereto which
diligence they did, wee have gott possession of the fort
violence nor bloodshed & have settled there all things to
great satisfaction of the Indians that was there
present, one of the chiefest mohawks Sachems desired to
come to your Excellency & assure me, he verily had great
satisfactions Imaginable & prosperity the great
last Convention of Albany have putt them in
greatest work was to take away the umbrage
= England people gave by departing in that manner
tyred & broke our order by violence, where was needed
breaking the fever thereof you mention & to be
he will that appeare true that your agent represent to
his Matie that now England was such warlike people
like to make him Governor of this province
Granted the same to no body but to Major Schuyler
Secretary Albany the valley those parts his honor
Governor having write to me, that he had put him
name of a Governor & your honor desires this I will
do

on [illegible] wch I supply not intended to expose that matter
wherein valiant Schuyler say to[illegible] obliging the good people among
them, our calamitys & divisions are indebted to them. If this fo-
[illegible]ound stroke had but been done then paul we had no need to praise our
drummer, now they will us alike renowned to carry our like waves
& more forbid such considerable post as Albany, I have inhibited
them their duns, but was wholly denied & of your soldier, I gott no
encouragement only of about nova scotia, but I doe not
despaire but hope all our meeting yow will effectually
dissolve this great delusion this Albany conference have put
you under no fearfull Libing stone house, we found a gra-
belonging to a fronte Jesuite of Canada, & found Indian
Salegissing, & had Lessons to learne to make them God before
they fell them, with revenge it was but how the minister who
also had formerly great rome of pondance with the Jesuits,
& another that dined at the people's house, the Goddam have
promised my to raise more then 1000 men of them to Joyne
with 400 of ours whereof we have raised & send up 260 men
leaving the pass upon the Lake with a company of Yndean
& Christians, in number about 50: that upon the summer
season we may be lymits abovelissed, I have sent last
week to Canada to deal the drum for volunteer
ers I have now advice of their success, I expect also a-
nessinger daily from Maryland, & had above 2 regiments
is to be raised on briefly, & then by Gods blessing we
need not to doubt of a good success, Albany must also not be-
[illegible] a sufficient people to guard it while the rest
shadily be busy with effected without your & our neighbours
assistance, therefore they ought to have gott some encourage-
ment by Capt Clark, & receive the resolution of the
good & weall resolved, being the Subject of his
stated in this Journall of lyme, pray sir let me have
a catalogue of all books & papers in your custody concern-
ing Claims province of New York & inclosed you have the
summary of the 4 or 5 charges there capitulations our ans-
wer thereunto will interpret the dubia, having for the
present no more to enlarge recommending your ve-
nerous to God I remain your honours most humble
servant &c.

N. Y. State Library

COL.LIBR. 36/136-168

139-12

Fort William Aprile 31 1690

Honovable Sir

To the Gobernor of Boston

your 2 Sobervall Letters by Capt Blair I have receive, & have seen your proceedings in New England, & your by the Lieut. Gobernor I have before me, the unexpected surprisall of Schonectady by the French & their Indians confederats not so much as the frontier post of Albany & your Selves & my, that ily thought a work necessary to be under taken how to secure that place, the welfare whereof concerns all the neighbouring Collonies, and therefore having received notice of 2500 posted in mount Royall within 2 miles of Quebeck towards Albany near 280 miles, an additionall trouble of the Indians being expected may sooner attack our aforesd post, when ye shall we have aware of wch having done what our enemy may endeavour could not hinder, have likewise communicated the same to the Gobernment of East & West Jersey, Pensilvania Maryland Virginia & other parts of New England, desiring that we may receive from a generall assistance that such persons as to your Wisdom shall seem meet may be commissioned to lead with us in volating this important affairs, were a new work being designed in the middle between the frontiers towards, upon the Hills of Albany so that we may conclude what may conduce most to the things in view the welfare of the province, & the prevention of the enemy, this is the request from

your friend & humble servant

New York April 2d 1690

Honble Sir

This unexpected surprisall of a small village called Schonectady by the French & their Indian Confederats hath set alarum to the frontiers post of Albany & those of New England that it is thought a work necessary to be well considered how to secure that place, the welfare whereof concerns all the neighbouring Collonies, and therefore having received notice

√ wch[ich] 2500 fowrth resolv'd in Mont[re]all wth addic[i]on
given of 4 robbick lowndes of Albany near 280 miles can addi-
tionall strength of the Indians being ordered, may soone obtain
our aspir'd most high happily we are aware of, wch taking
done what our Circumstances & ordd about could well contri-
bute, will be likewise communicated this Sumd to the Gov[er]nor
of Boston, & the gentlemen of Connecticutt are likew[i]se
advertised thereof, In so much that wch proposs for agentall
assistance shall such persons as to your Hon[ou]r seem most may
be commissionated to treat with them of new England, —
Virginia, Pensilvania & Jerseys relateing this important —
affaire how at Newyork being adjudged the middle —
Colonie this parties conveined upon the 24th day of Instant next
after this date, that for we may conclude what may conduce
most to the Kings interest, prevent the probabilities & the —
prevention of all destructions of the enymy &c:

X d: 1690: the 30 octobr in Port william

Honored sir: To the Gov[er]nor of Boston:

Inclosed is a letter which was entended by Major Sably who-
se indeed designe I had it ready, since I had the honor to
subscribe yours by John Hoar, for which I am infinitely
obliged, I have news since that the is arrived in the
river Delaware 500 souldiers, which I intend shall
goe to assist by land with a 1000 boys, the 50 Souldiers for
assistance to Albany are to depart to day, & to morrow
inclosed is acquainted of a letter from London by the
last ship that arrived at Delaware last June from Doctor
Cox to Mr Graham, wherein your honor may see the —
character & opinions they have in England of Sir Edmond
Andross Byard & their tale, & the tale Mayor & mistress —
master abroad their insolencies & cannot be found to punish
for which may be alledged to them, I desire your honors
further friendly correspondence, after my respects
I remaine Sir &c:

X d: 1690: 30 octobr in Port william

Honored Sir To Mr John Graham

yours by Mr Lucas is come safe to my hand, as also
the originall letter of Gov[er]nor Cox, for which I am infinitly
obliged to you, which given me to see the inhabitants that be
seen in great satisfaction, inclosed is the s[ai]d letter again. I
admire my cousin Mr Gardeners mind should have grown so
bad, being so good when I sent it Boul, the 2 pipes sold by
Mr Johannes Dellius, wondrous he has offered, & his my
order

N. Y. State Library

Col.Mss. 36:136-168

Colonial 36:138-15a

order in the letter to say it to Monsieur dubois
Therefore to reviewly be satisfied but the letter
belieb Gouverneur dubois make you make that conclusion
I understand by Monsieur dubois his letter that he
was upon his departure for Cap May, addressing me
the copy attested of the proclamation of their
states to be King & Queen of England ffrance &
Ireland & which is also here enclosed, I have sent
one attested by some workman bound to Cap May
with order to deliver any service or justice of the men
in their navy to proclaime their states, if required
to do it there, we are sending 50 men to their
reserve the fort here for their states King William
& Queen Mary act the grounds of their declaration —
Indians, after their departure, shall endeavour for to
seize the 1000.lb order I bought to pay for the provisions
I can send for more, I desire in the mean time you
will be pleased to cause the order to be punctually
& you will oblige him who is &c:

At 1690: 17 May in fort William

To his Excellency Governor of Boston

Honorable Sir

I have sent to your honor by land the agreement
between the Indians & us, & a copy of Major Church
letter of the arrival at the ground from Canada, which
presently to his tribe nations & that we are forbidden to
stand to our unanimous resolution, hoping at return
to receive your honors, & duly & most speedily all the
army all of our people mongst our long bodies and
they have immediately seized upon the ground with
their presently, & have shared some amongst them, & have
sent the messenger being a knight with all his papers
letters & instructions, which we are sorry is found out
to a most wicked manner, by the distress letter of
to a most wicked manner, we discover that treasonable
=proceedings has been kept by people mistrusted amongst
us, we have had 300 good men from Albany
Albany have been week & can have the other 400
immediately there to compleat our number & for the
intended enterprise we perceive but 70 men of

Connecticut

Connecticott, & if you manifest not your speedy & willing diligence we are delayed from our voiadges & may be so disappointed that all our good work may be obstructed to which end we have not time nor safe leasure, if how our necessity hath acquainted your honor of which diuers of that same speedy resolutions is taken to joine with them, & hath acquainted all the Allies of the Romane religion our aduersaries hath undertaken upon the moues of the late King James his seuenth in Scotland & how through your misery they were troubled, wherevnto we are serued, in order to their iust, & bring your present no more to enlarge after my respects I remaine Sir

your honors most humble seruant &c:

To Mayor Walley

Sir

The prisoner John Lugoure hauing been knowen here to haue committed a murder & robbed one Christopher Young a Brasse & Evident proofe as also by his owne confession hath thought fitt to send to you by Capt Anthony Low that those Evidence may be examined, & if before here you promised yours may be at Albany, if not we will you may verifie by seuerall depositions & we haue a speedy Sugal who was sent to doe your & our business by our Sachems, & if we had been of such slow motion as we find here Englands is, he had probably prooved to our utter ruine, I rest & remaine Sir

Your &c

COLLEGE 36.138.120

X 27 138-14 V

A: 1690: 14 day m̄ of Jul: William

ffonorable sir To his Gobernor of Barbadoes

your honours letter of the 27th January I have received — though all I am only to return an answer about his two visits — voyages, I wrote to Maryland & Virginia & got answer from Coll: Lloyd Chiefe commander in Maryland, in the words following I am heartily sorry I had no account sooner of these two voyages of Monsr de Nonville & Monsr Callieres having strangers of this nation passe & repass from Mantoüan, but this minute are called to your Lordships for Justification upon which they were confined till his Majesties pleasure be known & vindicated from your honor & their good behaviour which they confidently promised but they soon understood us & made known Strength & Condition, but have made great perfit after their departure not to have them well observed in your Province safely secured this is all what I could have of them, that adventure of Canada with their Indians committed the bloody massacre in this Province, & in new England there, they have destroyed Schanectady a village 20 miles from Albany, murdering poor men women & children, praised may the 27: & have committed the greatest Cruelty imaginable, viz. up women with child bowels ripped out alive into the flames & cast others after & poor little children dashed against posts, and one or two committed some cast all, we found — slightly two men up to guard that place, but a great number of people have maintaining the commissions from Sir Edmund Andros & Coll: Dongan & being from the authority of that late King James would not accept them there, but kept the fort by virtue of their Commission & would not suffer any of them to goe & guard so village being the frontier but stood over their mouth (they) by want means from Boston retreated & rather desired that too much ordinary to be cancelled accordingly — kept mann'd there, that other being frozen that not could be soul up the winter, the rest and people, & God our soulders who kept guard in the city where the fourth Indian (in number of 100 men) had robbed the Indians would not goe there & so altered the design & that place was by that means preserved our Indians pursued them & killed & looked 25 & upwards who gave us an account of so brave troops out in design in the spring to round with 1500 of your best Indians, your honor great & generous example & loyall attempt against the bloody enemies the — points, you were pleased to acquaint me besides the —

Your Excellency

your Sig[ne]ry & for ye advancement of ye Indian trade your honor Sig[ne]ry & ye Province
al Canada, whereon in ye great advantages depends ye & his Majesty may
very well, who have resolved to use all ye meanes imaginable to give ye Enemy
as possible destroy them there, and so soone ye weather was permitted, we
have sent up 250. men more, & sent out 50 more to shoot & watch ye Enemy
we discovered 12 leagues of them & have lyne in readiness upon all
ye Magazin people were ordered to come in ye City, where was plentifully
provided & royall two families who would first prepare dinner & so were
surprized, - ye Iroquois slaine, & capitulated, we have appointed a day
more to send Commissioners from all ye Government to meet & con-
sult & negotiate about ye warre, which was assured by some
others with flowe & ribbolous promises, all Castle a vessell taken with
your honor has a Privateer besides we have here 2 pinkes with
24 guns 150 men who engaged to goe with a Brigantine eight guns
four pettoraros 70 men, one sloope with four guns two pettoraros
& 50 more by us equipped for to attack Quebeck & Boston has
arrived considerably some ships & other vessells for to take pos-
royall a very inconsiderable place, & only us in hopes they will
send them for Canada, but would not engage it, this reviewed as
your honor remarks, if ye now time lyne, ye same now to cause our
neglect may cause ye next confusion to ensue us, our fleet please
God will be ready within 3 or 4 dayes our people by our refusal to
at Albany by those of our neighbours but eighty men we have
people well versed in ye Indian tongues, who send to live amongst
them to observe ye Governors motion I had here one of ye principall
Indians with whom I have treated & so possessed him that ye enemy is
is gone to all ye Indians perswaded & corroborated their enmity
ag[ain]st ye French which has taken so good effect, that we gott news from
our Commissioners dated 8th day whereby here is ye very news
ye great treaty of ye Indians is continued & have confirmed our
propositions satisfactorily, with 1800 men amongst ye five nations
of which a more particular account we shall send to morrow
to which we shall joine 600 men, I have detained ye bearer two
dayes to send your honor ye particulars, but ye very reasons why
will be more then may convey to all Barbadoes, though at good
wind to detain him longer, we have advise by ye French prisoners
that there is troops out to make an attempt near us, wherefore
we are upon our guards, & if some surprise should happen ye
people living so scattered would cause them to give here, & make
provision scarce, that will generate other causes we obliged us-
to make an embargo, but considering ye dependance Barbados
Jamaica & Nevis have from these places, we have permitted about
50 tunns provision to be transported to dark with ye
bearer is ye protection of your Island, we hope a good success in
our undertaking if pleased God we obtained it, we rather
need to fear my Indians, if your honor could speedily
dispatch

N. Y. State Library

Col.Mss. 56:136-158

Col. MSS. 30:138-158

138-15 ✓

disabled some men of war for Canada, it would be a
great Service for his Majty & no doubt but by Gods blessing
would be a great means to wholly subdue Canada I beg
the happiness of a line or two from your Honor by this
opportunity which will obledge my self to be more than
ordinarily your

N. Y. State Library

Col. Mss. 30:136-156

X 31 138-16

Copies of several Letters sent to Maryland
March 9th 1689: in sent William
Honorable Sir

yours of the 9th January come of Mr Andros —
dangerous of this first February I have safely rec
ceived, & all that other you mention I never had, I am
sorry to understand the sad murder of the Indian pris-
oner our inhabitants among the French, though your
French so billious guardes have surrounded the mouths
in Virginia, I assure you I shall take all possible care
& apprehend any such persons coming from your
Government in this province without your pass —
I perceive that your papists are very insolent &
incouragious, so it was with us, & that all a distrust
I have of late received a messenger sent from hence
to Boston opened his letters, by which I have
discovered several wicked designs, upon which discovery
I talked with Mr Bayard & the attorney William Nicol
Esq: Dongan, Major Brockholls Stephanus van Cortlandt
Major Pinhorn, Daniel Nicholls, Doctor Lloyd, William
Pinhorn late Collector, have restored the publick
seal of this Government to Pensilvania & Maryland
are humbly desire your honor to take all troublesome
care to apprehend all such persons coming & going
from to your Government without passes, that
they may be prohibited to come to pass their wicked
designs herein closed is a copy of a letter written
from Barbadoes wherein you will see how I have
apprehended Fitzwilliams & sent 2 of his vicious traitors
in a Pensilvania Bark but under convoyed a shore
to get to Maryland, that the letter will informe you
the state of those Islands, for news of England we
have non but old, I received a gracious letter from
his Matie directed to the Right Honble Governor Francis
Nicholls on his accompt to such as you the lying
being take care to preserve the peace & administer
the laws in the province of Newyork during
Commission from the Committee of the sd province so
to doe, I received the sd gracious letter in which
I was ordered to take upon me the Government
& to take to my assistance soe many of the most
Inhabitants & noble as I thought fit & order
all things which to the place of his Matie Interest

for

Gouernor & commander in Chiefe of this or any other plantac-
ons that shall or may appertaine vnto
the Crowne of England according to the Instructions
directed to him from the Honorable Sr Thomas
Smith Knight & Treasurer of the Companie
of Adventurers & Planters of the City of London
for the first Colonie in Virginia, and by vertue
of his Maties Commission vnder the great Seale
of England, for the ordering & gouernment
of the said Colonie, & of all persons being or
remaining within the precincts of the same
Colonie, or any of them, I Sr Edwin Sandys
Knight, Treasurer of the said Companie, & one
of his Maties Councell for the said Colonie,
haue thought good to make knowen vnto
you, that vpon the fifteenth day of August
last past, there arrived at Point Comfort
a Dutch man of warre of the burthen of
about 160 tunnes, whereof one Capten Iohn
Iope was Master & chiefe Commander, which
Dutch man of warre hath sold vnto vs
the number of twenty Negroes, all which
Negroes were brought out of the Coast of
Angola, & were taken by the said Dutch
man of warre, as they were transported
from the Portugalls, by meanes whereof
they became lawfull prize. The first
occasion of the arrivall of the said Dutch
man of warre, was to exchange some
victuall for cloth & apparell, wherof
we stood in great need, & for the
supply whereof we had before recourse
vnto the Spaniards, but could not
prevaile, for that they were not
permitted by their Lawes to trade
with any of the Nation of England,
vnless they were forced vnto it by
extremity of weather, or other
vrgent occasion. Of these twenty
Negroes, the Governor & Cape Merchant
bought for the Colonie, as well for
their owne particular vse, as for
the seruice of the Colonie, seaven
or eight, the rest were bought by
the Planters, & dispersed into
diuers parts of the Colonie.

[illegible]

Col. Hist. 36:136-158

138-17

agt the french in Canada, who move hindred by their so
rebells, in no prot Canada upon paine of being punished for
rebells; if they melt abode [illegible] our men for they reserve —
punishment & prohibited the disaster, wee have intelligence
of 900 men more out in parties to attempt Albany —
& new England, we have sent up powder & three members
of the councell to adder all matters for his Matties —
interest & the safety of these provinces, they have also
power to the nations of the confederate Indians & —
to endeavour to dissuade them & reserve their
enmity to the french & if they see need to send any of
our powers to joine with them of the french, if by any
meanes possible you can with all the speed assist us —
with 100 or 120 coast 50 men to joine with our confederat
Indians to destroy or take Canada & lay it bee his —
Gouernment of Virginia thereof & to incite them
for the like assistance, they will enjoy the benefit
thereof with you, & if by Gods blessing wee obtaine
victory, you need nobody to feare any mischiefe —
of any Indian in all October, the season is to stay —
for an answer at Mr William Harris neare
Chester River, if any ships pray passe to me
of his neighbours especially if any rendezvous this
prohibited, for post myn Enquire by way of Maryland
whom I have sent with letters to my Father —
having no more to add only my prayers to God
to prosper you in your enterprise from the like or any
troubles as we have had, the Indians will be very
glad if they heare of hopes of some assistance of —
Maryland & Virginia, after my respects I remaine

Your

Ibery: 29 September in the yeare of —
our Lord

To Capt: William Harris

SW

being informed by Mr Joan Jnson that you are
honored with a charge of a burgis in your generall
assembly, we first his honored us with a letter
to

to write the enclosed disire and answer to have sealed the same with a flying seal that you may have the more sudden knowl & further to divert ill to him you know best needfull, if any thing offers more fitt to acquaint this assembly, I shall continue the same & expect your diversions & better way in the meanetyme after my obsequies I remaine &c

+ To Maryland

Sir

I thought convenient to advise you that if you send above 150li prime to Guro you may expect 14 or 15 shill. per 100li, it being for to defray charges of the expedition of Albany, may very well be accepted of the money per pound & be a great ease for your provinc.

Since my above letter was written I received information that they of Philadelphia send their order to the towne, & that Albertus Wandlier did cause himselfe in this following expression that it was agt their privilege to fight themselves when the French come they are inclined to send some of the wisest people to treat with them that rather would give their land & goods then to fight & that it was all one under whom he labor with sure expressions they will render your people odious & suspected I thought convenient to advise you that you may take away such stumbling blocks &c

X To the Gouvall assembly of Maryland.
A: 1689 15 octobr

Dear abobe is a copy of my last to which I refer you since we have certain news from new England that they have killed 60 Indians of their enimy & took 50 captives many with the King the English have lost 80 men & 2 Indians. In the action I had intelligence of 50 brave persons marching in a troop with a Jesuit house where I thought some of your fugitives might have been among them, made me resolve to send 25 soldiers who beset the house in the night but found none but the family & disarmed the man & brought him home whom I have since

agains

001.888. 35:136-158

138-18

against upon his prayers to receive no Jesuits nor to-
wards pensilvania that there is lately arrived a man of war
Lately from England to Virginia, I doe fear many newes would
come hither to mooue for to resolue to send some forces-
to Albany to serue them from the French wch
the French prisoners report that warre betweene
& England is proclaimed at Canada, hauing for priesthood
ne more to enlarge after my respects Gouernour &c

Do Maryland

A: 1690: ye 4 April in ffort William

Honorable sir

Inclosed is a copy of a letter sent to Virginia &
Maryland to your selues & counsell by water & land, &
acquainted them with sent sight to your hand, I am greatly longing
for an answer of mine by Capt: Van Brugg wherein I
vnderstand you have well received, I would desire
your honor, & my fellows to observe my actions in wch
if acted be, I send to me that it may be sent by a trusty
person. Concerne we received now that rounds Iroquois
pensilvania, the Maquas onondago, mondalis Carkoquis
& mettaddaddos have agreed our ranso, we have
appointed persons to meet them at Albany in seu-
dayes to counsell our best way to intercept the enimy
march, the Maquaas hauing given us a proofe of their
fidelity & now ago by pursuing those that destroyed
Schenectady doe now their owne hand to King &
slaying 25 of them who lodged in the woods & promise
to raise more then 1000 men of them to joine with
100 of ours, wherefore we have raised 200 ffort that
intent to keepe the pass upon the Lake with a company
of Indians & Christians in number of 80: that upon
the enimies approach we may be timely advertised
being about 150 miles northward of Albany we think
post is of like concerne to you & us, this designe hope
being well considered by you, you will afford us the
assistance

greatest feare of danger observed from you, this accidentall expedition is both raised on this sodaine, when by your blessing we were not-withstanding of good strength, & many more also not behind desirous of people to guard it well, which can hardly be surely well effected without your & our neighbours assistance, therefore forbearing for an answer of any thinge wherein by word or deed found procuring ourselves to desire this continuance of a further good correspondence & trade of boates being for the most part of this Colony in this Juncture of time, we have no further newes of a peace of Spaine & Indians of which we shall be better intelligence shall thinke upon the matter but how-ever pretend have offended their Majesty & Kingdome & subiects having killed & captivated as about Cape Breton, & this other thinge sounds heavily in our eares, this exact damage is not certainly known, yet we presume of 70 persons killed & captivated Boston is setting out vessells to attack this country by water, this is all for this present after my very service remembring yours to God protections I remaine of your humble servant &c.

At Isle 29th September in this Port of newyork

To the Gentlemen & the assembly of Maryland

I have received your acceptable letter bearing date 18 of this instant & rejoyced much at your safe arrivall & kind welcome, & have considered the contents with due reflection & returne you many thanks for your friendly & neighbourly offers, & embrace with all our hearts your offers of a mutuall & amicable correspondence with you, which we shall labour to keepe inviolable towards you, & without faile shall omit nothing that may appeare any wayes to your interest, & we desire & wish also doe with Boston & Connecticott colony being of the same opinions with you, that this Isle only in name to preserve their interest & to prevent his plainly & openly & wee offer & endeavour to effect & bring to pass their wicked intents & designes of their Master by all probable subtile & underhand wayes & meanes, & we have good cause to suspect will with you by sober & deliberate considerations & circumstances & grounds we have given credit to the reports of some of your people & to our owne knowledge & observations of their actions & some of our people & your owne bad designe, for this which I made all due inquisition imaginable with resolutions to serve them, was it & I found this my self I could not leave this absence of Colonell Ed was at Long Island with Sir Edmond Andross & by him sent by ship from Boston with this now in possession & this Dungan is now in this port against the law

ranged

ranged all this country & made daily offers of all service I may
vse & assistance may come I shall omit nothing as Judges of those
to serve them. I gott a printed proclamation from new England
the 21 June of their Matys King William & Queen Mary to-
gether with K. & Queen of England France & Ireland & their immedia-
-cy succession to this proclamation we entertained solemnly
& ordered, the next day Indorsed that they are also pro-
claimed at Barbadoes King & Queen of Holland but I have
seen no proclamations thereof as yet, I have detained these
a whole weeke. Mr William Hudson & John Hudson appealing
to gett some further orders from Severy of this negotiations
between this agents of new England & this Country & nothing
but understand onely that they have treated & are of good
intelligence, this Indians have open warre with the
French & their Indians & have got release
prisoners about 500 French men women & children
they give grievous out to bury & out burned them & their
missionary way, the city of Albany suffers this cold King James
Souldiers I have to keep this fort by his orders & are payed with
same words, there is brought a letter home by one of the old
Souldiers directed to him by the commander of this fort, to
offers him a forgeanly place & desires him to sit for this
Province of King William & Queen Mary for many Souldiers
as he can gett of Major Brockhouse & Capt. Bayleys company
both yank papists & to send them hither but by 2 or 3 at this
time where is very suspicious, I have done all the diligence ima-
-ginable, to joine Albany town, have raised them Malaytes
proclaimed there, but they are told asleep by some of the
former revolutions to this late Government, of whom were
have a great many amongst us, who have intelligence by
this way of Barbadoes by a man of warre bound for St
Helena, of about 12 weeks from England, that there were
60: men of warre bound to Ireland, & that all his rollers &
ships of note were detained to land an army there of 30 or
40000 men was to be landed from Holland by this Summer
of warre had a commission to take all great ships except
from Londonderry, this is all the news we have at present
I intended embarking against your Excellency & to
Boston & crave your also for a friendly & intelligently
reception, upon all occasions I assure you I shall
omit

[illegible] endeavour to serve you all to the
outmost of my power, since I received yours I made stand of some
boat coming from Virginia from whence I hope good will be mor-
tial daily to have a Catch going all-
with provisions, I manned a Boate to pursue & take them, they
never ever yet found by boldness & magnifick ships never yet
lost designe being found in their Coast, the quest[illegible]
rigging Albion already from his Majesty windsor I have 3 in
prison, by this you may know with what Zeale & integrity I
serve ——

your most humble servant

Anno: 1690: 13 May in Govl William

To all his majestys Government.

Honored Sir

yesterday departed hence my boy with letters to you, I after
his departure, received the happy news following from our
commissioners dated the 8th May, the heavy news are —
The great business of this summer is intended & have answered
our proposition satisfactorily with 1800 men among[st] other
fitted ballances, of which a moyety part amongst new Scotland
to morrow, yours by this I say may have received & shall attend
your further resolves, such ship that must write be required
to this necessary equipping this march is with 600 men, this
letter by this way of Boston is the safest of this province &
safe[illegible] country route I have send that way write copies
we shall make it up by the help of God & most Gracious Soveraign
master & Mistress 1000 men, being out in regard by
their letters therupon we expect probably to this summer
600 men, I hope you will not this winter to provide for after
accordingly this single regard God & our Gracious K[illegible] bring this
movement negotiating this season may tend most to[illegible]
for use of this province please you for every speedy execution
taking leave done daily our ships further resolves & you
to be prayed for & real is worthie by time after my
respects remembered

Anno 1690 27 June in Govl William

Honorable Sir

To Coll: Codd in Maryland

yours by Mr Isambrugo & Mr Blankingtons I have not my
former doing come to your Honors hands, to which I refer you
to which further Mr Blankington may inform your Honor
I taking leave to add that with compliments to God I have
with his will provisions & ammunition according to our abilities

Rendred wind wee sudenly to lie a vere stinge ellsing
Lilly Sellvally vonikinson of wiche lady labe parsicular
will leave, but what is moste markable is lie indeed sading
by our agent at onondago, messingers were expected lie
lie sevrall nations, gone lie Governor of Canada to-
sedure them from their Confederats made willing volinterly
lie restitution & indemnity of ye forsd Knight & are
now prisoners dolle appeare, wee were sent for lie gou-
ernor sevrall, & from Indians white lead been rabvidd-
myslibes to found in lyne of peace now returned to-
Albany & lie wayes to leval them & summer to their coun-
try of England, wiche as soon as lady rand was effected with-
all imaginable bigorr lie gibe nations & my self by their
England togither at onondago agourst wiche is their counsl
ioined them & bound them inviolably sparking their offal-
lies mouys purpose & real lady read, & bidding gou gentlemen
amongst them to be leveled in their cauarous manner
lie Knight & my self
wee gabe a jesuits letter laa wisonds yt passed among
lie Indians wiedrein we discober lida sonable rood
prodians is kept by sond at Albany with lie gouerd,
one ship brigantine & sloope of wave is dispatched one
moncle agoe & labe been at Boston to visit them, you
understand matter yt real purpose gou Canada, the
Blankinsons will acquaint your honor of lie succes
lady read at prol voyage lady yll about 30 or 40 & about
our messinger from England read was only 5 mille
distober my letters in lie land of wis. Ma is return way
offended & raised great alteration in lie provided my
of labe summes of wiche Mr Blankinson has a bill
amongst & lie promised to particulate your honor will, to
wiche prefered you, yesterday we labe sent Mr
Benjamin Blagg for our agent to us Albany & return
a record we read Jered Mayor Jacob Schuyler for
another to sound with lie gouner, we are of your
opinion of lie necessity there of our address sauing anything
be gone our messinger, made them readmantage our
gouner parsuit being taken yt lie ground, desire you
to take notice what we passed, hereby royster were King James
gouer in England hold ground, his Ma is disposing lie
parliament or too many obliged yt gou sent gou bus-
tnesse, read gibon sund undersold agre & signed to lie parly

William

Esqr of the liveralmy dangers & like provide to runn as
wee are assaully soeuers like Indian nations w[ch] are
through Gods providence & our commissioners diligence
were prohibited & prevented with letters to the Albany
like of the nations their Kings & Captaines in person on
the 2nd day of May were assembled & proposed their
address unto them which succeeded with suitable
returnes as by the proposalls & answers of the se
nations w[ch] herewth is humbly presented to the
Blankinshore to send to your Honour, at the same time
ordained & nodding of the commissioners at Boston
Plymouth & Connecticott colonies of new England
to consult what ought to be done, by them in fur
therance & worke of this was resolved that those of the
England should raise 355 men & maintain them
at their own cost & charges, & the province of
new york 400. & Maryland we did your Honours
promise & his councells request of a 100 men which
we have expected long since upon Maryland to
charges being the like rendered with us to gain
the fore nations. with whom wee are all in a
firme confederacy, we have sent your honor
by the Pembroke our loyall subject in Maryland
expressed, & by all his large promises from new
England & Maryland expected, the which albe
numbers would have soe much wished for, the
Indians not being assured us of 1800 men to join
to our assistance now ready to march in the great
est terror to prosecute their assault, taking the
news of great preparations those of Canada are
making to attack us of which advice have given notice
to his Matie, & when we propose anything to the
Indians we always insert Maryland & give the
for that province professe of help of vampum
& like, & if not since some Sonders appeare for
Maryland, we shall be disabled to performe
what we have promised to them, in his behalfe of
your province, the allegeity of those dealings were
have just reason to depend on by seuerall proof
already given us by their killing & beate of their
Enemy

Colldge. 361.136-158

Copies of seaverall letters sent to Barbados

A. 1609. 16 October in Soul William

to the Governor of Barbados.

Sir Thobo is arrived at my last with all the copies mentioning both, also the several bills of lading with the masters verdict for the letters delivered to him, directed to your honour, & the in

A. 1609. 23 November in Soul William

Most honoured Sir the Governor of Barbados

Whereas wee going in Justifyable to suppress some ill designs by the late Light. Gobernor & seaverall persons of private note & others of them in authority within this gobernment popishly & obstinately affected, tending to the diminution of their allegiance royall devotion & subiect love, for feare they should effect & bring to pass some wicked designs, & the inhabitants by the encouragement of the prince of orange (most gracious King) his declarations for their family have served the Soul for their allegiance King William & Queen Mary whereon the country has appointed me commander in chiefe vice Gualter Oder from their allegiance, whilst thereby I have preserved to the obedience of their allegiance, & have God be thanked brought all things in safe & peaceable tranquillity as yet we are not assaulted or disturbed, only we are daily attempted by some popishly disaffected people which puts us upon many inconveniences & daily charges & obliges me to have a watching eye about all so ill that the 3d of November in the night arrived here a sloop from Barbados commanded by Capt. Benjamin Blagg who gave me an account that 5 days after his departure from Barbados he met with a private ship who took him & kept him four & twenty hours & sold his ship to an Irish who was on board that private man & leave him & divers other Irishmen by which meanes Blagg to gett a pilot that is Irishman inhabiting for Maryland but were pilotted in this harbour as by the report enclosed out of the Capt Blags Journall will appeare N. 1. In the morning I sent two soldiers aboard to require him as being in the private possession & had the Irish delivered me who found a private bill of sale without consideration & a pass for them & the vessell wherein enclosed is receipt N. 2. the 5th November being the birth day of our gracious King in token we did solemnize with bonefires & rejoicing our Capt. had 3 gunns powder & shott which also we did solemnize with bonefires & burning the pope, & in regard they were all willing to confine the Irish, but the Irish I sent for whose ladie there & papers from within they were declared as that which under I found a pass given the Earle of

V

wilfully applied on his faithe & oth of fauor vnto
a vaunt of lively & bold persons appeared in the
Hall & assembled my persons, some gauntleted
striking at me with a trooper's sadge & requiring to
pay the last which was laid by an assembly gath-
ered to maintaine & support the charges
of his wages, demanding restraint malefactors
to be released from prison, in a most audacious
manner, did I strike him with the head of my staff
in the teeth of the wide till I forced my sword out
from & so made way through them, the two officers
of his ordinance assisted of which I have given more
will give your honor a full light of that so wyol-
lently did move imprisoned & fined & bound to-
wards not & remains prisoners by me which your
honor may see if this I should but make this power
really they effect & that wee should be wanting
to our Soveraigne Lady, they intend that Braver fal-
lably on King James pauls vaster Hilliard
I desire your honor further to that the Clarke
informes you & rest in my respects &c.

COL.BB. 561136-788

[illegible] recommendation & the order we delivered them
[illegible] sent inclosed is the name of all the
officers of the militia - except Lieutenant Generall being
removed by them they could make no other choice of the
[illegible] from Barbados as that they were indeed, but
[illegible] found them absolute enimies of their state therefore
was resolved that they were to be sent to Barbados to
your honor ffinding them to have committed some other
injury & made an order vpon the same is here inclosed
[illegible] not understand they had served two waves upon so
[illegible] various & that your honor may more resolve upon
[illegible] ship so that by a warrant I shall command the
Capt[ain] Daniell Commander of the Bark Englands
to take them & to deliver them to your honors order as per
[illegible] N: 5: inclosed, being no better vsuall to the rendring
to their states seruice & mutuall [illegible] affidently animated &
mutuall rooted foundation betweene their seuerall gouernments
especially vnder such circumstances as we now are having
first according to our bounden duty vpon sight of their states
proclamation duely proclaimed their sacred states King
William & Queen Mary according to his honor & the
proclamation, doe in the most [illegible] manner solicite & recommend
your honor to bear vs your kindly affection & mutuall
good correspondency as occasion shall be offered in all
matters of our most endeuring to their states seruice
& the welfare & of their inclosed fleet, I shall omit
nothing that shall appeare seruiceable to your honors
interest, here is not more but what we have of the
two prizes, not saying anything out of England, having not
more to add, but that I am &c.

X At Bridg: 18th December in Carol William
To the Governor of Barbados

This above is a coppy of my last with all the papers relating to
also the seuerall bills of lading with the masters receipt for the
Negroes delivered to him according to your honor in the inclosed
of my seall to your honors [illegible] since the departure of the bark
from this road, I gott information of this playing in the Bay I have
sent a boat with 27 soldiers with a warrant & instructions
to-

Mr Coll. Nicolls having come to the Governors house
Governor Nicolls of whom we were informed by a Dutch
Sloop that since his departure on board his ship the King
Dalk with 4 ships & 300 men destined to Jersey
& Long Island also Boston, Connecticut, but I am certainly informed that
they were fitt on shore & take upon soon as the company of
passes & possibly affected people at Amboy, if they in Gunboats
against Fort no doubt, hope your honor will take such care
therein as the cause do'th require, this night of this instant
arrived by the way of Boston a messenger with two gracious
letters dated from their Maties Royall Orders to Governor
all things relate to this place & affairs of his Maties Prov:
Governor & Commander in Chiefe of New York Jersey &
&c. Upon which Gentlemen called in these letters was
read from their Maties Council signed by eleaven of them with Orders to
proclaime William & Mary Prince & Princess of Orange to be King &
Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of the Faith
&c. Upon which I Lord & Lady of this province of New York & all other
their Dominions to their Crown of England belonging (if
not already done) which was done so speedily affected that 10th instant I
also received a letter from the honorable Governor of Boston Simon
Bradstreet dated 27 November, he informing me that he had
Information of some of their people that was taken by two
Frenchmen of warr upon the coast of Acadia, they say they
the Frenchmen told them they were near hundred men of warr
that came out of France to surprise Boston being full 30 of sir
Edmond Andross with a Company that should be delivered to
them as they say, but meeting with some Dutch men of warr they
took 4 of their ships & some in the bank & advising of sir Edmond
Andros Government their design was discovered they went away
from the Eastward about 5 or 6 leagues where they had
left the other some of 40 guns some to New York but 4 Dutch
ships and some to the West Indies, he advised me also that
he had received his gracious Letters from his Matie this one
approving & allowing what hath been done in vindication to
the late revolution & authority to proceed, this other letter was
a command from his Matie to send Sir Edmond Andross, Mr
Randolph & Sec:ry Clarke in safe custody to Whitehall, Governor
Dongan departed from England with convoy, doubt not but
your honor will have all this news that we are able to
inform your honor, having no more to enlarge, requesting
only your favorable & friendly apprehension of what in-
this is here omitted by mine will be
your honors most humble
servant

X

At a Convention of the
Aldermen & Common=
Council held & Chosen at=
the Guild Hall of the City of
London the 23d day of
October in the Yeare of our
Lord God 1688 & in the
Fourth Yeare of the
Reigne of our Soveraigne
Lord William & Mary by
the Grace of God King &
Queene of England &c
& Ireland &c

It is ordered & Resolved that diverse persons
Endeavouring to Create doubts & feare and disquietnes
amongst the Inhabitants of this City & County
have Endeavoured to Cause diverse false reports
to be made and spread amongst the Inhabitants
And have made use of the affection to this Cities
Religion Lawes & Liberties to Create an Endea=
vour to Jealousie and Misunderstanding betweene King William
& Queen Mary whom Almighty
God hath sent & this Nation & Kingdom
to call & bring home & to Settle and Quiet
& to avoid all such Jealousies though we are very
well assured that those reports in our Parts
are altogether false & Devoyd of all Truth and
that all good Subjects do abhorr all Popery and
all Popish Principles but on the Contrary

well

Albany 1691

number of soldiers having died there; the revictualing thereof being, moreover, extremely expensive, and the hostile tribes not having, as yet, taken advantage of that retreat, Sieur de Denonville thought proper to demolish it, and to preserve only Cataracouy, his Majesty has let him know that he approved of what he did in regard to said fort at Niagara, and even promised him to abandon that at Cataracouy if he considered it necessary; he gives Sieur de Frontenac the same power, and is very glad to observe merely to him that he must not adopt any resolution in this regard unless after an examination made with all requisite attention as to the utility or inutility of that fort.

He is informed that the English having, by means of one Radisson a French refugee, invaded a fort and some habitations which the Northern Company of Canada had established in the [Hudson's] Bay on the ruins called Bourbon and St Therese, those interested in that Company, dispatched one hundred men in 1686, who made themselves masters of the three Forts the English had erected at the head *(dans le fonds)* of that Bay.

The intelligence of this reciprocal invasion caused a meeting at London of Commissioners on the part of his Majesty and of the King of England, at which, not being able to concur as to the facts, they agreed to postpone the negotiation to the first of January of the present year. It could not be continued in consequence of the revolution in England. As the English, in the present troublesome conjuncture in that Kingdom, will not, seemingly, have adopted great precaution in those parts, his Majesty desires him to afford that Company the protection it will need as well for the expulsion of the English from the posts they occupy there, as for the continuation of trade.

At this same conference a discussion was held respecting an interruption effected by the English at Pentagouet, a possession of the French, and the justification of the violence which had been committed was deferred until the resumption of the negotiation. His Majesty desires that Sieur de Frontenac, with Sieur de Mesneval, the present Governor of Acadia, do adopt the measures necessary to prevent like incursions of the enemy, and to restrain them within their limits, in case it be not practicable to make an attack on them.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir addressed by Chevalier de Callieres to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay. On the present condition of Canada. November 8th, 1689.

Peace cannot reasonably be expected to be made with the Iroquois by negotiation, so long as the English Colonies continue our enemies and furnish them at a low rate with all their necessaries, and with arms and ammunition to wage war on us.

There is no other means of reducing those Savages except force, and carrying out the plan submitted for the capture of New-York. As long as hopes are entertained of succeeding otherwise, wrong measures will be adopted.

If a defensive policy is to be pursued in Canada, it is impossible to prevent its being ruined by the incursions alone of the Iroquois; they will continue to burn all the houses scattered along the River Saint Lawrence, and to plunder the settlers, without any possibility of

protecting the latter even with four times as many troops as are in the country, in consequence of the remoteness of the scattered settlements; and they will starve the settlers by preventing them sowing and reaping, and by setting fire to their grain and houses, as they did last August when they killed one hundred and fifty of the French after having subjected them to horrible tortures, and burnt all the settlements from the Point of the Island of Montreal to within a league of Ville marie.

Were New-York taken, the Iroquois aré reduced to sue for peace and to submit to such conditions as will be imposed on them, because we shall be in the centre of their country, in a position to exterminate them should they resist; and they will be deprived of munitions and other supplies necessary for their defence and subsistence, all of which they derive from that English Colony.

This expedition can be accomplished at two seasons of the year; before and after the harvest.

It would have been much easier the last fall of the year 1689, had we arrived in time, than it will be in 1690, because the enemy would have been surprised and not have had leisure to fortify themselves. However, it is feasible still, if his Majesty please to grant us the help necessary for that expedition on which entirely depends the safety of Canada.

The surest means of success would be to attack Manhat by sea with six ships, having on board a landing party of 1200 men. These would be sufficient to carry the stone fort whilst the troops from Canada would attack by land the town and fort of Orange, whence a portion of the Regulars could afterwards go down to Manhat in order to remain in garrison there instead of the marine forces who could reimbark and continue their voyage to the Islands, so as to provide for the security thereof.

The other, and least expensive plan is, to send 300 recruits to Canada to be employed in garrisoning the principal posts against the incursions and burnings of the Iroquois; and to attach them to 300 other soldiers of the 1300 who remain in Canada, in order to protect the country pending the expedition, and, then, to proceed with a thousand Regulars and 4 @ 500 picked Militia, in bateaux and canoes, along the River Richelieu as far as Lake St Sacrament, and thence to Orange, carrying the Canoes along and leaving 200 men to guard the bateaux, capture Orange, and afterwards, in sloops to be found at that place and in Canoes brought there, go down the Albany river to Manhat, leaving a garrison in Fort Orange.

For the support of the attack on Manhat, there would be required two well armed frigates which could land 300 men to replace those left on the way, and convey thither munitions, provisions, and the necessary implements which were embarked last year agreeably to the annexed Memorandum, and which ought still to be in their original packages.

These two frigates ought be sent towards the end of March to Port Royal in Acadia, there to await orders from Quebec, and to provide, meanwhile, for the safety of Port Royal, which is very liable to be seized by the English of Boston, and the preservation whereof is of primary importance.

A third frigate would be required, which should sail at the same time for Quebec with his Majesty's orders, and to convey thither and escort the 300 recruits, the money necessary for the payment of the troops, and a fund for the Extraordinary of war, with flour, pork and other needful articles for the support of the military, and for the expedition, the Memoir whereof the Intendant of Canada promised to send to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay.

The capture of New-York will not only protect Canada but increase considerably its revenues and trade, and greatly diminish the expenses his Majesty is obliged to incur for the preservation of that Colony, which is in imminent danger, if this remedy be not applied.

It may be objected that it is only necessary to go and attack the Iroquois and destroy them, instead of attacking the English. It is answered, that to attack the Iroquois would require two bodies each of 2000 men, who should carry with them all their provisions across forests, marshes and other inaccessible places where nothing is to be had, and that if attacked on one side only, they would escape on the other, as they did when we burned the four Seneca Villages, and would find provisions among the four other Iroquois Nations, and the English of New-York, and afterwards return to burn our country as before; and that it is much easier and more useful to attack New-York, which is a populous and cultivated country, supplied with provisions, whence many useful things can be derived; and which will render the King Master of the Iroquois, and through them of all the other Indians of North America, and furnish him the means of establishing the Faith there.

Albany den 16 Decemb 1689

De Committe van albany hebben d'ordt volgende nieuws Ietain datt van d'Magnaw de kamaker door een Post ge=sonde, is aen ackus om ons Cito voort te senden

1 Dattter 10 natiõs van d'Twigh Twighs gode 5 natiõs offcomen om Kaerte te Distrueren

2 Dattter 2 van d'gevangs inden die nae Vranckryck gesendt ware weder int Lant gekomen zijn, d'welke seggen dattter ge=santen nae Canada moeten comen

3 Datt d'onnondagers d'Magnaw Cryghs=Luyde te kamakers met brood hebben en dat sy Vandt meede brengen

4 Dat d'Margnis gevangen nae Vranckryck soude zyn met d'Schepen die d'onnon=dagers gevangen was

5 Datt Cadaraqui Plaetse soude zyn van d'franse —

N. Y. State Library

Waerop d'Messieurs gedacht hebben Laurence alias Jannetje d'welke onnondagers te sende en hier d'waerheyt van te Inemen, en haer van onwaerheyt te beschuldigen, d'gesanten nae Canada te senden vergenge volgens ons Instruct d'franswist en so sy Lastigen sijn met — en haer ditt volgende nieuws te maken —

Dattir 2 scheeps aen N: Engdlant
zyn aengekoms van Engdlant di-
rectelyck d, welke Leggh
voor midden

1 Datt meest alle d groote oorlogh scheps
volck nae Vlaenderen zyn
en d, overtoonelmon wel 30000 man

2 Dattir 150 scheeps geredt waren nae
d west te Comen dat in 8 scheps end
waerts

3 Datt wy hier een Raedt van oorlogh
hebben ende wy meer volck van
noden hebben dattir 200 in d Sonne
zyn clar & 3 of 400 in N: En-
gdlant

N. Y. State Library

Dit gesonden in een Brief aen Jacob
Boom dewelck alles sal gaen na
de Heeren te Dordrecht

N. Y. State Library

N. Y. State Library

At a Convention of the Mayr Aldermen and Commonalty and Military officers of ye City and County of Albanie ye 27th day of Decemb. 1689

Five messengers called Delagochquatha Etrachkoo=
ny Sadekanaktie Rathedagon and Ocochtitaste being
the Chiefe of Onnondags and Oneyds to acquaint
us and thime of New Oneyde that there are three of
ye Indians come back out of Canada which were sent Pri=
soners to France, who are sent by them of Canada to Pro=
pose a Peace a Truce, but that they have Resolved not
to hear them till Comm. Gent. goe from hence to be
Present at there gen.ll meeting at Onnendags, and
then Conclude what shall be necessary for ye Publick good
Do Say further that there are 15 Indians come back from
France the rest being 23 all dead of Sickness and
that there are two Letters Intercepted which ye Gov.
of Canada and ye Abbe Lamberville had sent to ye
Jesuit in Oneyds, which they keep till ye Gentlemen
from hence arrive there, when they will be opened to
see what Knaverey the French Design

That there are messengers from seven of ye five nations
Come to ye Sinnekes, who Speake of Peace having De=
livered two Sinne de Prisoners and Promised to Deliver two
more assoon as they come home, and ye three of ye Fan
[illegible] will Continue ye warr.

Riley.

Shee bring further relac: yt Cadaracqui is Inuested
by ye ffrench and that ye Indians have ye[m] Strictly
Blocqued vp for Powder and abundance of Beef and Pelltry
there and yt six of ye Principle officers were Drowned
in going Line to Canada from Cadaracqui and the
dry Skeletons

Vpon wch it was Resolved vnanimously to
send Caristee de Tolignate and Curian three of
ye most Prudent Magistrates Thither to encourage
with this answer it not being thought Convenient
ent at this juncture to send Christians from
ye Conuention

1 Wee are glad to heare yt ye Report of ye 10 nations of Indians Westward coming Downe to Destroy ye 5 Nations and ye 5 Nations Did much Rejoyced that 2 more of ye Nations are Inclined for Peace, which wee ye more must Recommend to ye Brethren yt you may have ye Larger Scope to Revenge your Selues of ye French for ye Blood shed by that false Nation, who are now in a mean Condition, and think to Ensnare you with ye 13 Prisoners they have sent Ouer from France, and hauing obtained such a Peace, and have ye better opportunity to Catch a great number of ye People as they did in ye Last Peace, Therefore we doe Recommend you (as we are in a Last Covenant Chain together) not to hearken to ye French nor Speak to them of Peace, but our Great King is in actuall warr with ye Nation

2 Wee would come in Person to be Present at ye meeting according to ye Desire, but we have Rec[d] a Ship from England which brings us Certain news that

For his upon ye way with many Soueders, & is Expected
very Soon, when we shall send you an Express to
Canada & a Horseback hopeing to have Orders by us
Gouēr. that ye English may unanimously goe and Root
out Canada

3 Concerning ye 15 Prisoners come from france giving all
that is to be founde of 39 our advise is y^t you make
Demand of them Positively of ye French King who stole
from you and Deceitfully taken in Time of Peace, in
2^d Place if ye French there hearts were good, they would
have sent you ye Prisoners assoon as they came from france
Therefore we do not heare them speake of any thing wch found
they have sent you back your Thirtie Prisoners, But
you need not be afraid of your Prisoners so long as ye have
ye Jesuit and so many French in ye Country whom you
must keep very safe to be Exchanged as was done in
Q: Anna's time, It is Certain they are in no Hazard
that you should be so hasty to Release them, they will nott
kill them if not King ye Christians fashion

4 And for ye Brethrens more Incouragem^t we can assure ye y^t the
French King has all his hands so full that he cannot assist Canada
much, You may see this Plainly by their Loseing Cadaracqui
5 that they send ye Two Letter with by ye gov^r of Canada and
Lamberville ye Priest, to ye Jesuit at Onnondo hither
if not already done, and shall Inform them with y^e
Contents thereof, and take Especiall Care that the mes-
sengers that Return to Canada Carry no Letters from
ye Jesuit or any body Else thither

A true Copy Examined
Robt Livingston

N. Y. State Library

At a Convention of ye Mayr Aldermen and Commonalty and Military officers of ye Citty and County of Albanie the 27th Day of Decemb 1689

First meeting of Adr Depeyschaquetha arachkoniata Dehasheds Canadago and ot dark castle being sent by ye Sachims of onondage and oneyde to acquaint us and them of new England that there are come of ye Indians come back into ye Country wch were sent prisoners to ffrance who are sent by them of Canada to propose a peace or Truce but ye they have resolved not to hear them till some gent. of from Canada to be present at their gen. meeting at onondage and there Consult what shall be necessary for ye publike good.

Dot say further ye there are 13 Indians come back from ffrance the rest being 23 all dead of sickness and that there are but letters sent to Canada and further Lamberville had sent to ye Iriat in oneyde which they keep till the Gentlemen from home arrive there when they will be opened to see what Treachery ye French design

That there are messengers from seven of ye five nations come to ye Sinnekes who spoke of peace wanting Delivered five Sinnekes prisoners and promised to deliver four more as soon as they come home and ye 3 of ye five nations will continue ye war they bring further news yt Cadaracqui is deserted by the French and yt ye Indians have found 21 [illegible] and a Cask and of Beer and [illegible] and yt

and y^t six of ye Onneyde Chiefs were drowned in
coming home to Canada from Darachqui with their
Souldiers

Upon which it was Resolved unanimously to send
Carontase Sosoquattie and Durand chiefs of ye most
prudent Magnasse thither to remonstrate with his
answer it not being thought Convenient att this
juncture to send Christians from ye Convention

1 We are glad to hear that ye report off ye 16 nations
of Indians westward coming down to destroy you is
false and only oy^r Be much Rejoyced that seven of y^e
nations are Inclined for peace which wth the more
must recommend tryd brethren yt you may have y^e
larger hope to Revenge y^r selfs of ye Iroquois for y^e
Blood shed by that false nation who are now in a
meane Condition are thank to Onnian yow with y^e
13 prisoners they have sent for from France and
having obtained such a peace will have ye better
opportunity to catch a great number of y^r people
as they did in ye last peace therefore we do re-
commend yow (as we are in a fast Covenant chain
together) not to hearken to ye French nor speak to
them of peace send our greatking is in actuall
warr with ye nation

2 We would come in person to be present at ye meeting
according to y^r Desyre but we have Received ells
from England which brings us ye Certain news of
there Ships for us upon ye way with many more
and is Expected every hourd when we shall send
an Expresse to omandege aforesaid hopeing to have
orders by our governour that ye English may
merely goe and root out Canada

3 Concerning ye 13 prisoners came from france being all y^t
is to bee found of 39 our advise is that you make De
mand of them Positively of ye French being stole
from you and Deceitfully taken in time of peace
in ye 2^d place of ye French there wants none
nor doe wee desire sent you ye Prisoners as soon
as they came from france therefore doe not heare
them speake of any thing before they have sent
you back your thirteen prisoners but you need not
be afraid of ye prisoners so long as you have y^e
Iesuit and so many French in y^r Country whom
you must keep very well to be Exchanged as was donne
in Morgans time it is certain they are in no need
y^t you should be so hasty to release them they will
not kill them not being ye Christians fashion

4 And for ye Brittens more incouragement we can
assure you y^t ye French King hath his hands so
full y^t he cannot assist Canada much you may see
this Plainly by their leavying of Cadarackqui

5 (that they send ye two Letters sent by ye gov^r of Canada
and Lamberville ye priest to ye Iesuit at Moyes)
hether if not already come and shall Inform them
with ye Contents thereof and take Especiall Care
that ye messengers that return to Canida carry no
Letters from ye Iesuit or any body else thither

A true Copy Examind
P^r me Robt Livingston

At a Convention of the Mayor Aldermen and Commonality and Military officers of ye Citty and Countyof Albanie ye 27th day of Decembr 1689

Five messengers called Desagochquaetha Arachkoenichta Dehashedis Rashicdeagoe and Adochtirasse being sent by the Sachims of onnondage and Oneyde to acquaint us and them of New England, that there are three of ye Indians come back into ye Country which were sent Prisoners to France, who are Sent by them of Canida to Propose a Peace or Truce, but that they have Resolved not to hear them till Some Gentn goe from hence to be Present at there genll meeting at Onnondage, and there Consult what shall be necessary for ye Publike good Doe Say further that there are 13 Indians come back from France the Rest being 23 all dead of Sicknesse and that there are Two Letters Intercepted which ye Govr of Canida and father Lamberville had Sent to ye Jesuit in Oneyde, which they keep till ye gentlemen from hence arrive there, when they will be opend to see what Treachery the french Design

That there are messengers from Seven of ye farr nations come to ye Sinnekes who Speake of Peace haveing Deliverd Two Sinneke Prisoners and Promisd to Deliver foure more as soon as they come home, and yt three of ye farr nations will Continue ye warr.

They bring further news yt Cadarachqui is Deserted by ye french and that ye Indians have founde thirty Barrells of Pouder and abundance of Bever and Peltry there and yt Six of ye Principle officers were Drownd in goeing home to Canida from Cadarachqui and Sundry Souldiers.

Vpon which it was Resolved unanimously to Send Caristasie Tosoquatho and Jurian three of ye most Prudent Maquasse Thither to onnondage with this answer it not being thought Convenient at this juncture to Send Christians from ye Convention.

1 Wee are glad to hear yt ye Report of ye 10 nations of Indians Westward comeing Doune to Destroy yw is false, and on ye oyr Side much Rejoyced that Seven of sd nations are Inclined for Peace, which we ye more must Recommend to ye Brethren yt yow may have ye Larger Scope to Revenge yourSelfs of ye French for ye Blood shed by that false nation, who are now in a mean Condition, and think to Ensnare yow with ye 13 Prisoners they have sent for from france, and haveing obtained Such a Peace, will have ye better opportunity to Catch a great number of ye People as they did in ye Last Peace, Therefore we doe Recommend you (as we are in a fast Covenant chain together) not to hearken to ye french nor Speak to them of Peace Since our great king is in actuall warr with sd nation

2 We would come in Person to be Present at yr meeting according to yr Desyre, but we have Recd a Ship from England which brings us Certain news, that there is a governr for us upon ye way with many Souldiers, & is Expected every houre, when we shall Send you an Expresse to Onnondage a horseback hopeing to have orders by our Governr that ye English may unanimously goe and Root out Canida

3 Concerning ye 13 Prisoners come from france being all that is to be founde of 39 our advise is yt yow make Demand of them Positively of ye French, being Stole from yow and Deceitfully taken in time of Peace, in ye 2d Place if ye french there hearts were good, they would have Sent yow ye Prisoners assoon as they came from france Therefore doe not heare them Speake of any thing before they have Sent you back your Thirteen Prisoners, But yow need not be affraid of your Prisoners Sc Long as yw have ye Jesuit and so many french in yr Countrey whom yow must keep verry well to be Exchanged as was done in Col Dongans time; It is certain they are in no hazard that yow should be so hasty to release them, they will nott kill them it not being ye Christians fashion.

4 And for ye Brethrens more Incouragemt we can assure yw yt the French king hath his hands so full that he cannot assist Canida much, Yow may See this Plainly by there Leaving Cadarachqui.

5 That they send ye Two Letters writt by ye gov^r^ of Canida and Lamberville ye Priest, to ye Jesuit at Oneyde hither if not already done, and shall Inform them with ye Contents thereof, and take Especiall care that the messengers that Return to Canida Carry no Letters from ye Jesuit or any body Else thither.

A true Copy Examind p^r^

Robt Livingston Clk